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THE
HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

FROM

THE REVOLUTION

TO THE

DEATH OF GEORGE THE SECOND.

DESIGNED AS

A CONTINUATION OF MR HUME'S HISTORY.

By T. SMOLLETT, M.D.

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THOUGH the Parliament of Great Britain unanimously concurred in strengthening the hands of government for a

vigorous prosecution of the war, those liberal supplies had
 1757. like to have proved ineffectual through a want of
 Mr. Pitt harmony in her councils. In the course of the last
 and Mr. Legge taken year the clamorous voice of dissatisfaction had been
 into the ad- raised by a series of disappointments and miscar-
 ministration. riages, which were imputed to want of intelligence,
 sagacity, and vigour in the administration. The defeat
 of Braddock, the reduction of Oswego, and other forts in
 America, the delay of armaments, the neglect of oppor-
 tunities, ineffectual cruises, absurd dispositions of fleets and
 squadrons, the disgrace in the Mediterranean, and the loss of
 Minorca, were numbered among the misfortunes that flowed
 from the crude designs of a weak, dispirited ministry; and
 the prospect of their acquiescing in a continental war brought
 them still farther in contempt and detestation with the
 body of the people. In order to conciliate the good will
 of those whom their conduct had disobliged, to acquire a
 fresh stock of credit with their fellow-subjects, and remove
 from their own shoulders part of what future censure might
 ensue, they admitted into a share of the administration a
 certain set of gentlemen, remarkable for their talents and
 popularity, headed by Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge, esteemed
 the two most illustrious patriots of Great Britain, alike dis-
 tinguished and admired for their unconquerable spirit and
 untainted integrity. The former of these was appointed
 secretary of state, the other chancellor of the exchequer;
 and their friends were invested with other honourable
 though subordinate offices.

So far the people were charmed with the promotion of
 individuals, upon whose virtues and abilities they
 Obligated to resign. had the most perfect reliance; but these new ingre-
 dients would never thoroughly mix with the old leaven.
 The administration became an emblem of the image that
 Nebuchadnezzar saw in his dream—the leg was of iron, and
 the foot was of clay. The old junto found their new asso-
 ciates very unfit for their purposes. They could neither
 persuade, cajole, nor intimidate them into measures which
 they thought repugnant to the true interest of their country.
 The new ministers combated in council every such plan,
 however patronized: they openly opposed in Parliament
 every design which they deemed unworthy of the crown, or
 prejudicial to the people, even though distinguished by the
 predilection of the sovereign. Far from bargaining for

their places, and surrendering their principles by capitulation, they maintained in office their independency and candour with the most vigilant circumspection, and seemed determined to show, that he is the best minister to the sovereign, who acts with the greatest probity towards the subject. Those who immediately surrounded the throne were supposed to have concealed the true characters of these faithful servants from the knowledge of their royal master; to have represented them as obstinate, imperious, ignorant, and even lukewarm in their loyalty; and to have declared, that with such colleagues it would be impossible to move the machine of government according to his majesty's inclination. These suggestions, artfully inculcated, produced the desired effect: on the ninth day of April, Mr. Pitt, by his majesty's command, resigned the seals of secretary of state for the southern department. In the room of Mr. Legge, the king was pleased to grant the office of chancellor of the exchequer to the Right Honourable Lord Mansfield, chief justice of the Court of King's Bench; the same personage whom we have mentioned before under the name of Mr. Murray, solicitor-general, now promoted and ennobled for his extraordinary merit and important services. The fate of Mr. Pitt was extended to some of his principal friends: the board of admiralty was changed, and some other removals were made with the same intention.

What was intended as a disgrace to Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge turned out one of the most shining circumstances of their characters. The whole nation seemed to rise up, as one man, in the vindication of their fame: every mouth was opened in their praise; and a great number of respectable cities and corporations presented them with the freedom of their respective societies, enclosed in gold boxes of curious workmanship, as testimonies of their peculiar veneration. What the people highly esteem, they in a manner idolize. Not contented with making offerings so flattering and grateful to conscious virtue, they conceived the most violent prejudices against those gentlemen who succeeded in the administration; fully convinced, that the same persons who had sunk the nation in the present distressful circumstances, who had brought on her dishonour, and reduced her to the verge of destruction, were by no means the fit instruments of her delivery and redemption. The whole kingdom caught fire at the late changes; nor could the power, the cunning, and the artifice of a faction, long

Restored to
their em-
ployments.

support it against the united voice of Great Britain, which soon pierced the ears of the sovereign. It was not possible to persuade the people that salutary measures could be suggested or pursued, except by the few, whose zeal for the honour of their country, and steady adherence to an upright disinterested conduct, had secured their confidence, and claimed their veneration. A great number of addresses, dutifully and loyally expressed, solicited the king, ever ready to meet half-way the wishes of his faithful people, to restore Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge to their former employments. Upon this they rested the security and honour of the nation, as well as the public expectation of the speedy and successful issue of a war, hitherto attended with disgraces and misfortunes. Accordingly, his majesty was graciously pleased to re-deliver the seals to Mr. Pitt, appointing him secretary of state for the southern department, on the twenty-ninth day of June; and, five days after, the office of chancellor of the exchequer was restored to Mr. Legge: promotions that afforded universal satisfaction.

It would not, perhaps, be possible to exclude from a share in the administration all who were not perfectly agreeable to the people: however unpopular the late ministry might appear, still they possessed sufficient influence in the privy-council, and credit in the House of Commons, to thwart every measure in which they did not themselves partake. This consideration, and very recent experience, probably dictated the necessity of a coalition, salutary in itself, and prudent, because it was the only means of assuaging the rage of faction, and healing those divisions, more pernicious to the public than the most mistaken and blundering counsels. Sir Robert Henley was made lord-keeper of the great seal, and sworn of his majesty's privy-council, on the thirteenth day of June: the custody of the privy-seal was committed to Earl Temple: his grace the Duke of Newcastle, Mr. Legge, Mr. Nugent, Lord Viscount Duncannon, and Mr. Grenville, were appointed commissioners for executing the office of treasurer of his majesty's exchequer: Lord Anson, Admirals Boscawen and Forbes, Dr. Hay, Mr. West, Mr. Hunter, and Mr. Elliot, to preside at the board of Admiralty: Mr. Fox was gratified with the office of receiver and pay-master-general of all his majesty's guards, garrisons, and land-forces; and the Earl of Thomond was made treasurer of the king's household, and sworn of

his majesty's privy-council. Other promotions likewise took place with a design to gratify the adherents of either party; and so equally was the royal favour distributed that the utmost harmony for a long time subsisted. Ingredients, seemingly heterogeneous, consolidated into one uniform mass, so as to produce effects far exceeding the most sanguine expectations; and this prudent arrangement proved displeasing only to those whom violent party attachment had inspired with a narrow and exclusive spirit.

The accumulated losses and disappointments of the preceding year made it absolutely necessary to retrieve the credit of the British arms and councils by some vigorous and spirited enterprise, which should, at the same time, produce some change in the circumstances of his Prussian majesty, already depressed by the repulse of Colin, and in danger of being attacked by the whole power of France, now ready to fall upon him, like a torrent, which had so lately swept before it the army of observation, now on the brink of disgrace. A well-planned and vigorous descent on the coast of France, it was thought, would probably give a decisive blow to the marine of that kingdom, and at the same time effect a powerful diversion in favour of the Prussian monarch and the Duke of Cumberland, driven from all his posts in the electorate of Hanover, by drawing a part of the French forces to the defence and protection of their own coasts. Both were objects of great concern, upon which the sovereign and ministry were sedulously bent. His royal highness the duke, in a particular manner, urged the necessity of some enterprise of this nature, as the only expedient to obviate the shameful convention now in agitation. The ministry foresaw, that, by destroying the enemy's shipping, all succours would be cut off from America, whither they were daily transporting troops; the British commerce secured, without those convoys so inconvenient to the board of Admiralty and to the merchants; and those ideal fears of an invasion, that had in some measure affected the public credit, wholly dispelled.

From these considerations a powerful fleet was ordered to be got in readiness to put to sea on the shortest notice, and ten regiments of foot were marched to the Isle of Wight. The naval armament, consisting of eighteen ships of the line, besides frigates, fire-ships, bomb-ketches, and transports, was put under the command of Sir Edward Hawke, an

Descent on
the coast
of France
meditated.

officer whose faithful services recommended him, above all others, to this command; and Rear-Admiral Knowles was appointed his subaltern. Sir John Mordaunt was preferred to take the command of the land-forces: and both strictly enjoined to act with the utmost unanimity and harmony. Europe beheld with astonishment these mighty preparations. The destination of the armament was wrapped in the most profound secrecy; it exercised the penetration of politicians, and filled France with very serious alarms. Various were the impediments which obstructed the embarkation of the troops for several weeks, while Mr. Pitt expressed the greatest uneasiness at the delay, and repeatedly urged the commander-in-chief to expedite his departure; but a sufficient number of transports, owing to some blunder in the contractors, had not yet arrived. The troops expressed an eager impatience to signalize themselves against the enemies of the liberties of Europe; but the superstitious drew unfavourable presages from the dilatoriness of the embarkation. At last the transports arrived, the troops were put on board with all expedition, and the fleet got under sail on the eighth day of September, attended with the prayers of every man warmed with the love of his country, and solicitous for her honour. The public, big with expectation, dubious where the stroke would fall, but confident of its success, were impatient for tidings from the fleet; but it was not till the fourteenth that even the troops on board began to conjecture that a descent was meditated on the coast of France, near Rochefort or Rochelle.

On the twentieth, the fleet made the Isle of Oleron, and then Sir Edward Hawke sent an order to Vice-Admiral Knowles, requiring him, if the wind permitted the fleet to proceed to Basque-road, to stand in as near to the Isle of Aix as the pilot would carry him, with such ships of his division as he thought necessary for the service, and to batter the fort till the garrison should either abandon or surrender it. But the immediate execution of this order was frustrated by a French ship of war's standing into the very middle of the fleet, and continuing in that station for some time before she discovered her mistake, or any of the captains had a signal thrown out to give chase. Admiral Knowles, when too late, ordered the Magdammuc,

Command
of the fleet
given to Sir
J. Mordaunt
Hawke, and
of the land-
forces to
Sir John
Mordaunt
Fleet sails,
Sept 8.

Admiral
Knowles
sent to
take Aix.

Captain Howe, and Toibay, Captain Keppel, on that service, and thereby retarded the attack upon which he was immediately sent; a stroke of policy greatly to be admired, as from hence he gained time to assure himself of the strength of the fortifications of Aix, before he ran his majesty's ships into danger.

While the above ships, with the addition of the Royal William, were attending the French ship of war safe into the river Garonne, the remainder of the Attack and surrender of Aix. fleet was beating to windward off the Isle of Oleron; and the commander-in-chief publishing orders and regulations which did credit to his judgment, and would have been highly useful, had there ever been occasion to put them in execution. On the twenty-third, the van of the fleet, led by Captain Howe in the Magnanime, stood towards Aix, a small island situated in the mouth of the river Charente, leading up to Rochefort, the fortifications half finished, and mounted with about thirty cannon and mortars, the garrison composed of six hundred men, and the whole island about five miles in circumference. As the Magnanime approached, the enemy fired briskly upon her; but Captain Howe, regardless of their faint endeavours, kept on his course without flinching, dropped his anchors close to the walls, and poured in so incessant a fire as soon silenced their artillery. It was, however, near an hour before the fort struck, when some forces were landed to take possession of so important a conquest, with orders to demolish the fortifications; the care of which was entrusted to Vice-Admiral Knowles.

Inconsiderable as this success might appear, it greatly elated the troops, and was deemed a happy omen of A descent resolved on. further advantages; but, instead of embarking the troops that night, as was universally expected, several successive days were spent in councils of war, soundings of the coast, and deliberations whether the king's express orders were practicable, or to be complied with. Eight days were elapsed since the first appearance of the fleet on the coast, and the alarm was given to the enemy. Sir Edward Hawke, indeed, proposed laying a sixty-gun ship against Fouras, and battering that fort, which it was thought would help to secure the landing of the troops, and facilitate the enterprise on Rochefort. This a French pilot on board (Thierry) undertook; but after a ship had been lightened for the pur-

pose, Vice-Admiral Knowles reported that a bomb-ketch had run aground at above the distance of two miles from the fort; upon which the project of battering or bombarding the fort was abandoned. The admiral likewise proposed to bombard Rochelle; but this overture was overruled, for reasons which we need not mention. It was at length determined, in a council of war held on the eighth, to make a descent, and attack the forts leading to and upon the mouth of the river Charente. An order, in consequence of this resolution, was immediately issued for the troops to be ready to embark from the transports in the boats precisely at twelve o'clock at night. Accordingly, the boats were prepared, and filled with the men at the time appointed; and now they remained beating against each other, and the sides of the ships, for the space of four hours, while the council were determining whether, after all the trouble given, they should land; when, at length, an order was published for the troops to return to their respective transports, and all thoughts of a descent, to appearance, were wholly abandoned. The succeeding days were employed in blowing up and demolishing the fortifications of Aix; after which, the land-officers, in a council of war, took the final resolution of returning to England without any further attempts, fully satisfied that they had done all in their power to execute the designs of the ministry, and choosing rather to oppose the frowns of an angry sovereign, the murmurs of an incensed nation, and the contempt of mankind, than fight a handful of dastardly militia. Such was the issue of an expedition that raised the expectation of all Europe, threw the coasts of France into the utmost confusion, and cost the people of England little less than a million of money.

The fleet was no sooner returned than the whole nation was in a ferment. The public expectation had been wound up to the highest pitch; and now the disappointment was proportioned to the sanguine hopes conceived, that the pride of France would have been humbled by so formidable an armament. The ministry, and with them the national voice, exclaimed against the commanding officers; and the military men retorted the calumny, by laying the blame on the projectors of the enterprise, who had put the nation to great expense before they had obtained the necessary information.

The fleet returns to Spithead. His majesty appoints a board of inquiry into the reasons of the fleet's return.

Certain it was, that blame must fall somewhere, and the ministry resolved to acquit themselves, and fix the accusation, by requesting his majesty to appoint a board of officers of character and ability to inquire into the causes of the late miscarriage. This alone it was that could appease the public clamours, and afford general satisfaction. The enemies of Mr. Pitt endeavoured to wrest the miscarriage of the expedition to his prejudice; but the whispers of faction were soon drowned in the voice of the whole people of England, who never could persuade themselves that a gentleman raised to the height of power and popularity by mere dint of superior merit, integrity, and disinterestedness, would now sacrifice his reputation by a mock armament, or hazard incurring the derision of Europe, by neglecting to obtain all the necessary previous information, or doing whatever might contribute to the success of the expedition. It was asked, whether reason or justice dictated that a late unfortunate admiral should be capitally punished for not trying and exerting his utmost ability to relieve fort St. Philip, invested by a powerful army, and surrounded with a numerous fleet, while no charge of negligence or cowardice was brought against those who occasioned the miscarriage of a well-concerted and well-appointed expedition? The people, they said, were not to be quieted with the resolutions of a council of war, composed of men whose inactivity might frame excuses for declining to expose themselves to danger. It was publicly mentioned, that such backwardness appeared among the general officers before the fleet reached the Isle of Oleron, as occasioned the admiral to declare, with warmth, that he would comply with his orders, and go into Basque-road, whatever might be the consequence. It was asked why the army did not land on the night of the twenty-third or twenty-fourth, and whether the officers sent out to reconnoitre had returned with such intelligence as seemed to render a descent impracticable? It was asked, whether the commander-in-chief had complied with his majesty's orders, "To attempt, as far as should be found practicable, a descent on the coast of France, at or near Rochefort, in order to attack, and, by a vigorous impression, force that place; and to burn and destroy, to the utmost of his power, all docks, magazines, arsenals, and shipping, as should be found there?" Such rumours as these, every where propagated, rendered an inquiry no less necessary to the reputation of the officers on the expedition, than to the

minister who had projected it. Accordingly, a board, consisting of three officers of rank, reputation, and ability, was appointed by his majesty, to inquire into the reasons why the fleet returned without having executed his majesty's orders.

The three general officers, who met on the twenty-first of the same month, were Charles, Duke of Marlborough, Lieutenant-General, Major-Generals Lord George Sackville and John Waldegrave. To judge of the practicability of executing his majesty's orders, it was necessary to inquire into the nature of the intelligence upon which the expedition was projected. The first and most important was a letter sent to Sir John, afterwards Lord Ligonier, by Lieutenant-Colonel Clark. This letter had been frequently examined in the privy-council, and contained in substance, that Colonel Clark, in returning from Gibraltar, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-four, had travelled along the western coast of France, to observe the condition of the fortifications, and judge how far a descent would be practicable in case of a rupture between Great Britain and France. On his coming to Rochefort, where he was attended by an engineer, he was surprised to find the greatest part of a good rampart, with a revetement, flanked only with redans: no outworks, no covered way, and in many places no ditch, so that the bottom of the wall was seen at a distance. He remembered, that in other places, where the earth had been taken out to form the rampart, there was left round them a considerable height of ground, whence an enemy might draw a great advantage; that for above the length of a front of two or three hundred yards, there was no rampart, or even intrenchment, but only small ditches, in the low and marshy grounds next the river, which, however, were dry at low water; yet the bottom remained muddy and slimy. Towards the river no rampart, no batteries, no parapet, on either side appeared, and on the land side he observed some high ground within the distance of one hundred and fifty or two hundred yards of the town; in which condition the colonel was told by the engineer the place had remained for above seventy years. To prevent giving umbrage, he drew no plan of the place, and even burnt the few sketches he had by him: however, as to utility, the colonel declared himself as much satisfied as if he had taken a plan. He could not ascertain the direct height

Proceedings
of the court
of inquiry.

of the rampart, but thought it could not exceed twenty-five feet, including the parapet. The river might be about one hundred and thirty feet broad, and the entrance defended by two or three small redoubts. As to forces, none are ever garrisoned at Rochefort, except marines, which, at the time the colonel was on the spot, amounted to about one thousand. This was the first intelligence the ministry received of the state of Rochefort, which afforded sufficient room to believe, that an attack by surprise might be attended with happy consequences. It was true that Colonel Clark made his observations in time of peace; but it was likewise probable, that no great alterations were made on account of the war, as the place had remained in the same condition during the two or three last wars with France, when they had the same reasons as now to expect their coasts would be insulted. The next information was obtained from Joseph Thierry, a French pilot, of the Protestant religion, who passed several examinations before the privy-council. This person declared that he had followed the business of a pilot on the coast of France for the space of twenty years, and served as first pilot in several of the king's ships: that he had, in particular, piloted the *Magnanime*, before she was taken by the English, for about twenty-two months, and had often conducted her into the road of the Isle of Aix; and that he was perfectly acquainted with the entrance, which, indeed, is so easy as to render a pilot almost unnecessary. The road, he said, afforded good anchorage in twelve or fourteen fathoms water as far as Bayonne; the channel between the islands of Oleron and Rhé was three leagues broad, and the banks necessary to be avoided lay near the land, except one called the Boiard, which is easily discerned by the breakers. He affirmed, that the largest vessels might draw up close to the fort of Aix, which he would undertake the *Magnanime* alone should destroy; that the largest ships might come up to the Vigerot, two miles distant from the mouth of the river, with all their cannon and stores: that men might be landed to the north of fort Fouras, out of sight of the fort, upon a meadow, where the ground is firm and level, under cover of the cannon of the fleet. This landing-place he reckoned at about five miles from Rochefort, the way dry, and no way intercepted by ditches and morasses. He said, great part of the city was encompassed by a wall; but towards the river, on both sides, for about

sixty paces, it was enclosed only with palisades, without a fossé. To the intelligence of Colonel Clark and Thierry, the minister added a secret account obtained of the strength and distribution of the French forces, whence it appeared highly probable that no more than ten thousand men could be allowed for the defence of the whole coast, from St. Valéry to Bourdeaux. In consequence of the above information the secret expedition was planned; instructions were given to Sir John Mordaunt and Admiral Hawke, to make a vigorous impression on the French coast, and all the other measures projected, which it was imagined would make an effectual diversion, by obliging the enemy to employ a great part of their forces at home, disturb and shake the credit of their public loans, impair the strength and resources of their navy, disconcert their extensive and dangerous operations of war, and finally give life, strength, and lustre to the common cause and his majesty's arms. The board of inquiry took next into consideration the several letters and explanatory instructions sent to Sir John Mordaunt, in consequence of some difficulties which might possibly occur, stated by that general in letters to the minister, previous to his sailing. Then they examined the report made to Sir Edward Hawke by Admiral Broderick, and the captains of men of war sent to sound the French shore from Rochelle to fort Fouras, dated September the twenty-ninth; the result of the councils of war on the twenty-fifth and twenty-eighth; Sir Edward Hawke's letter to Sir John Mordaunt on the twenty-seventh, and the general's answer on the twenty-ninth; after which Sir John Mordaunt was called upon to give his reasons for not putting his majesty's instructions and orders in execution. This he did in substance as follows: The attempt on Rochefort, he understood, was to have been on the footing of a *coup de main*, or surprise, which it would be impossible to execute, if the design was discovered, or the alarm taken. He also understood that an attempt could not be made, nay, that his majesty did not require it should, unless a proper place for debarking, and a safe retreat for the troops was discovered, particularly where the ships could protect them; and a safe communication with the fleet, and conveyance of supplies from it, were found. His sentiments, he said, were confirmed by a paper to this purpose, delivered to him by Sir John Ligonier,

on his first being appointed to command the expedition. It was likewise probable, he thought, that although Rochefort should have remained in the situation in which Colonel Clark and the pilot Thierry had seen it three years before, yet that a few days' preparation could make it sufficiently defensible against a *coup de main*. Judging, therefore, the dependence on such an operation alone improper, he applied to the ministry for two more old battalions, and artillery for a regular attack to force the place, which, from its construction, appeared as difficult to be made defensible against the latter, as easily secured against the former. But this request being refused, he still thought it his duty to obey his orders on the footing on which the expedition was planned, especially as he understood his instructions were discretionary, regarding the circumstances of the time, the condition of the place, and the nature of the service. He recited the positive and credible intelligence received, as well before the embarkation as during the voyage, of the alarm given to France, and the preparations made along the French coasts, from Brest and St. Maloes to Rochefort: the accidents that kept the fleet hovering along the coasts, and prevented the possibility of an attempt by surprise: the reports of all the gentlemen employed in sounding the coasts, so contrary to the intelligence given by Thierry, the pilot: the opinion of the council of war, by which he was enjoined to act, and with which his own judgment concurred: the endeavours used, after the twenty-sixth, to find out some expedient for annoying the enemy and executing his majesty's instructions: the attempt made to land, in consequence of the resolution of the second council of war, which was prevented by boisterous and stormy weather; and lastly, the reasons that determined him, in concert with the other land-officers, to return to England.

Having considered all these circumstances, and examined several officers who served in the expedition, the court of inquiry gave the following report to his majesty:—"It appears to us, that one cause of the expedition having failed is, the not attacking fort Fouras by sea, at the same time that it could have been attacked by land, agreeably to the first design, which certainly must have been of the greatest utility towards carrying your majesty's instructions into execution. It was at first resolved by Admiral Hawke, (Thierry, the pilot, having undertaken ^{Its report.}

the safe conduct of a ship to fort Fouras for that purpose,) but afterwards laid aside upon the representation of Vice-Admiral Knowles, that the *Barfleur*, the ship designed for that service, was a-ground, at the distance of between four and five miles from the shore: but as neither Sir Edward Hawke or the pilot could attend to give any information upon that head, we cannot presume to offer any certain opinion thereupon. We conceive another cause of the failure of the expedition to have been, that instead of attempting to land, when the report was received, on the twenty-fourth of September, from Rear-Admiral Broderick, and the captains who had been out to sound and reconnoitre, a council of war was summoned, and held on the twenty-fifth, in which it was unanimously resolved not to land, as the attempt on Rochefort was neither advisable nor practicable; but it does not appear to us that there were then, or at any time afterwards, either a body of troops or batteries on shore sufficient to have prevented the attempting a descent, in pursuance of the instructions signed by your majesty: neither does it appear to us that there were any reasons sufficient to induce the council of war to believe that Rochefort was so changed in respect to its strength, or posture of defence, since the expedition was first resolved on in England, as to prevent all attempts of an attack upon the place, in order to burn and destroy the docks, magazines, arsenals, and shipping, in obedience to your majesty's commands. And we think ourselves obliged to remark, in the council of war on the twenty-eighth of September, that no reason could have existed sufficient to prevent the attempt of landing the troops, as the council then unanimously resolved to land with all possible despatch. We beg leave also to remark, that after its being unanimously resolved to land, in the council of war of the twenty-eighth of September, the resolution was taken of returning to England, without any regular or general meeting of the said council; but as the whole operation was of so inconsiderable a nature, we do not offer this to your majesty as a cause of the failure of the expedition; since we cannot but look upon the expedition to have failed from the time the great object of it was laid aside in the council of war of the twenty-fifth."

This report, signed by the general officers, Marlborough, Sackville, and Waldegrave, probably laid the foundation for

the court-martial which sat soon after upon the conduct of the commander-in-chief of the expedition. The enemies of the minister made a handle of the miscarriage to lessen him in the esteem of the public, by laying the whole blame on his forming a project so expensive to the nation, on intelligence not only slight at the first view, but false upon further examination. But the people were still his advocates; they discerned something mysterious in the whole conduct of the commander-in-chief. They plainly perceived that caution took place of vigour, and that the hours for action were spent in deliberations and councils of war. He debarked the troops, and made such an attack as would have distinguished his courage, the voice of the people would have acquitted him, however unsuccessful, though prudence, perhaps, might have condemned him. Even Braddock's rashness they deemed preferable to Mordaunt's inactivity: the loss of so many brave lives was thought less injurious and disgraceful to the nation, than the too safe return of the present armament. The one demonstrated that the British spirit still existed; the other seemed to indicate the too powerful influence of wealth, luxury, and those manners which tend to debauch and emasculate the mind. A public trial of the commander-in-chief was expected by the people, and it was graciously granted by his majesty. It is even thought that Sir John Mordaunt himself demanded to have his conduct scrutinised, by which method alone he was sensible his character could be re-established. His majesty's warrant for holding a court-martial was accordingly signed on the third day of December. The court was composed of nine lieutenant-generals, nine major-generals, and three colonels, who sat on the fourteenth, and continued by several adjournments to the twentieth. Lieutenant-General Sir John Mordaunt came prisoner before the court, and the following charge was exhibited against him, namely, That he being appointed by the king commander-in-chief of his majesty's forces sent on an expedition to the coast of France, and having received orders and instructions relative thereto, from his majesty, under his royal sign-manual, and also by one of his principal secretaries of state, had disobeyed his majesty's said orders and instructions. The proceedings of this court were nearly similar to those of the court of inquiry. The same evidences were examined, with the addition of Sir Edward Hawke's

Sir John
Mordaunt
tried by a
court-mar-
tial and
acquitted.

deposition; and a defence differing in no essential point from the former made by the prisoner, but the judgment given was clear and explicit. Sir John Mordaunt was unanimously found Not Guilty, and therefore acquitted, while the public opinion remained unaltered, and many persons inveighed as bitterly against the lenity of the present court-martial, as they had formerly against the severity of the sentence passed upon a late unfortunate admiral. The evidence of one gentleman in particular drew attention: he was accused of tergiversation, and of showing that partial indulgence which his own conduct required. He publicly defended his character: his performance was censured, and himself dismissed the service of his sovereign.

Besides the diversion intended by a descent on the coast of France, several other methods were employed to amuse the enemy, as well as to protect the trade of the kingdom, secure our colonies in the West Indies, and ensure the continuance of the extraordinary success which had lately blessed his majesty's arms in the East Indies; but these we could not mention before without breaking the thread of our narration. On the ninth of February Admiral West sailed with a squadron of men of war to the westward, as did Admiral Coates with the fleet under his convoy to the West Indies, and Commodore Steevens with the trade to the East Indies, in the month of March. Admiral Holbourn and Commodore Holmes, with cloven ships of the line, a fire-ship, bomb-ketch, and fifty transports, sailed from St. Helen's for America in April. The admiral had on board six thousand two hundred effective men, exclusive of officers, under the command of General Hopson, assisted by Lord Charles Hay. In May Admiral Osborne, who had been forced back to Plymouth with his squadron by stress of weather, set sail for the Mediterranean, as did two ships of war sent to convoy the American trade.

In the mean time, the privateers fitted out by private merchants and societies greatly annoyed the French commerce. The *Antigallican*, a private ship of war, equipped by a society of men who assumed that name, took the *Duke de Penthièvre Indiaman*, off the port of Corunna, and carried her into Cadiz. The prize was estimated worth two hundred thousand pounds, and immediate application was made by France to the court of

Fleets sent
to the East
and West
Indies.

Success of
the English
privateers.

Spain for restitution, while the proprietors of the Antigallican were squandering in mirth, festivity, and riot, the imaginary wealth so easily and unexpectedly acquired. Such were the remonstrances made to his Catholic majesty with regard to the illegality of the prize, which the French East India Company asserted was taken within shot of a neutral port, that the *Penthievre* was first violently wrested out of the hands of the captors, then detained as a deposit, with sealed hatches, and a Spanish guard on board, till the claims of both parties could be examined, and at last adjudged to be an illegal capture, and consequently restored to the French, to the great disappointment of the owners of the privateer. Besides the success which attended a great number of other privateers, the lords of the Admiralty published a list of above thirty ships of war and privateers taken from the enemy, in the space of four months, by the English sloops and ships of war, exclusive of the *Duke d'Aquitaine* Indiaman, now fitted out as a ship of war, taken by the *Eagle* and *Medway*; the *Pondicherry* Indiaman, valued at one hundred and sixty thousand pounds, taken by the *Dover* man of war; and above six privateers brought into port by the diligent and brave Captain Lockhart, for which he was honoured with a variety of presents of plate by several corporations, in testimony of their esteem and regard. This run of good fortune was not, however, without some retribution on the side of the enemy, who out of twenty-one ships, homeward-bound from Carolina, made prize of nineteen, whence the merchants sustained considerable damage, and a great quantity of valuable commodities, indigo in particular, was lost to this country.

Notwithstanding the large imports of grain from different parts of Europe and America, the artifice of engrossers still kept up the price of corn. So incensed were the populace at the iniquitous combinations entered into to frustrate the endeavours of the legislature, and to oppress the poor, that they rose in a tumultuous manner in several counties, sometimes to the number of five or six thousand, and seized upon the grain brought to market. Nor was it indeed to be wondered at, considering the distress to which many persons were reduced. The difficulty of obtaining the necessaries of life raised the price of labour at the most unseasonable time, when all manufacturers were overstocked for want of a

Riots occasioned by the high price of corn.

proper market, which obliged them to dismiss above half the hands before employed. Hence arose the most pitiable condition of several thousands of useful industrious subjects: a calamity attended only with one advantage to the public, namely, the facility with which recruits were raised for his majesty's service. At last, the plentiful crops with which it pleased Providence to bless these kingdoms, the prodigious quantities of corn imported from foreign countries, and the wise measures of the legislature, broke all the villanous schemes set on foot by the forestallers and engrossers, and reduced the price of corn to the usual standard. The public joy on this event was greatly augmented by the safe arrival of the fleet from the Leeward Islands, consisting of ninety-two sail, and of the Straits fleet, esteemed worth three millions sterling, whereby the silk manufacturers in particular were again employed, and their distresses relieved. About the same time the India Company was highly elated with the joyful account of the safe arrival and spirited conduct of three of their captains, attacked in their passage homeward by two French men of war, one of sixty-four, the other of twenty-six guns. After a warm engagement, which continued for three hours, they obliged the French ships to sheer off, with scarce any loss on their own side. When the engagement began, the captains had promised a reward of a thousand pounds to the crews by way of incitement to their valour; and the Company doubled the sum, in recompense of their fidelity and courage. His majesty having taken into consideration the incredible damage sustained by the commerce of these kingdoms, for want of proper harbours and forts on the western coast to receive and protect merchantmen, was graciously pleased to order, that a temporary security should be provided for the shipping which might touch at Milford-haven, until the fortifications voted in Parliament should be erected. How far his majesty's directions were complied with, the number of merchant ships taken by the enemy's privateers upon that coast sufficiently indicated.

Whatever reasons the government had to expect the campaign should be vigorously pushed in America, Operations in America. almost every circumstance turned out contrary to expectation. Not all the endeavours of the Earl of Loudoun to quiet the dissensions among the different provinces, and to establish unanimity and harmony, could prevail. Circum-

stances required that he should act the part of a mediator, in order to raise the necessary supplies for prosecuting the war, without which it was impossible he could appear in the character of a general. The enemy, in the mean time, were pursuing the blow given at Oswego, and taking advantage of the distraction that appeared in the British councils. By their successes in the preceding campaign, they remained masters of all the lakes. Hence they were furnished with the means of practising on the Indians in all the different districts, and obliging them, by rewards, promises, and menaces, to act in their favour. Every accession to their strength was a real diminution of that of the British commander; but then the ignorance or pusillanimity of some of the inferior officers in our back settlements was, in effect, more beneficial to the enemy than all the vigilance and activity of Montcalm. In consequence of the shameful loss of Oswego, they voluntarily abandoned to the mercy of the French general the whole country of the Five Nations, the only body of Indians who had inviolably performed their engagements, or indeed who had preserved any sincere regard for the British government. The communication with these faithful allies was now cut off, by the imprudent demolition of the forts we possessed at the great Carrying-place. A strong fort, indeed, was built at Winchester, and called Fort Loudoun, after the commander-in-chief; and four hundred Cherokee Indians joined the English forces at Fort Cumberland: but this reinforcement by no means counterbalanced the losses sustained in consequence of our having imprudently stopped up Wood-creek, and filled it with logs. Every person the least acquainted with the country, readily perceived the weakness of these measures, by which our whole frontier was left open, and exposed to the irruption of the savages in the French interest, who would not fail to profit by our blunders, too notorious to escape them. By the removal of these barriers, a path was opened to our fine settlements on those grounds called the German Flats, and along the Mohawk river, which the enemy destroyed with fire and sword before the end of the campaign.

In the mean time, Lord Loudoun was taking the most effectual steps to unite the provinces, and raise a force sufficient to give some decisive blow. The attack on Crown Point, which had been so long

Lord Loudoun's conduct in America.

meditated, was laid aside as of less importance than the intended expedition to Louisbourg, now substituted in its place, and undoubtedly a more considerable object in itself. Admiral Holbourn arrived at Halifax, with the squadron and transports under his command, on the ninth of July; and it was his lordship's intention to repair thither with all possible diligence, in order to take upon him the command of the expedition; but a variety of accidents interposed. It was with the utmost difficulty he at length assembled a body of six thousand men, with which he instantly began his march to join the troops lately arrived from England. When the junction was effected, the whole force amounted to twelve thousand men; an army that raised great expectations. Immediately some small vessels were sent out to examine and reconnoitre the condition of the enemy, and the intermediate time was employed in embarking the troops, as soon as the transports arrived. The return of the scouts totally altered the face of affairs: they brought the unwelcome news, that M. de Bois de la Mothe, who sailed in the month of May from Brest, with a large fleet of ships of war and transports, was now safe at anchor in the harbour of Louisbourg. Their intelligence was supported by the testimony of several deserters; yet still it wanted confirmation, and many persons believed their account of the enemy's strength greatly magnified. Such advices, however, could not but occasion extraordinary fluctuations in the councils of war at Halifax. Some were for setting aside all thoughts of the expedition for that season; while others, more warm in their dispositions, and sanguine in their expectations, were for prosecuting it with vigour, in spite of all dangers and difficulties. Their disputes were carried on with great vehemence, when a packet bound from Louisbourg in France, was taken by one of the English ships stationed at Newfoundland. She had letters on board which put the enemy's superiority beyond all doubt, at least by sea. It clearly appeared, that there were at that time in Louisbourg six thousand regular troops, three thousand natives, and one thousand three hundred Indians, with seventeen ships of the line, and three frigates moored in the harbour; that the place was well supplied with ammunition, provision, and every kind of military stores; and that the enemy wished for nothing more than an attack, which it was probable would terminate to the disgrace of the assail-

ants, and ruin of the British affairs in America. The commanders at Halifax were fully apprised of the consequences of an unsuccessful attempt; it was, therefore, almost unanimously resolved to postpone the expedition to some more convenient opportunity, especially as the season was now far advanced, which alone would be sufficient to frustrate their endeavours, and render the enterprise abortive. This resolution seems, indeed, to have been the most eligible in their circumstances, whatever constructions might afterwards be given, with intention to prejudice the public against the commander-in-chief.

Lord Loudoun's departure from New York, with all the forces he was able to collect, afforded the Marquis de Montcalm the fairest occasion of improving the ^{Fort William-Henry taken by the French.} successes of the former campaign. That general had, in the very commencement of the season, made three different attacks on Fort William-Henry, in all of which he was repulsed by the vigour and resolution of the garrison. But his disappointment here was balanced by an advantage gained by a party of regulars and Indians at Ticonderago. Colonel John Parker, with a detachment of near four hundred men, went by water, in whale and bay boats, to attack the enemy's advanced guard at that place. Landing at night on an island, he sent before dawn three boats to the main land, which the enemy waylaid and took. Having procured the necessary intelligence from the prisoners of the colonel's designs, they contrived their measures, placed three hundred men in ambush behind the point where he proposed landing, and sent three batteaux to the place of rendezvous. Colonel Parker mistaking these for his own boats, eagerly put to shore, was surrounded by the enemy, reinforced with four hundred men, and attacked with such impetuosity, that of the whole detachment, only two officers and seventy private men escaped. Flushed with this advantage, animated by the absence of the British commander-in-chief, then at Halifax, and fired with a desire to revenge the disgrace he had lately sustained before Fort Henry, Montcalm drew together all his forces, with intention to lay siege to that place. Fort William-Henry stands on the southern coast of Lake George; it was built with a view to protect and cover the frontiers of the English colonies, as well as to command the lake: the fortifications were good, defended by a garrison of near three thousand men, and

covered by an army of four thousand, under the conduct of General Webb, posted at no great distance. When the Marquis de Montcalm had assembled all his forces at Crown Point, Ticonderago, and the adjacent posts, together with a considerable body of Canadians and Indians, amounting in the whole to near ten thousand men, he marched directly to the fort, made his approaches, and began to batter it with a numerous train of artillery. On the very day he invested the place, he sent a letter to Colonel Monro, the governor, telling him, he thought himself obliged, in humanity, to desire he would surrender the fort, and not provoke the great number of savages in the French army by a vain resistance. "A detachment of your garrison has lately," says he, "experienced their cruelty; I have it yet in my power to restrain them, and oblige them to observe a capitulation, as none of them hitherto are killed. Your persisting in the defence of your fort can only retard its fate a few days, and must of necessity expose an unfortunate garrison, who can possibly receive no relief, considering the precautions taken to prevent it. I demand a decisive answer, for which purpose I have sent the Sieur Fontbrune, one of my aides-du-camp. You may credit what he will inform you of, from Montcalm." General Webb beheld his preparations with an indifference and security bordering on infatuation. It is credibly reported, that he had private intelligence of all the French general's designs and motions: yet either despising his strength, or discrediting the information, he neglected collecting the militia in time, which, in conjunction with his own forces, would probably have obliged Montcalm to relinquish the attempt, or, at least, have rendered his success very doubtful and hazardous. The enemy meeting with no disturbance from the quarter they most dreaded, prosecuted the siege with vigour, and were warmly received by the garrison, who fired with great spirit till they had burst almost all their cannon, and expended their ammunition. Neither Montcalm's promises nor threats could prevail upon them to surrender while they were in a condition to defend themselves, or could reasonably expect assistance from General Webb. They even persisted to hold out after prudence dictated they ought to surrender. Colonel Monro was sensible of the importance of his charge, and imagined that General Webb, though slow in his motions, would surely make some vigorous efforts either

to raise the siege, or force a supply of ammunition, provision, and other necessities, into the garrison. At length necessity obliged him, after sustaining a siege from the third to the ninth day of August, to hang out a flag of truce, which was immediately answered by the French commander. Hostages were exchanged, and articles of capitulation signed by both parties. It was stipulated, that the garrison of Fort William-Henry, and the troops in the intrenched camp, should march out with their arms, the baggage of the officers and soldiers, and all the usual necessities of war, escorted by a detachment of French troops, and interpreters attached to the savages: that the gate of the fort should be delivered to the troops of the most Christian king, immediately after signing the capitulation, and the intrenched camp, on the departure of the British forces: that the artillery, warlike stores, provision, and in general every thing, except the effects of the soldiers and officers, should, upon honour, be delivered to the French troops; for which purpose it was agreed there should be delivered, with the capitulation, an exact inventory of the stores, and other particulars specified: that the garrison of the fort, and the troops in the intrenchment and dependencies, should not serve for the space of eighteen months from the date of the capitulation against his most Christian majesty, or his allies: that with the capitulation there should be delivered an exact state of the troops, specifying the names of the officers, engineers, artillery-men, commissaries, and all employed: that the officers and soldiers, Canadians, women, and savages, made prisoners by land since the commencement of the war in North America, should be delivered in the space of three months at Carillon; in return for whom an equal number of the garrison of Fort William-Henry should be incapacitated to serve agreeably to the return given by the English officer, and the receipt of the French commanding officers, of the prisoners so delivered: that an officer should remain as an hostage, till the safe return of the escort sent with the troops of his Britannic majesty: that the sick and wounded, not in a condition to be transported to Fort Edward, should remain under the protection of the Marquis de Montcalm; who engaged to use them with tenderness and humanity, and to return them as soon as recovered: that provision for two days should be issued out for the British troops: that in testimony of his esteem and respect for Colonel Monro

and his garrison, on account of their gallant defence, the Marquis de Montcalm should return one cannon, a six-pounder.—Whether the Marquis de Montcalm was really assiduous to have these articles punctually executed, we cannot pretend to determine; but certain it is, they were perfidiously broken in almost every instance. The savages in the French interest either paid no regard to the capitulation, or were permitted, from views of policy, to act the most treacherous, inhuman, and insidious part. They fell upon the British troops as they marched out, despoiled them of their few remaining effects, dragged the Indians in the English service out of their ranks, and assassinated them with circumstances of unheard-of barbarity. Some British soldiers, with their wives and children, are said to have been savagely murdered by those brutal Indians, whose ferocity the French commander could not effectually restrain. The greater part of the English garrison, however, arrived at Fort Edward, under the protection of the French escort. The enemy demolished the fort, carried off the effects, provision, artillery, and every thing else left by the garrison, together with the vessels preserved in the lake, and departed, without pursuing their success by any other attempt. Thus ended the third campaign in America, where, with an evident superiority over the enemy, an army of twenty thousand regular troops, a great number of provincial forces, and a prodigious naval power, not less than twenty ships of the line, we abandoned our allies, exposed our people, suffered them to be cruelly massacred in sight of our troops, and relinquished a large and valuable tract of country, to the eternal reproach and disgrace of the British name.

As to the naval transactions in this country, though less infamous, they were not less unfortunate. Immediately on Lord Loudoun's departure from Halifax, Admiral Holbourn, now freed from the care of the transports, set sail for Louisbourg, with fifteen ships of the line, one ship of fifty guns, three small frigates, and a fire-ship. What the object of this cruise might have been can only be conjectured. Some imagine curiosity was the admiral's sole motive, and the desire of informing himself with certainty of the enemy's strength; while others persuade themselves that he was in hopes of drawing M. de la Mothe to an engagement, notwithstanding his superiority in number of ships and weight of metal. Be this as it may,

Naval
transactions
in America.

the British squadron appeared off Louisbourg on the twentieth day of August, and approaching within two miles of the batteries, saw the French admiral make the signal to unmoor. Mr. Holbourn was greatly inferior in strength, and it is obvious, that his design was not to fight the enemy, as he immediately made the best of his way to Halifax. About the middle of September, being reinforced with four ships of the line, he again proceeded to Louisbourg, probably with intention, if possible, to draw the enemy to an engagement; but he found De la Mothe too prudent to hazard an unnecessary battle, the loss of which would have greatly exposed all the French colonies. Here the English squadron continued cruising until the twenty-fifth, when they were overtaken by a terrible storm from the southward. When the hurricane began, the fleet were about forty leagues distant from Louisbourg; but were driven in twelve hours within two miles of the rocks and breakers on that coast, when the wind providentially shifted. The ship *Tilbury* was wrecked upon the rocks, and half her crew drowned. Eleven ships were dismasted, others threw their guns overboard, and all returned in a very shattered condition to England, at a very unfavourable season of the year. In this manner ended the expedition to Louisbourg, more unfortunate to the nation than the preceding designs upon Rochefort; less disgraceful to the commanders, but equally the occasion of ridicule and triumph to our enemies. Indeed, the unhappy consequences of the political disputes at home, the instability of the administration, and the frequent revolutions in our councils, were strongly manifested by that languor infused into all our military operations, and general unsteadiness in our pursuits. Faction in the mother-country produced divisions and misconduct in the colonies. No ambition to signalize themselves appeared among the officers, from the uncertainty whether their services were to be rewarded or condemned. Their attachment to particular persons weakened the love they ought to have entertained for their country in general, and destroyed that spirit of enterprise, that firmness and resolution, which constitutes the commander, and without which the best capacity, joined to the most uncorruptible integrity, can effect nothing.

The French king not only exerted himself against the English in America, but even extended his operations to their settlements in Africa, which he sent one of his naval com-

manders, with a small squadron, to reduce. This gentleman, whose name was Kersin, had scoured the coast of Guinea, and made prize of several English trading ships: but his chief aim was to reduce the castle at Cape-coast, of which, had he gained possession, the other subordinate forts would have submitted without opposition. When Mr. Bell, the governor of this castle, received intelligence that M. de Kersin was a few leagues to windward, and certainly intended to attack Cape-coast, his whole garrison did not exceed thirty white men, exclusive of a few mulatto soldiers: his stock of ammunition was reduced to half a barrel of gunpowder; and his fortifications were so crazy and inconsiderable, that, in the opinion of the best engineers, they could not have sustained for twenty minutes the fire of one great ship, had it been properly directed and maintained. In these circumstances, few people would have dreamed of making any preparation for defence; but Mr. Bell entertained other sentiments, and acquitted himself with equal courage and discretion. He forthwith procured a supply of gunpowder, and a reinforcement of about fifty men from certain trading vessels that happened to be upon that part of the coast. He mounted some spare cannon upon an occasional battery, and assembling a body of twelve hundred negroes, well armed, under the command of their chief, on whose attachment he could depend, he ordered them to take post at the place where he apprehended the enemy would attempt a landing. These precautions were hardly taken, when the French squadron, consisting of two ships of the line and a large frigate, appeared, and in a little time their attack began; but they met with such a warm reception, that in less than two hours they desisted, leaving the castle very little damaged, and immediately made sail for the West Indies, very much to the disappointment and mortification of the Dutch officers belonging to the fort of Elmina, in the same neighbourhood; who made no scruple of expressing their wishes publicly in favour of the French commodore, and at a distance viewed the engagement with the most partial eagerness and impatience. M. de Kersin was generally blamed for his want of conduct and resolution in this attempt: but he is said to have been deceived in his opinion of the real state of Cape-coast castle, by the vigorous and resolute exertions of the governor, and was apprehensive of losing a mast in the engagement; a loss which he could not have

repaired on the whole coast of Africa. Had the fort of Cape-coast been reduced on this occasion, in all probability every petty republic of the negroes, settled under the protection of the forts on the Gold-coast, would have revolted from the British interest; for while the French squadron, in their progress along shore, hovered in the offing at Annamaboe, an English settlement a few leagues to leeward of Cape-coast, John Corrantee, the caboceiro, chief magistrate and general of the blacks on that part of the coast, whose adopted son had a few years before been caressed, and even treated as a prince in England, taking it for granted that this enterprise of the French would be attended with success, actually sent some of his dependants with a present of refreshments for their commodore; the delivery of which, however, was prevented by Mr. Brew, the English chief of the fort, who shattered in pieces the canoe before it could be launched, and threatened with his cannon to level the black town with the dust. The caboceiro, though thus anticipated in his design, resolved to be among the first who should compliment M. de Kersin on his victory at Cape-coast; and, with this view, prepared an embassy or deputation to go there by land; but understanding that the French had failed in their attempt, he shifted his design, without the least hesitation, and despatched the same embassy to Mr. Bell, whom he congratulated on his victory, assuring him he had kept his men ready armed to march at the first summons to his assistance.

In the East Indies the scene was changed greatly to the honour and advantage of Great Britain. There the commanders acted with that harmony, spirit, and unanimity becoming Britons, zealous for the credit of their king and the interest of their country. We left Admiral Watson and Colonel Clive advancing to Calcutta, to revenge the cruel tragedy acted upon their countrymen the preceding year. On the twenty-eighth of December, the fleet proceeded up the river; next day Colonel Clive landed, and, with the assistance of the squadron, in twenty-four hours made himself master of Busbudgia, a place of great strength, though very ill defended. On the first of January, the admiral, with two ships, appeared before the town of Calcutta, and was received by a brisk fire from the batteries. This salute was returned so warmly, that the enemy's guns were soon

State of
affairs in
the East
Indies.
Calcutta
recovered.
The sub's
camp forced,
and a new
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cluded with
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silenced, and in less than two hours the place and fort were abandoned. Colonel Clive, on the other side, had invested the town, and made his attack with that vigour and intrepidity peculiar to himself, which greatly contributed to the sudden reduction of the settlement. As soon as the fort was surrendered, the brave and active Captain Coote, with his majesty's troops, took possession, and found ninety-one pieces of cannon, four mortars, abundance of ammunition, stores, and provisions, with every requisite for sustaining an obstinate siege. Thus the English were re-established in the two strongest fortresses in the Ganges, with the inconsiderable loss of nine seamen killed, and three soldiers. A few days after, Hughley, a city of great trade, situated higher up the river, was reduced with as little difficulty, but infinitely greater prejudice to the nabob, as here the storehouses of salt, and vast granaries for the support of his army, were burnt and destroyed. Incensed at the almost instantaneous loss of all his conquests, and demolition of the city of Hughley, the viceroy of Bengal discouraged all advances to an accommodation, which was proposed by the admiral and chiefs of the company, and assembled an army of twenty thousand horse, and fifteen thousand foot, fully resolved to expel the English out of his dominions, and take ample vengeance for the disgraces he had lately sustained. He was seen marching by the English camp in his way to Calcutta on the second of February, where he encamped about a mile from the town. Colonel Clive immediately made application to the admiral for a reinforcement, and six hundred men, under the command of Captain Warwick, were accordingly drafted from the different ships, and sent to assist his little army. Clive drew out his forces, advanced in three columns towards the enemy, and began the attack so vigorously, that the viceroy retreated, after a feeble resistance, with the loss of a thousand men killed, wounded, and taken prisoners, five hundred horses, a great number of draft bullocks, and four elephants. Though this advantage was less decisive than could be wished, yet it sufficiently intimidated the nabob into concessions much to the honour and advantage of the company. Admiral Watson gave him to understand in a letter, that this was no more than a specimen of what the British arms, when provoked, could perform. The suba desired the negotiation might be renewed, and in a few days the treaty was concluded. He

promised not to disturb the English in any of those privileges or possessions specified in the firman granted by the mogul: that all merchandise belonging to the company should pass and repass, in every part of the province of Bengal, free of duty: that all the English factories seized the preceding year, or since, should be restored, with the money, goods, and effects appertaining: that all damages sustained by the English should be repaired, and their losses repaid: that the English should have liberty to fortify Calcutta in whatever manner they thought proper without interruption: that they should have the liberty of coining all the gold and bullion they imported, which should pass current in the province: that he would remain in strict friendship and alliance with the English, use his utmost endeavours to heal up the late divisions, and restore the former good understanding between them. All which several articles were solemnly signed and sealed with the nabob's own hand.

Such were the terms obtained for the company, by the spirit and gallant conduct of the two English commanders. They had, however, too much discernment to rely on the promises of a barbarian, who had so perfidiously broke former engagements; but they prudently dissembled their sentiments, until they had thoroughly reinstated the affairs of the company, and reduced the French power in this province. In order to adjust the points that required discussion, the select committee for the company's affairs appointed Mr. Watts, who had been released from his former imprisonment, as their commissary at the court of the suba, to whom he was personally known, as well as to his ministers, among whom he had acquired a considerable influence. Nothing less could have balanced the interest which the French, by their art of intriguing, had raised among the favourites of the viceroy. While Mr. Watts was employed at Muxadavad, in counterworking those intrigues, and keeping the suba steady to his engagements, the admiral and Mr. Clive resolved to avail themselves of their armament in attacking the French settlements in Bengal. The chief object of their designs was the reduction of Chandernagore, situated higher up the river than Calcutta, of considerable strength, and the chief in importance of any possessed by that nation in the bay. Colonel Clive, being reinforced by three hundred men from Bombay, began

Reduction
of Chandernagore.

his march to Chandernagore, at the head of seven hundred Europeans and one thousand six hundred Indians, where, on his first arrival, he took possession of all the out-posts, except one redoubt mounted with eight pieces of cannon, which he left to be silenced by the admiral. On the 18th of March, the admirals, Watson and Pococke, arrived within two miles of the French settlement, with the Kent, Tiger, and Salisbury men of war, and found their passage obstructed by booms laid across the river, and several vessels sunk in the channel. These difficulties being removed, they advanced early on the twenty-fourth, and drew up in a line before the fort, which they battered with great fury for three hours; while Colonel Clive was making his approaches on the land side, and playing vigorously from the batteries he had raised. Their united efforts soon obliged the enemy to submission. A flag of truce was waved over the walls, and the place surrendered by capitulation. The keys were delivered to Captain Latham, of the Tiger; and in the afternoon Colonel Clive, with the king's troops, took possession. Thus the reduction of a strong fortress, garrisoned by five hundred Europeans, and one thousand two hundred Indians, defended by one hundred and twenty-three pieces of cannon and three mortars, well provided with all kinds of stores and necessaries, and of very great importance to the enemy's commerce in India, was accomplished with a loss not exceeding forty men on the side of the conquerors. By the treaty of capitulation, the director, counsellors, and inferior servants of the settlement, were allowed to depart with their wearing apparel: the Jesuits were permitted to take away their church ornaments, and the natives to remain in the full exertion of their liberties; but the garrison were to continue prisoners of war. The goods and money found in the place were considerable; but the principal advantage arose from the ruin of the head-settlement of the enemy on the Ganges, which could not but interfere with the English commerce in these parts.

Success had hitherto attended all the operations of the British commanders, because they were concerted with foresight and unanimity; and executed with that vigour and spirit which deservedly raised them high in the esteem of their country. They reduced the nabob to reasonable terms of accommodation before they alarmed the French; and now

Colonel
Clive de-
feats the
nabob at
Plassey,
who is
afterwards
deposed and
put to death.

the power of the latter was destroyed, they entered upon measures to oblige the treacherous viceroy to a strict performance of the treaty he had so lately signed. However specious his promises were, they found him extremely dilatory in the execution of several articles of the treaty, which, in effect, was the same to the English commerce as if none had been concluded. The company's goods were loaded with high duties, and several other infractions of the peace committed, upon such frivolous pretences, as evidently demonstrated that he sought to come to an open rupture as soon as his projects were ripe for execution. In a word, he discovered all along a manifest partiality to the French, whose emissaries cajoled him with promises that he should be joined by such a body of their European troops, under M. de Bussy, as would enable him to crush the power of the English, whom they had taught him to fear and to hate. As recommencing hostilities against so powerful a prince was in itself dangerous, and, if possible, to be avoided, the affair was laid before the council of Calcutta, and canvassed with all the circumspection and caution that a measure required, on which depended the fate of the whole trade of Bengal. Mr. Watts, from time to time, sent them intelligence of every transaction in the suba's cabinet; and although that prince publicly declared he would cause him to be impaled as soon as the English troops should be put in motion within the kingdom of Bengal, he bravely sacrificed his own safety to the interest of the company, and exhorted them to proceed with vigour in their military operations. During these deliberations a most fortunate incident occurred, that soon determined the council to come to an open rupture. The leading persons in the viceroy's court found themselves oppressed by his haughtiness and insolence. The same spirit of discontent appeared among the principal officers of his army; they were well acquainted with his perfidy, saw his preparations for war, and were sensible that the peace of the country could never be restored, unless either the English were expelled, or the nabob deposed. In consequence, a plan was concerted for divesting him of all his power; and the conspiracy was conducted by Jaffier Ali Khan, his prime minister and chief commander, a nobleman of great influence and authority in the province. The project was communicated by Ali Khan to Mr. Watts, and so improved by the address of that gentleman as in a manner to ensure success.

A treaty was actually concluded between this Meer Jaffier Ali Khan and the English company; and a plan concerted with this nobleman and the other malecontents for their defection from the viceroy. These previous measures being taken, Colonel Clive was ordered to take the field with his little army. Admiral Watson undertook the defence of Chandernagore; and the garrison was detached to reinforce the colonel, together with fifty seamen to be employed as gunners, and in directing the artillery. Then Mr. Watts, deceiving the suba's spies, by whom he was surrounded, withdrew himself from Muxadavad, and reached the English camp in safety. On the nineteenth of June, a detachment was sent to attack Cutwa fort and town, situated on that branch of the river forming the island of Cassimbuzar. This place surrendered at the first summons; and here the colonel halted with the army for three days, expecting advices from Ali Khan. Disappointed of the hoped-for intelligence, he crossed the river, and marched to Plaissey, where he encamped. On the twenty-third, at daybreak, the suba advanced to attack him, at the head of fifteen thousand horse, and near thirty thousand infantry, with about forty pieces of heavy cannon, conducted and managed by French gunners, on whose courage and dexterity he placed great dependence. They began to cannonade the English camp about six in the morning; but a severe shower falling at noon, they withdrew their artillery. Colonel Clive seized this opportunity to take possession of a tank and two other posts of consequence, which they in vain endeavoured to retake. Then he stormed an angle of their camp, covered with a double breastwork, together with an eminence which they occupied. At the beginning of this attack, some of their chiefs being slain, the men were so dispirited that they soon gave way; but still Meer Jaffier Ali Khan, who commanded the left wing, forbore declaring himself openly. After a short contest the enemy were put to flight, the nabob's camp, baggage, and fifty pieces of cannon were taken, and a most complete victory obtained. The colonel, pursuing his advantage, marched to Muxadavad, the capital of the province, and was there joined by Ali Khan and the malecontents. It was before concerted, that this nobleman should be invested with the dignity of nabob; accordingly, the colonel proceeded solemnly to depose Surajah Dowlat, and with the same ceremony to substitute Ali Khan in his room, who was publicly

acknowledged by the people as suba, or viceroy, of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixá. Soon after, the late viceroy was taken, and put to death by his successor, who readily complied with all the conditions of his elevation. He conferred on his allies very liberal rewards, and granted the company such extraordinary privileges as fully demonstrated how justly he merited their assistance. By this alliance, and the reduction of Chandernagore, the French were entirely excluded the commerce of Bengal and its dependencies; the trade of the English company was restored, and increased beyond their most sanguine hopes; a new ally was acquired, whose interest obliged him to remain firm to his engagements; a vast sum was paid to the company and the sufferers at Calcutta, to indemnify them for their losses; the soldiers and seamen were gratified with six hundred thousand pounds as a reward for the courage and intrepidity they exerted; and a variety of other advantages gained, which it would be unnecessary to enumerate. In a word, in the space of fourteen days a great revolution was effected, and the government of a vast country, superior in wealth, fertility, extent, and number of inhabitants, to most European kingdoms, transferred by a handful of troops, conducted by an officer untutored in the art of war, and a general rather by intuition than instruction and experience. But the public joy at these signal successes was considerably diminished by the death of Admiral Watson, and the loss of Vizagapatam, an English settlement on the Coromandel coast. The admiral fell a victim to the unwholesomeness of the climate, on the sixteenth of August, universally esteemed and regretted; and the factory and fort at Vizagapatam were surrendered to the French a few days after Colonel Clive had defeated the nabob.

We now turn our eyes to the continent of Europe, where we see the beginning of the year marked with a striking instance of the dreadful effects of frantic enthusiasm. France had long enjoyed a monarch, easy, complying, good-natured, and averse to all that wore the appearance of business or war. Contented with the pleasures of indolence, he sought no greatness beyond what he enjoyed, nor pursued any ambitious aim through the dictates of his own disposition. Of all men on earth, such a prince had the greatest reason to expect an exemption from plots against his person, and cabals among

King of
France
assassinated.
Tithues
inflicted on
the assassin.

his subjects; yet was an attempt made upon his life by a man, who, though placed in the lowest sphere of fortune, had resolution to face the greatest dangers, and enthusiasm sufficient to sustain, without shrinking, all the tortures which the cruelty of man could invent, or his crimes render necessary. The name of this fanatic was Robert Francis Damien, born in the suburb of St. Catherine, in the city of Arras. He had lived in the service of several families, whence he was generally dismissed on account of the impatience, the melancholy, and sullenness of his disposition. So humble was the station of a person, who was resolved to step forth from obscurity, and, by one desperate effort, draw upon himself the attention of all Europe. On the fifth day of January, as the king was stepping into his coach, to return to Trianon, whence he had that day come to Versailles, Damien, mingling among his attendants, stabbed him with a knife on the right side, between the fourth and fifth ribs. His majesty, applying his hand immediately to his side, cried out, "I am wounded! Seize him; but do not hurt him." Happily, the wound was not dangerous; as the knife, taking an oblique direction, missed the vital parts. As for the assassin, he made no attempt to escape; but suffering himself quietly to be seized, was conveyed to the guard-room, where, being interrogated if he committed the horrid action, he boldly answered in the affirmative. A process against him was instantly commenced at Versailles: many persons, supposed accessories to the design upon the king's life, were sent to the Bastile; the assassin himself was put to the torture, and the most excruciating torments were applied, with intention to extort a confession of the reasons that could induce him to so execrable an attempt upon his sovereign. Incisions were made into the muscular parts of his legs, arms, and thighs, into which boiling oil was poured. Every refinement on cruelty that human invention could suggest was practised without effect; nothing could overcome his obstinacy; and his silence was construed into a presumption that he must have had accomplices in the plot. To render his punishment more public and conspicuous, he was removed to Paris, there to undergo a repetition of all his former tortures, with such additional circumstances as the most fertile and cruel dispositions could devise for increasing his misery and torment. Being conducted to the Conciergerie, an iron bed, which likewise

served for a chair, was prepared for him, and to this he was fastened with chains. The torture was again applied, and a physician ordered to attend to see what degree of pain he could support. Nothing, however, material was extorted; for what he one moment confessed, he recanted the next. It is not within our province (and we consider it as a felicity) to relate all the circumstances of this cruel and tragical event. Sufficient it is, that, after suffering the most exquisite torments that human nature could invent, or man support, his judges thought proper to terminate his misery by a death shocking to imagination, and shameful to humanity. On the twenty-eighth day of March he was conducted, amidst a vast concourse of the populace, to the Grève, the common place of execution, stripped naked, and fastened to the scaffold by iron gyves. One of his hands was then burnt in liquid flaming sulphur; his thighs, legs, and arms, were torn with red-hot pincers; boiling oil, melted lead, resin, and sulphur, were poured into the wounds; tight ligatures tied round his limbs to prepare him for dismemberment; young and vigorous horses applied to the draft, and the unhappy criminal pulled, with all their force, to the utmost extension of his sinews, for the space of an hour; during all which time he preserved his senses and constancy. At length the physician and surgeon attending declared it would be impossible to accomplish the dismemberment unless the tendons were separated; upon which orders were given to the executioner to cut the sinews at the joints of the arms and legs. The horses drew afresh: a thigh and an arm were separated, and after several pulls, the unfortunate wretch expired under the extremity of pain. His body and limbs were reduced to ashes under the scaffold; his father, wife, daughter, and family, banished the kingdom for ever; the name of Damien effaced and obliterated, and the innocent involved in the punishment of the guilty. Thus ended the procedure against Damien and his family, in a manner not very favourable to the avowed clemency of Louis, or the acknowledged humanity of the French nation. It appeared from undoubted evidence that the attempt on the king's life was the result of insanity, and a disturbed imagination. Several instances of a disordered mind had before been observed in his conduct, and the detestation justly due to the enormity of his crime ought now to have been absorbed in the con-

sideration of his misfortune, the greatest that can befall human nature.

Another remarkable event in France, in the beginning of this year, was the change in the ministry of that nation, by the removal of M. de Machoult, keeper of the seals, from the post of secretary of state for the marine; and of M. d'Argenson from that of secretary at war. Their dismissal was sudden and unexpected; nor was any particular reason assigned for this very unexpected alteration. The French king, to show the Queen of Hungary how judiciously she had acted in forming an alliance with the house of Bourbon, raised two great armies; the first of which, composed of nearly eighty thousand men, the flower of the French troops, with a large train of artillery, was commanded by M. d'Etrées, a general of great reputation; under whom served M. de Contades, M. Chevert, and the Count de St. Germain, all officers of high character. This formidable army passed the Rhine early in the spring, and marched by Westphalia, in order to invade the King of Prussia's dominions, in quality of allies to the empress-queen, and guardians of the liberties of the empire. But their real view was to invade Hanover, a scheme which they knew would make a powerful diversion of the British force from the prosecution of the war in other parts of the world, where the strength of France could not be fully exerted, and where their most valuable interests were at stake. They flattered themselves, moreover, that the same blow, by which they hoped to crush the King of Prussia, might likewise force his Britannic majesty into some concessions with regard to America. The other army of the French, commanded by the Prince de Soubise, was destined to strengthen the imperial army of execution, consisting of twenty-five thousand men, besides six thousand Bavarians, and four thousand Wirtembergers. But before these troops, under Soubise, passed the Rhine, they made themselves masters of several places belonging to the King of Prussia upon the borders of the Low Countries;* whilst a detachment from d'Etrées's army seized upon the town of Embden, and whatever else belonged to the same monarch in East-Friesland.

At the close of the last campaign, the King of Prussia

* The King of Prussia had withdrawn his garrison from Cleves, not without suspicion of having purposely left this door open to the enemy, that their irruption into Germany might hasten the resolutions of the British ministry.

having gained a petty advantage over the imperialists under the command of Mareschal Brown, and incorporated into his own troops a great part of the Saxon army taken prisoners at Pirna, as was observed before, retired into winter quarters until the season should permit him to improve these advantages. His majesty and Mareschal Keith wintered in Saxony, having their cantonments between Pirna and the frontier along the Elbe : and Mareschal Schwerin, returning into Silesia, took up his quarters in the country of Glatz. In the mean time, the empress-queen, finding the force which she had sent out against the King of Prussia was not sufficient to prevent his designs, made the necessary requisitions to her allies for the auxiliaries they had engaged to furnish. In consequence of these requisitions, the czarina, true to her engagements, despatched above a hundred thousand of her troops, who began their march in the month of November, and proceeded to the borders of Lithuania, with design particularly to invade Ducal Prussia, whilst a strong fleet was equipped in the Baltic, to aid the operations of this numerous army. The Austrian army, assembled in Bohemia, amounted to upwards of fourscore thousand men, commanded by Prince Charles of Lorraine and Mareschal Brown. The Swedes had not yet openly declared themselves ; but it was well known, that though their king was allied in blood and inclination to his Prussian majesty, yet the jealousy which the senate of Sweden entertained of their sovereign, and the hope of recovering their ancient possessions in Pomerania, by means of the present troubles, together with their old attachment to France, newly cemented by intrigues and subsidies, would certainly induce them to join the general confederacy. The Duke of Mecklenbourg took the same party, and agreed to join the Swedish army, when it should be assembled, with six thousand men. Besides all these preparations against the King of Prussia, he was, in his quality of Elector of Brandenburg, put under the ban of the empire by the Aulic council ; declared deprived of all his rights, privileges, and prerogatives ; his fiefs were escheated into the exchequer of the empire ; and all the circles accordingly ordered to furnish their respective contingencies for putting this sentence in execution.

State of the
confederacy
against the
King of
Prussia.

In this dangerous situation, thus menaced on all sides, and seemingly on the very brink of inevitable destruction, the

Prussian monarch owed his preservation to his own courage and activity. The Russians, knowing that the country they were to pass through on their way to Lithuania would not be able to subsist their prodigious numbers, had taken care to furnish themselves with provisions for their march, depending upon the resources they expected to find in Lithuania after their arrival in that country. These provisions were exhausted by the time they reached the borders of that province, where they found themselves suddenly and unexpectedly destitute of subsistence, either to return back or to proceed forward. The King of Prussia had, with great prudence and foresight, secured plenty to himself, and distress and famine to his enemies, by buying up all the corn and forage of the country which these last were entering. Notwithstanding these precautions, his Prussian majesty, to guard as much as could be against every possible event, sent a great number of gunners and matrosses from Pomerania to Memel, with three regiments of his troops, to reinforce the garrison of that place. He visited all the posts which his troops possessed in Silesia, and gave the necessary orders for their security. He repaired to Niess, where he settled with Mareschal Schwerin the general plan of the operations of the approaching campaign. There it was agreed that the mareschal's army in Silesia, which consisted of fifty thousand men, should have in constant view the motions of the royal army, by which its own were to be regulated, that they might both act in concert, as circumstances should require. At the same time, other armies were assembled by the King of Prussia in Lusatia and Voigtland; twenty thousand men were collected at Zwickaw, on the frontiers of Bohemia, towards Egra, under the command of Prince Maurice of Anhalt-Dessau; and sixty thousand chosen troops began their march towards Great-Zeidnitz, where their headquarters were settled. In the mean while, the Austrian troops began to form on the frontiers of Saxony, where some of their detachments appeared, to watch the motions of the Prussians, who still continued to pursue their operations with great activity and resolution. All possible care was taken by the Prussians at Dresden to secure a retreat, in case of a defeat. As only one regiment of Prussians could be spared to remain there in garrison, the burghers were disarmed, their arms deposited in the arsenal, and a detachment was

posted at Konigstein, to oblige that fortress to observe a strict neutrality. All correspondence with the enemy was strictly prohibited; and it having been discovered that the Countess of Ogilvie, one of the queen's maids of honour, had disobeyed his majesty's commands, she was arrested; but, on the queen's intercession, afterwards released. The Countess of Bruhl, lady of the Saxon prime minister, was also arrested by his Prussian majesty's order; and, on her making light of her confinement, and resolving to see company, she was ordered to quit the court, and retire from Saxony. M. Henwin, the French minister, was told that his presence was unnecessary at Dresden; and on his replying that his master had commanded him to stay, he was again desired to depart; on which he thought proper to obey. The Count de Wackerbath, minister of the cabinet, and grand master of the household of the Prince Royal of Poland, was arrested, and conducted to Custrin, by the express command of his majesty. The King of Prussia, having thrown two bridges over the Elbe early in the spring, ordered the several districts of the electorate of Saxony to supply him with a great number of waggons, each drawn by four horses. The circles of Misnia and Leipsic were enjoined to furnish four hundred each, and the other circles in proportion.

While the King of Prussia was taking these measures in Saxony, two skirmishes happened on the frontiers of Bohemia, between his troops and the Austrians. On the twentieth of February, a body of six thousand Austrians surrounded the little town of Hirschfeld, in Upper Lusatia, garrisoned by a battalion of Prussian foot. The first attack was made at four in the morning, on two redoubts without the gates, each of which was defended by two field-pieces; and though the Austrians were several times repulsed, they at last made themselves masters of one of the redoubts, and carried off the two pieces of cannon. In their retreat they were pursued by the Prussians, who fell upon their rear, killed some, and took many prisoners: this affair cost the Austrians at least five hundred men. About a fortnight after, the Prince of Bevern marched out of Zittau, with a body of near nine thousand men, in order to destroy the remaining strongholds possessed by the Austrians on the frontiers. In this expedition he took the Austrian magazine at Friedland in Bohemia, consisting of nine thousand sacks of meal, and great store of ammunition; and, after making

Skirmishes
between
the Prus-
sians and
Austrians.

himself master of Reichenberg, he returned to Zittau. The van of his troops, consisting of a hundred and fifty hussars of the regiment of Putkammer, met with a body of six hundred Croats, sustained by two hundred Austrian dragoons of Bathiania, at their entering Bohemia; and immediately fell upon them sword in hand, killed about fifty, took thirty horses, and made ten dragoons prisoners. The Prussians, it is said, did not lose a single man on this occasion; and two soldiers only were slightly wounded, the Austrians having made but a slight resistance.

Whatever the conduct of the court of Vienna might have been to the allies of Great Britain, still, however, proper regard was shown to the subjects of this crown; for an edict was published at Florence on the thirteenth of February, wherein his imperial majesty, as Grand Duke of Tuscany, declared his intention of observing the most scrupulous neutrality in the then situation of affairs. All the ports in that duchy were accordingly enjoined to pay a strict regard to this declaration, in all cases relating to the French or English ships in the Mediterranean. The good effects of this injunction soon appeared; for two prizes taken by the English having put into Porto Ferraro, the captains of two French privateers addressed themselves to the governor, alleging, that they were captures of a pirate, and requesting that they might be obliged to put to sea: but the governor prudently replied, that, as they came in under English colours, he would protect them; and forbid the privateers, at their peril, to commit any violence. They, however, little regarding the governor's orders, prepared for sailing, and sent their boats to cut out one of the prizes. The captain, firing at their boats, killed one of their men, which alarming the sentinels, notice was sent to the governor; and he, in consequence, ordered the two privateers immediately to depart. The conduct of the Dutch was rather cautious than spirited. Whilst his Prussian majesty was employed on the side of Bohemia and Saxony, the French auxiliaries began their march to harass his defenceless territories in the neighbourhood of the Low Countries. A free passage was demanded of the States-General through Namur and Maestricht, for the provisions, ammunition, and artillery belonging to this new army; and though the English ambassador remonstrated against their compliance, and represented it as a breach of the neutrality their high might-

Neutrality
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nesses declared they would observe, yet, after some hesitation, the demand was granted; and their inability to prevent the passage of the French troops, should it be attempted by force, pleaded in excuse of their conduct.

Scarcely had the French army, commanded by the Prince de Soubise, set foot in the territories of Juliers and Cologne, when they found themselves in possession of the duchy of Cleves and the country of Marck, where all things were left open to them, the Prussians who evacuated their posts, taking their route along the river Lippe, in order to join some regiments from Magdebourg, who were sent to facilitate their retreat. The distressed inhabitants, thus exposed to the calamities of war from an unprovoked enemy, were instantly ordered to furnish contributions, forage, and provisions for the use of their invaders; and, what was still more terrifying to them, the partisan Fischer, whose cruelties, the last war, they still remembered with horror, was again let loose upon them by the inhumanity of the empress-queen. Wesel was immediately occupied by the French; Emmerick and Maseyk soon shared the same fate; and the city of Gueldres was besieged, the Prussians seeming resolved to defend this last place: to which end they opened the sluices, and laid the country under water. Those who retreated, filing off to the north-west of Paderborn, entered the country of Ritberg, the property of Count Caunitz Ritberg, great chancellor to the empress-queen. After taking his castle, in which they found thirty pieces of cannon, they raised contributions in the district, to the amount of forty thousand crowns. As the Prussians retired, the French took possession of the country they quitted in the name of the empress-queen, whose commissary attended them for that purpose. The general rendezvous of these troops, under Prince Soubise, was appointed at Neuss, in the electorate of Cologne, where a large body of French was assembled by the first of April. The Austrians, in their turn, were not idle. Mareschal Brown visited the fortifications of Brinn and Koningsgratz; reviewed the army of the late Prince Piccolomini, now under the command of General Serbelloni; and put his own army in march for Kostlitz on the Elbe, where he proposed to establish his head-quarters.

The French take possession of several towns in the Low Countries, belonging to the king of Prussia.

During the recess of the armies, while the rigours of winter forced them to suspend their hostile operations, and the

greatest preparations were making to open the campaign with all possible vigour, Count Bestucheff, Great Chancellor of Russia, wrote a circular letter to the primate, senators, and ministers of the republic of Poland, setting forth, "that the Empress of Russia was extremely affected with the King of Poland's distress, which she thought could not but excite the compassion of all other powers, but more especially of his allies: that the fatal consequences which might result from the rash step taken by the King of Prussia, not only with respect to the tranquillity of Europe in general, but of each power in particular, and more especially of the neighbouring countries, were so evident, that the interest and safety of the several princes rendered it absolutely necessary they should make it a common cause; not only to obtain proper satisfaction for those courts whose dominions had been so unjustly attacked, but likewise to prescribe such bounds to the King of Prussia, as might secure them from any future apprehensions from so enterprising and restless a neighbour; that with this view, the empress was determined to assist the King of Poland with a considerable body of troops, which were actually upon their march,^b under the command of General Apraxin; and that, as there would be an absolute necessity for their marching through part of the territories of Poland, her imperial majesty hoped the republic would not fail to facilitate their march as much as possible. She further recommended to the republic, to take some salutary measures for frustrating the designs of the King of Prussia, and restoring harmony among themselves as the most conducive measure to these good purposes. In this, however, the Poles were so far from following her advice, that, though sure of being sacrificed in this contest, which side soever prevailed, they divided into parties with no less zeal, than if they had as much to hope from the prevalence of one side, as to fear from that of the other. Some of the Palatines were for denying a passage to the Russians, and others were for affording them the utmost assistance in their power. With this cause of contention, others of a more private nature fatally concurred, by means of a misunderstanding between the Prince Czartorinski and Count Mnisczec. Almost every inhabitant of Warsaw was

^b This letter was written in December, and the Russians, as we observed before, began their march in November.

involved in the quarrel; and the violence of these factions was so great, that scarce a night passed without bloodshed; many dead bodies, chiefly Saxons, being found in the streets every morning.

In the mean time, Great Britain, unsettled in her ministry and councils at home, unsuccessful in her attempts abroad, judging peace, if it could be obtained on just and honourable terms, more eligible than a continental war, proposed several expedients to the empress-queen for restoring the tranquillity of Germany; but her answer was, "That, whenever she perceived that the expedients proposed would indemnify her for the extraordinary expenses she had incurred in her own defence, repair the heavy losses sustained by her ally the King of Poland, and afford a proper security for their future safety, she would be ready to give the same proofs she had always given of her desire to restore peace; but it could not be expected she should listen to expedients, of which the King of Prussia was to reap the whole advantage, after having begun the war, and wasted the dominions of a prince, who relied for his security upon the faith of treaties, and the appearance of harmony between them." Upon the receipt of this answer, the court of London made several proposals to the czarina, to interpose as mediatrix between the courts of Vienna and Berlin; but they were rejected with marks of displeasure and resentment. When Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, the British ambassador, continued to urge his solicitations very strongly, and even with some hints of menaces, an answer was delivered to him by order of the empress, purporting, "That her imperial majesty was astonished at his demand, after he had already been made acquainted with the measures she had taken to effect a reconciliation between the courts of Vienna and Berlin. He might easily conceive, as matters were then situated, that the earnestness with which he now urged the same proposition must necessarily surprise her imperial majesty, as it showed but little regard to her former declaration. The empress, therefore, commanded his excellency to be told, that, as her intentions contained in her first answer remained absolutely invariable, no ulterior propositions for a mediation would be listened to; and that, as for the menaces made use of by his excellency, and particularly that the King of Prussia himself would soon attack the Russian army, such threats served only to weaken the am-

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bassador's proposals ; to confirm still more, were it possible, the empress in her resolutions ; to justify them to the whole world ; and to render the King of Prussia more blamable."

The season now drawing on in which the troops of the contending powers would be able to take the field, and the alarming progress of the Russians being happily stopped, his Prussian majesty, whose maxim it has always been to keep the seat of war as far as possible from his own dominions, resolved to carry it into Bohemia, and there to attack the Austrians on all sides. To this end he ordered his armies in Saxony, Misnia, Lusatia, and Silesia, to enter Bohemia in four different and opposite places, nearly at the same time. The first of these he commanded in person, assisted by Mareschal Keith ; the second was led by Prince Maurice of Anhalt-Dessau, the third by Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick-Bevern, and the fourth by Mareschal Schwerin. In consequence of this plan, Mareschal Schwerin's army entered Bohemia on the eighteenth of April, in five columns at as many different places. The design was so well concerted, that the Austrians had not the least suspicion of their approach till they were past the frontiers, and then they filled the dangerous defile of Gulder-Oelse with pandours, to dispute that passage ; but they were no sooner discovered, than two battalions of Prussian grenadiers attacked them with their bayonets fixed, and routed them. The Prince of Anhalt passed the frontiers from Misnia, and penetrated into Bohemia on the twenty-first of April without any resistance. The Prince of Bevern, on the twentieth of the same month, having marched at the head of a body of the army, which was in Lusatia, from the quarters of cantonment near Zittau, possessed himself immediately of the first post on the frontier of Bohemia, at Krouttau and Grasenstein, without the loss of a single man ; drove away the enemy the same day from Kratzen, and proceeded to Machendorf, near Reichenberg. The same morning Putkammer's hussars, who formed part of a corps, commanded by a colonel and major, routed some hundreds of the enemy's cuirassiers, posted before Cohlín, under the conduct of Prince Lichtenstein, took three officers and upwards of sixty horse prisoners, and so dispersed the rest, that they were scarcely able to rally near Kratzen. Night coming on, obliged the troops to remain in the open air till the next morning, when, at break of day, the Prus-

King of
Prussia
enters Bo-
hemia
Prince of
Bevern de-
feats the
Austrians
at Reichen-
berg.

sians marched in two columns by Habendorf, towards the enemy's army, amounting to twenty-eight thousand men, commanded by Count Königseg, and posted near Reichenberg. As soon as the troops were formed, they advanced towards the enemy's cavalry, drawn up in three lines of about thirty squadrons. The two wings were sustained by the infantry, which was posted among felled trees and intrenchments. The Prussians immediately cannonaded the enemy's cavalry, who received it with resolution, having on their right hand a village, and on their left a wood, where they had intrenched themselves. But the Prince of Bevern having caused fifteen squadrons of dragoons of the second line to advance, and the wood on his right to be attacked at the same time by the battalions of grenadiers of Kahlden and of Moellendorf, and by the regiment of the Prince of Prussia, his dragoons, who, by clearing the ground and possessing the intrenchment, had their flanks covered, entirely routed the enemy's cavalry. In the mean time Colonel Putkammer and Major Schenfeld, with their hussars, though flanked by the enemy's artillery, gave the Austrian horse-grenadiers a very warm reception, whilst General Lestewitz, with the left wing of the Prussians, attacked the redoubts that covered Reichenberg. Though there were many defiles and rising grounds to pass, all occupied by the Austrians, yet the regiment of Darmstadt forced the redoubt, and put to flight and pursued the enemy, after some discharge of their artillery and small arms, from one eminence to another, for the distance of a mile, when they left off the pursuit. The action began at half an hour after six, and continued till eleven. About one thousand of the Austrians were killed and wounded; among the former were General Porporati and Count Hohenfelds, and among the latter Prince Lichtenstein and Count Mansfeld. Twenty of their officers and four hundred soldiers were taken prisoners, and they also lost three standards. On the side of the Prussians seven subalterns, and about a hundred men, were killed, and sixteen officers and a hundred and fifty men wounded. After this battle Mareschal Schwerin joined the Prince of Bevern, made himself master of the greatest part of the circle of Buntzlau, and took a considerable magazine from the Austrians, whom he dislodged. The Prince of Anhalt-Dessau, with his corps, drew near the King of Prussia's army; then the latter advanced as far as Budin, from whence the Austrians, who had an

advantageous camp there, retired to Westwarn, half way between Budin and Prague; and his Prussian majesty having passed the Egra, his army and that of Mareschal Schwerin were so situated as to be able to act jointly.

These advantages were but a prelude to a much more decisive victory, which the king himself gained a few days after. Preparing to enter Bohemia, at a distance from any of the corps commanded by his generals, he made a movement as if he had intended to march towards Egra. The enemy, deceived by this feint, and imagining he was going to execute some design, distinct from the object of his other armies, detached a body of twenty thousand men to observe his motions; then he made a sudden and masterly movement to the left, by which he cut off all communication between that detachment and the main army of the Austrians, which having been reinforced by the army of Moravia, by the remains of the corps lately defeated by the Duke of Bevern, and by several regiments of the garrison of Prague, amounted to near a hundred thousand men. They were strongly intrenched on the banks of the Moldaw, to the north of Prague, in a camp so fortified by every advantage of nature, and every contrivance of art, as to be deemed almost impregnable. The left wing of the Austrians, thus situated, was guarded by the mountains of Ziscka, and the right extended as far as Herboholi: Prince Charles of Lorraine and Mareschal Brown, who commanded them, seemed determined to maintain this advantageous post; but the King of Prussia overlooked all difficulties. Having thrown several bridges over the Moldaw on the fifth of May, he passed that river on the morning of the sixth, with thirty thousand men, leaving the rest of the army under the command of the Prince of Anhalt-Dessau; and being immediately joined by the troops under Mareschal Schiwerin and the Prince of Bevern, resolved to attack the enemy on the same day. In consequence of this resolution, his army filed off on the left by Potschernitz; and at the same time Count Brown wheeled to the right, to avoid being flanked. The Prussians continued their march to Bichwitz, traversing several defiles and morasses, which for a little time separated the infantry from the rest of the army. The foot began to attack too precipitately, and were at first repulsed, but they soon recovered themselves. While the King of

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killed

Prussia took the enemy in flank, Mareschal Schwerin advanced to a marshy ground, which suddenly stopping his army, threatened to disconcert the whole plan of operation. In this emergency, he immediately dismounted, and taking the standard of the regiment in his hand, boldly entered the morass, crying out, "Let all brave Prussians follow me." Inspired by the example of this great commander, now eighty-two years of age, all the troops pressed forward, and though he was unfortunately killed by the first fire, their ardour abated not till they had totally defeated the enemy. Thus fell Mareschal Schwerin, loaded with years and glory, an officer whose superior talents in the military art had been displayed in a long course of faithful service. In the mean time, the Prussian infantry, which had been separated in the march, forming themselves afresh, renewed the attack on the enemy's right, and entirely broke it, while their cavalry, after three charges, obliged that of the Austrians to retire in great confusion, the centre being at the same time totally routed. The left wing of the Prussians then marched immediately towards Michely, and being there joined by the horse, renewed their attack, while the enemy were retreating hastily towards Saszawar. Meanwhile the troops on the right of the Prussian army attacked the remains of the left wing of the Austrians, and made themselves masters of three batteries. But the behaviour of the infantry in the last attack was so successful, as to leave little room for this part of the cavalry to act. Prince Henry of Prussia, and the Prince of Bevern, signalized themselves on this occasion in storming two batteries; Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick took the left wing of the Austrians in flank, while the king with his left, and a body of cavalry, secured the passage of the Moldaw. In short, after a very long and obstinate engagement, and many signal examples of valour on both sides, the Austrians were forced to abandon the field of battle, leaving behind sixty pieces of cannon, all their tents, baggage, military chest, and, in a word, their whole camp. The weight of the battle fell upon the right wing of the Austrians, the remains of which, to the amount of ten or twelve thousand men, fled towards Beneschau, where they afterwards assembled under M. Pretnach, general of horse. The infantry retired towards Prague, and threw themselves into that city with their commanders, Prince Charles of Lorraine and Mareschal Brown; but they were much harassed in

their retreat by a detachment of the Prussians under Mareschal Keith. The Prussians took, on this occasion, ten standards, and upwards of four thousand prisoners, thirty of whom were officers of rank. Their loss amounted to about two thousand five hundred killed, and about three thousand wounded. Among the former were General d'Amstel, the Prince of Holsteinbeck, the Colonels Goltze and Manstein, and Lieutenant-Colonel Roke. Among the latter, the Generals Wenterfield, De la Mothe, Feueque, Hautcharmoy, Blakensee, and Plettenberg. The number of the killed and wounded on the side of the Austrians was much greater. Among these last was Mareschal Brown, who received a wound, which, from the chagrin he suffered, rather than from its own nature, proved mortal. The day after the battle, Colonel Meyer was detached with a battalion of Prussian pandours, and four hundred hussars, to destroy a very considerable and valuable magazine of the Austrians at Pilsen, and this service he performed. He also completed the destruction of several others of less importance; by the loss of which, however, all possibility of subsistence was cut off from any succours the Austrians might have expected from the empire.

The Prussians, following their blow, immediately invested ^{Prague} Prague on both sides of the river, the king commanding on one side, and Mareschal Keith on the other. In four days the whole city was surrounded with lines and intrenchments, by which all communication from without was entirely cut off: Prince Charles of Lorraine and Mareschal Brown, the two Princes of Saxony, the Prince of Modena, the Duke d'Arcmburg, Count Lacy, and several other persons of great distinction, were shut up within the walls, together with above twenty thousand of the Austrian army, who had taken refuge in Prague after their defeat. Every thing continued quiet on both sides, scarce a cannon-shot being fired by either for some time after this blockade was formed; and in the mean while the Prussians made themselves masters of Cziscaberg, an eminence which commands the town, where the Austrians had a strong redoubt, continuing likewise to strengthen their works. Already they had made a sally, and taken some other ineffectual steps to recover this post; but a more decisive stroke was necessary. Accordingly, a design was formed of attacking the Prussian army in the night with a body of twelve thou-

sand men, to be sustained by all the grenadiers, volunteers, pandours, and Hungarian infantry. In case an impression could be made on the king's lines, it was intended to open a way, sword in hand, through the camp of the besiegers, and to ease Prague of the multitude of forces locked up useless within the walls, serving only to consume the provisions of the garrison, and hasten the surrender of the place. Happily a deserter gave the Prince of Prussia intelligence of the enemy's design about eleven o'clock at night. Proper measures were immediately taken for their reception, and in less than a quarter of an hour the whole army was under arms. This design was conducted with so much silence, that though the Prussians were warned of it, they could discover nothing before the enemy had charged their advanced posts. Their attack was begun on the side of the little town, against Mareschal Keith's camp, and the left wing of the Prussian army encamped on the Moldaw. From hence it is probable the Austrians proposed not only to destroy the batteries that were raising, but to attack the bridges of communication which the Prussians threw over the Moldaw, at about a quarter of a German mile above and below Prague, at Branig and Podbaba. The greatest alarm began about two o'clock, when the enemy hoped to have come silently and unexpectedly upon the miners, but they had left work about a quarter of an hour before. At the report of the first piece which they fired, the piquet of the third battalion of Prussian guards, to the number of a hundred men, who marched out of the camp to sustain the body which covered the works, was thrown into some confusion, from the darkness of the night, which prevented their distinguishing the Austrian troops from their own. Lieutenant Jork, detached with two platoons to reconnoitre the enemy, attempting to discover their disposition by kindling a fire, Captain Rodig, by the light of this fire, perceived the enemy's situation, immediately formed the design of falling upon them in flank, and gave orders to his men to fire in platoons, which they performed, mutually repeating the signal given by their commander. The enemy fled with the greater precipitation, as they were ignorant of the weakness of the piquet, and as the shouting of the Prussian soldiers made them mistake it for a numerous body. Many of them deserted, many took shelter in Prague, and many more were driven into the river and drowned. At the same

time this attack began, a regiment of horse-grenadiers fell upon a redoubt which the Prussians had thrown up, supported by the Hungarian infantry; they returned three times to the assault, and were as often beat back by the Prussians, whom they found it impossible to dislodge; though Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick's battalion, which guarded this post, suffered extremely. During this attack the enemy kept an incessant fire with their musketry upon the whole front of the Prussians, from the convent of St. Margaret to the river. At three in the morning the Prussians quitted their camp to engage the enemy. The battalion of Pannewitz attacked a building called the Red-house, situated at the bottom of the declivity before Wellastowitz. The pandours, who had taken possession of this house, fired upon them incessantly from all the doors and windows until they were dislodged; and the Prussian battalions were obliged to sustain the fire both of cannon and musketry for above two hours, when the enemy retired to the city, except the pandours, who again took possession of the Red-house, which the Prussians were forced to abandon, because the artillery of Prague kept a continual fire upon it from the moment it was known to be in their hands. The Austrians left behind them many dead and wounded, besides deserters; and the Prussians, notwithstanding the loss of several officers and private men, made some prisoners. Prince Ferdinand, the King of Prussia's youngest brother, had a horse killed under him, and was slightly wounded in the face.

The Prussian works being completed, and heavy artillery arrived, four batteries, erected on the banks of the Prague bombarded. Moldaw, began to play with great fury. Near Brave defence of the besieged. three hundred bombs, besides an infinity of ignited balls, were thrown into the city in the space of twenty-four hours. The scene was lamentable: houses, men, and horses, wrapped in flames, and reduced to ashes. The confusion within, together with the want of proper artillery and ammunition, obliged the Austrians to cease firing, and furnished his Prussian majesty with all the opportunity he could wish of pouring destruction upon this unfortunate city. The horrors of war seemed to have extinguished the principles of humanity. No regard was paid to the distress of the inhabitants; the Austrians obstinately maintained possession, and the Prussians practised every

stratagem, every barbarous refinement, that constitutes the military art, to oblige them to capitulate. After the conflagration had lasted three days, and consumed a prodigious number of buildings, the principal inhabitants, burghers, and clergy, perceiving their city on the point of being reduced to a heap of rubbish, besought the commander, in a body, to hearken to terms; but he was deaf to the voice of pity, and instead of being moved with their supplications, drove out twelve thousand persons, the least useful in defending the city. These, by order of his Prussian majesty, were again forced back, which soon produced so great a scarcity of provision within the walls, that the Austrians were reduced to the necessity of eating horse-flesh, forty horses being daily distributed to the troops, and the same food sold at four pence a pound to the inhabitants. However, as there still remained great abundance of corn, they were far from being brought to the last extremity. Two vigorous and well-conducted sallies were made, but they proved unsuccessful. The only advantage resulting from them was the perpetual alarm in which they kept the Prussian camp, and the vigilance required to guard against the attacks of a numerous, resolute, and desperate garrison.

Whatever difficulties might have attended the conquest of Prague, certain it is, that the affairs of the empress-queen were in the most critical and desperate situation. Her grand army dispersed in parties, and flying for subsistence in small corps; their princes and commanders cooped up in Prague; that capital in imminent danger of being taken; the flourishing kingdom of Bohemia ready to fall into the hands of the conqueror; a considerable army on the point of surrendering prisoners of war; all the queen's hereditary dominions open and exposed; the whole fertile tract of country from Egra to the Moldaw in actual possession of the Prussians; the distance to the archduchy of Austria not very considerable, and secured only by the Danube; Vienna under the utmost apprehensions of a siege, and the imperial family ready to take refuge in Hungary; the Prussian forces deemed invincible, and the sanguine friends of that monarch already sharing with him, in imagination, the spoils of the ancient and illustrious house of Austria. Such was the aspect of affairs, and such the difficulties to be combated, when Leopold, Count Daun, was appointed to the command of the Austrian forces, to stem

Count
Daun takes
the com-
mand of the
Austrian
army. His
character.

the torrent of disgrace, and turn the fortune of the war. This general, tutored by long experience under the best officers in Europe, and the particular favourite of the great Kevenhuller, was now, for the first time, raised to act in chief, at the head of an army, on which depended the fate of Austria and the empire. Born of a noble family, he relied solely upon his own merit, without soliciting court favour; he aspired after the highest preferment, and succeeded by mere dint of superior worth. His progress from the station of a subaltern was slow and silent; his promotion to the chief command was received with universal esteem and applause. Cautious, steady, penetrating, and sagacious, he was opposed as another Fabius to the modern Hannibal, to check the fire and vigour of that monarch by prudent foresight and wary circumspection. Arriving at Böemischbrod, within a few miles of Prague, the day after the late defeat, he halted to collect the fugitive corps and broken remains of the Austrian army, and soon drew together a force so considerable, as to attract the notice of his Prussian majesty, who detached the Prince of Bevern, with twenty battalions and thirty squadrons, to attack him before numbers should render him formidable. Daun was too prudent to give battle, with dispirited troops, to an army flushed with victory. He retired on the first advice that the Prussians were advancing, and took post at Kolin, where he entrenched himself strongly, opened the way for the daily supply of recruits sent to his army, and inspired the garrison of Prague with fresh courage, in expectation of being soon relieved. Here he kept close within his camp, divided the Prussian force, by obliging the king to employ near half his army in watching his designs, weakened his efforts against Prague, harassed the enemy by cutting off their convoys, and restored, by degrees, the languishing and almost desponding spirits of his troops. Perfectly acquainted with the ardour and discipline of the Prussian forces, with the enterprising and impetuous disposition of that monarch, and sensible that his situation would prove irksome and embarrassing to the enemy, he improved it to the best advantage, seemed to foresee all the consequences, and directed every measure to produce them. Thus he retarded the enemy's operations, and assiduously avoided precipitating an action until the Prussian vigour should be exhausted, their strength impaired by losses and desertion, the first fire and ardour of their genius extinguished by conti-

nual fatigue and incessant alarms, and until the impression made on his own men, by the late defeat, should, in some degree, be effaced. The event justified Daun's conduct. His army grew every day more numerous, while his Prussian majesty began to express the utmost impatience at the length of the siege. When that monarch first invested Prague, it was on the presumption that the numerous forces within the walls would, by consuming all the provision, oblige it to surrender in a few days; but perceiving that the Austrians had still a considerable quantity of corn, that Count Daun's army was daily increasing, and would soon be powerful enough not only to cope with the detachment under the Prince of Bevern, but in a condition to raise the siege, he determined to give the count battle with one part of his army, while he kept Prague blocked up with the other. The Austrians, amounting now to sixty thousand men, were deeply intrenched, and defended by a numerous train of artillery, placed on redoubts and batteries erected on the most advantageous posts. Every accessible part of the camp was fortified with lines and heavy pieces of battering cannon, and the foot of the hills secured by difficult defiles. Yet, strong as this situation might appear, formidable as the Austrian forces certainly were, his Prussian majesty undertook to dislodge them with a body of horse and foot not exceeding thirty-two thousand men.

On the thirteenth day of June, the King of Prussia quitted the camp before Prague, escorted by a few battalions and squadrons, with which he joined the Prince of Bevern at Milkowitz. Mareschal Keith, it is said, strenuously opposed this measure, and advised either raising the siege entirely, and attacking the Austrians with the united forces of Prussia, or postponing the attack on the camp at Kolin, until his majesty should either gain possession of the city, or some attempts should be made to oblige him to quit his posts. From either measure an advantage would have resulted. With his whole army he might probably have defeated Count Daun, or at least have obliged him to retreat. Had he continued within his lines at Prague, the Austrian general could not have constrained him to raise the siege without losing his own advantageous situation, and giving battle upon terms nearly equal. But the king, who, elated with success, impetuous in his valour, and confident of the superiority of his own troops in point of

King of
Prussia de-
feated at
Kolin.

discipline, thought all resistance must sink under the weight of his victorious arm, and yield to that courage which had already surmounted such difficulties, disregarded the marshal's sage counsel, and marched up to the attack undaunted, and even assured of success. By the eighteenth the two armies were in sight, and his majesty found that Count Daun had not only fortified his camp with all the heavy cannon of Olmutz, but was strongly reinforced with troops from Moravia and Austria, which had joined him after the king's departure from Prague. He found the Austrians drawn up in three lines upon the high grounds between Genlitz and St. John the Baptist. Difficult as it was to approach their situation, the Prussian infantry marched up with firmness, while shot was poured like hail from the enemy's batteries, and began the attack about three in the afternoon. They drove the Austrians with irresistible intrepidity from two eminences secured with heavy cannon, and two villages defended by several battalions; but, in attacking the third eminence, were flanked by the Austrian cavalry, by grape-shot poured from the batteries; and, after a violent conflict, and prodigious loss of men, thrown into disorder. Animated with the king's presence, they rallied, and returned with double ardour to the charge, but were a second time repulsed. Seven times successively did Prince Ferdinand renew the attack, performing every duty of a great general and valiant soldier, though always with the same fortune. The inferiority of the Prussian infantry, the disadvantages of ground, where the cavalry could not act, the advantageous situation of the enemy, their numerous artillery, their entrenchments, numbers, and obstinacy, joined to the skill and conduct of their general, all conspired to defeat the hopes of the Prussians, to surmount their valour, and oblige them to retreat. The king then made a last and furious effort, at the head of the cavalry, on the enemy's left wing, but with as little success as all the former attacks. Every effort was made, and every attempt was productive only of greater losses and misfortunes. At last, after exposing his person in the most perilous situations, his Prussian majesty drew off his forces from the field of battle, retiring in such good order, in sight of the enemy, as prevented a pursuit, or the loss of his artillery and baggage. Almost all the officers on either side distinguished themselves; and Count Duan, whose conduct emulated that of his Prussian majesty, received two

slight wounds, and had a horse killed under him. The losses of both armies were very considerable; on that of the Prussians, the killed and wounded amounted to eight thousand; less pernicious, however, to his majesty's cause than the frequent desertions, and other innumerable ill consequences, that ensued.

When the Prussian army arrived at Nimburgh, his majesty, leaving the command with the Prince of ^{He raises} Bevern, took horse, and, escorted by twelve or ^{the siege of} fourteen hussars, set out for Prague, where he ^{Prague,} arrived next morning, without halting, after having ^{and quits} been the whole preceding day on horseback. Immediately he gave orders for sending off all his artillery, ammunition, and baggage; these were executed with so much expedition, that the tents were struck, and the army on their march, before the garrison were informed of the king's defeat. Thus terminated the battle of Kolin and siege of Prague, in which the acknowledged errors of his Prussian majesty were, in some measure, atoned by the candour with which he owned his mistake, both in a letter to the earl mareschal,* and in conversation with several of his general officers. Most people, indeed, imagined the king highly blamable for checking the ardour of his troops to stop and lay siege to Prague. They thought he should have pursued his conquests, overrun Austria, Moravia, and all the hereditary dominions, from which alone the empress-queen could draw speedy succours. A body of twenty or thirty thousand men would have blocked up Prague, while the remainder of the Prussian forces might have obliged the imperial family to retire from Vienna, and effectually prevented Count Daun

* "The imperial grenadiers," says he, "are an admirable corps, one hundred companies defended a rising ground, which my best infantry could not carry. Ferdinand, who commanded them, returned seven times to the charge, but to no purpose. At first he mastered a battery, but could not hold it. The enemy had the advantage of a numerous and well-served artillery. It did honour to Lichtenstein, who had the direction. Only the Prussian army can dispute it with him. My infantry were too few. All my cavalry were present, and idle spectators, excepting a bold push by my household troops and some dragoons. Ferdinand attacked without powder, the enemy, in return, were not sparing of theirs. They had the advantage of a rising ground, of intrenchments, and of a prodigious artillery. Several of my regiments were repulsed by their musketry. Henry performed wonders. I tumble for my worthy brothers, they are too brave. Fortune turned her back on me this day. I ought to have expected it, she is a female, and I am no gallant. In fact, I ought to have had more infantry. Success, my dear lord, often occasions destructive confidence. Twenty-four battalions were not sufficient to dislodge sixty thousand men from an advantageous post. Another time we will do better. What say you of this league, which has only the Muquis of Brandenburg for its object? The great elector would be surprised to see his grandson at war with the Russians, the Austrians, almost all Germany, and a hundred thousand French auxiliaries. I know not whether it would be disgrace in me to submit, but I am sure there will be no glory in vanquishing me."

from assembling another army. It was universally expected he would have bent his march straight to the capital; but he dreaded leaving the numerous army in Prague behind, and it was of great importance to complete the conquest of Bohemia. The Prince of Prussia marched all night with his corps to Nimburgh, where he joined the Prince of Bevern, and Mareschal Keith retreated next day. Count Brown having died before of the wounds he received on the sixth of May, Prince Charles of Lorraine sallied out with a large body of Austrians, and attacked the rear of the Prussians; but did no further mischief than killing about two hundred of their men. The siege of Prague being thus raised, the imprisoned Austrians received their deliverer, Count Daun, with inexpressible joy, and their united forces became greatly superior to those of the King of Prussia, who was in a short time obliged to evacuate Bohemia, and take refuge in Saxony. The Austrians harassed him as much as possible in his retreat; but their armies, though superior in numbers, were not in a condition, from their late sufferings, to make any decisive attempt upon him, as the frontiers of Saxony abound with situations easily defended.

Prepara-
tions for the
defence of
Hanover.
The allied
army as-
sembles
under the
Duke of
Cumber-
land.

Having thus described the progress of the Prussians in Bohemia, we must cast our eyes on the transactions which distinguished the campaign in Westphalia. To guard against the storm which menaced Hanover in particular, orders were transmitted thither to recruit the troops that had been sent back from England, to augment each company, to remount the cavalry with the utmost expedition; not to suffer any horses to be conveyed out of the electorate; to furnish the magazines in that country with all things necessary for fifty thousand men. Of these twenty-six thousand were to be Hanoverians; and, in consequence of engagements entered into for that purpose, twelve thousand Hessians, six thousand Brunswickers, two thousand Saxe-Gothans, and a thousand Lunenburghers, to be joined by a considerable body of Prussians, the whole commanded by his royal highness the Duke of Cumberland. The King of England, having published a manifesto, dated at Hanover, specifying his motives for taking the field in Westphalia, the troops of the confederated states that were to compose the allied army, under the name of an army of observation, began to assemble with all possible diligence near Bielefeldt.

Thither the generals appointed to command the several divisions repaired, to settle the plan of operations with their commander, the Duke of Cumberland, who, having left London on the ninth of April, arrived on the sixteenth at Hanover, and from thence repaired to the army, which, having been joined by three Prussian regiments that retired from Wesel, consisted of thirty-seven battalions and thirty-four squadrons. Of these, six battalions and six squadrons were posted at Bielefeldt, under the command of Lieutenant-General Baron de Sporcken; six battalions, under Lieutenant-General de Block, at Hervorden; six battalions and four squadrons under Major-General Ledebour, between Hervorden and Minden; seven battalions and ten squadrons, under Lieutenant-General d'Oberg, in the neighbourhood of Hamelen; and five battalions and four squadrons, under Major-General de Hauss, near Nienburgh. The headquarters of his royal highness were at Bielefeldt.

In the mean time the French on the Lower Rhine continued firing off incessantly. The siege of Gueldres was converted into a blockade, occasioned by ^{Skirmishes with the French} the difficulties the enemy found in raising batteries; and a party of Hanoverians having passed the Weser, as well to ravage the country of Paderbourn as to reconnoitre the French, carried off several waggons loaded with wheat and oats, destined for the territories of the Elector of Cologne. On the other hand, Colonel Fischer, having had an engagement with a small body of Hanoverians, in the county of Mecklenburgh, routed them, and made some prisoners. After several other petty skirmishes between the French and the Hanoverians, the Duke of Cumberland altered the position of his camp, by placing it between Bielefeldt and Hervorden, in hopes of frustrating the design of the enemy; who declining to attack him on the side of Bracwede, after having reconnoitred his situation several days, made a motion on their left, as if they meant to get between him and the Weser. This step was no sooner taken, than, on the thirteenth of June, in the afternoon, having received advice that the enemy had caused a large body of troops, followed by a second, to march on his right to Burghotte, he ordered his army to march that evening towards Hervorden; and, at the same time, Major-General Hardenberg marched with four battalions of grenadiers, and a regiment of horse, to reinforce that post. Count

Schulenberg covered the left of the march with a battalion of grenadiers, a regiment of horse, and the light troops of Buckeburgh. The whole army marched in two columns. The right, composed of horse, and followed by two battalions, to cover their passage through the enclosures and defiles, passed by the right of Bielefeldt; and the left, consisting of infantry, marched by the left of the same town. The van-guard of the French army attacked the rear-guard of the allies, commanded by Major-General Einsiedel, very briskly, and at first put them into some confusion, but they immediately recovered themselves. This was in the beginning of the night. At break of day the enemy's reinforcements returned to the charge, but were again repulsed, nor could they once break through Lieutenant-Colonel Alfeldt's Hanoverian guards, which closed the army's march with a detachment of regular troops, and a new raised corps of hunters.

The allies encamped at Cofeldt the fourteenth, and remained there all the next day, when the enemy's detachments advanced to the gates of Hervorden, and made a feint as if they would attack the town, after having summoned it to surrender; but they retired without attempting any thing further: in the mean time, the troops that were posted at Hervorden, and formed the rear-guard, passed the Weser on the side of Remen, without any molestation, and encamped at Holtzuysen. A body of troops which had been left at Bielefeldt, to cover the duke's retreat after some skirmishes with the French, rejoined the army in the neighbourhood of Herfort; and a few days after, his royal highness drew near his bridges on the Weser, and sent over his artillery, baggage, and ammunition. At the same time some detachments passed the river on the right, between Minden and Oldendoip, and marked out a new camp advantageously situated, having the Weser in front, and the right and left covered with eminences and marshes. There the army under his royal highness reassembled, and the French fixed their head-quarters at Bielefeldt, which the Hanoverians had quitted, leaving in it only a part of a magazine which had been set on fire. By this time the French were in such want of forage, that M. d'Étrécs himself, the princes of the blood, and all the officers, without exception, were obliged to send back part of their horses.

Duke of Cumberland passes the Weser. The French follow him, and take Minden and Lumbden, and lay Hanover under contribution.

However, on the tenth of June, the whole army, consisting of seventy battalions and forty squadrons, with fifty-two pieces of cannon, besides a body of cavalry left at Ruremonde for the conveniency of forage, was put in motion. In spite of almost impassable forests, famine, and every other obstacle that could be thrown in their way by a vigilant and experienced general, they at length surmounted all difficulties, and advanced into a country abounding with plenty, and unused to the ravages of war. It was imagined that the passage of the Weser, which defends Hanover from foreign attacks, would have been vigorously opposed by the army of the allies; but whether, in the present situation of affairs, it was thought advisable to act only upon the defensive, and not to begin the attack in a country that was not concerned as a principal in the war, or the Duke of Cumberland found himself too weak to make head against the enemy, is a question we shall not pretend to determine. However that may have been, the whole French army passed the Weser on the tenth and eleventh of July, without the loss of a man. The manner of effecting this passage is thus related :—Mareschal d'Etrées, being informed that his magazines of provisions were well furnished, his ovens established, and the artillery and pontoons arrived at the destined places, ordered Lieutenant-General Broglio, with ten battalions, twelve squadrons, and ten pieces of cannon, to march to Engheren; Lieutenant-General M. de Chevert, with sixteen battalions, three brigades of carabineers, the royal hunters, and six hundred hussars, to march to Hervorden; and Lieutenant-General Marquis d'Armentieres, with twelve battalions and ten squadrons, to march to Ulrickhausen. All these troops being arrived in their camp on the fourth of July, halted the fifth. On the sixth, twenty-two battalions and thirty-two squadrons, under the command of the Duke of Orleans, who was now arrived at the army, marched to Ulrickhausen, from whence M. d'Armentieres had set out early in the morning, with the troops under his command, and by hasty marches got on the seventh, by eleven at night, to Blankenhoven, where he found the boats which had gone from Ahrensberg. The bridges were built, the cannon planted, and the intrenchments at the head of the bridges completed in the night between the seventh and eighth. The mareschal, having sent away part of his baggage from Bielefeldt on the sixth, went in person on the

seventh at eleven o'clock to Horn, and on the eighth to Braket. On advice that M. d'Armentieres had thrown his bridges across without opposition, and was at work on his intrenchments, he went on the ninth to Blankenhoven, to see the bridges and intrenchments; and afterwards advanced to examine the first position he intended for his army, and came down to the right side of the Weser to the abbey of Corvey, where he forded the river, with the princes of the blood, and their attendants. On the tenth, in the morning, he got on horseback by four o'clock, to see the Duke of Orleans' division file off, which arrived at Corvey at ten o'clock; as also that of M. d'Armentieres, which arrived at eleven, and that of M. Souvré, which arrived at noon. The mareschal, having examined the course of the river, caused the bridges of pontoons to be laid within gun-shot of the abbey, where the Viscount de Turenne passed that river in the year one thousand six hundred and seventy-three, and where the divisions under Broglio and Chevert now passed it on the twelfth and thirteenth. These two generals being informed of what was to be done upon the Upper Weser, attacked Minden, and carried it, whilst a detachment of the French entered the country of East Friesland, under the command of the Marquis d'Auvel; and, after taking possession of Lier, marched on the right of the Ems to Embden, the only sea-port the King of Prussia had, which at first seemed determined to make a defence; but the inhabitants were not agreed upon the methods to be taken for that purpose. They, therefore, met to deliberate, but in the mean time, their gates being shut, M. d'Auvel caused some cannon to be brought to beat them down; and the garrison, composed of four hundred Prussians, not being strong enough to defend the town, the soldiers mutinied against their officers, whereupon a capitulation was agreed on, and the gates were opened to the French commander, who made his troops enter with a great deal of order, assured the magistrates that care should be taken to make them observe a good discipline, and published two ordinances, one for the security of the religion and commerce of the city, and the other for prohibiting the exportation of corn and forage out of that principality. The inhabitants were, however, obliged to take an oath of allegiance to the French king.

On Sunday, the twenty-fourth of July, the French, after having laid part of the electorate of Hanover under contribu-

tion, marched in three columns, with their artillery, towards the village of Latford, when Major-General Fustenburg, who commanded the outposts in the village, ^{Battle of Hastenbeck.} sent an officer to inform the Duke of Cumberland of their approach. His royal highness immediately reinforced those posts with a body of troops, under the command of Lieutenant-General Sporcken; but finding it impossible to support the village, as it was commanded by the heights opposite to it, which were possessed by the enemy, and being sensible that it would be always in his power to retake it, from its situation in a bottom between two hills, he withdrew his post from Latford. The French then made two attacks, one at the point of the wood, and the other higher up in the same wood, opposite to the grenadiers commanded by Major-General Hardenberg, but they failed in both; and though the fire of their artillery was very hot, they were obliged to retire. The French army encamping on the heights opposite to the Duke of Cumberland's posts, the intelligence received, that M. d'Etrées had assembled all his troops, and was furnished with a very considerable train of artillery, left his royal highness no room to doubt of his intending to attack him. He therefore resolved to change his camp for a more advantageous situation, by drawing up his army on the eminence between the Weser and the woods, leaving the Hamelen river on his right, the village of Hastenbeck in his front, and his left close to the wood, at the point of which his royal highness had a battery of twelve-pounders and howitzers. There was a hollow way from the left of the village to the battery, and a morass on the other side of Hastenbeck to his right. Major-General Schulenberg, with the hunters, and two battalions of grenadiers, was posted in the corner of the wood upon the left of the battery; his royal highness ordered the village of Hastenbeck to be cleared to his front, to prevent its being in the power of the enemy to keep possession of it, and the ways by which the allies had a communication with that village during their encampment to be rendered impassable. In the evening he withdrew all his out-posts, and in this position the army lay upon their arms all night. On the twenty-fifth, in the morning, the French army marched forwards in columns, and began to cannonade the allies very severely, marching and countermarching continually, and seeming to intend three attacks, on the right, the left, and the centre. In the

evening their artillery appeared much superior to that of the allies. The army was again ordered to lie all night on their arms: his royal highness caused a battery at the end of the wood to be repaired; Count Schulenberg to be reinforced with a battalion of grenadiers, and two field-pieces of cannon; and that battery to be also supported by four more battalions of grenadiers, under the command of Major-General Hardenberg. He likewise caused a battery to be erected of twelve and six-pounders, behind the village of Hastenbeck, and took all the precautions he could think of to give the enemy a warm reception. As soon as it was daylight, he mounted on horseback to reconnoitre the position of the enemy, whom he found in the same situation as the day before. At a little after five, a very smart cannonading began against the battery behind the village, which was supported by the Hessian infantry and cavalry, who stood a most severe fire with surprising steadiness and resolution. Between seven and eight the firing of small arms began on the left of the allies, when his royal highness ordered Major-General Behr, with three battalions of Brunswick, to sustain the grenadiers in the wood, if their assistance should be wanted. The cannonading continued above six hours, during which the troops that were exposed to it never once abated of their firmness. The fire of the small arms on the left increasing, and the French seeming to gain ground, his royal highness detached the Colonels Darkenhausen and Bredenbach, with three Hanoverian battalions and six squadrons, round the wood by Afferde, who, towards the close of the day, drove several squadrons of the enemy back to their army, without giving them any opportunity to charge. At length the grenadiers in the wood, apprehensive of being surrounded, from the great numbers of the enemy that appeared there, and were marching round on that side, though they repulsed every thing that appeared in their front, thought it advisable to retire nearer to the left of the army, a motion which gave the enemy an opportunity of possessing themselves of that battery without opposition. Here the hereditary Prince of Brunswick distinguished himself at the head of a battalion of Wolfenbuttel guards, and another of Hanoverians, who attacked and repulsed, with their bayonets, a superior force of the enemy, and retook the battery. But the French being in possession of an eminence which commanded and flanked both the lines of the infantry

and the battery of the allies, and where they were able to support their attack under the cover of a hill, his royal highness, considering the superior numbers of the enemy, near double to his, and the impossibility of dislodging them from their post, without exposing his own troops too much, ordered a retreat; in consequence of which his army retired, first to Hamelen, where he left a garrison, then to Nienburgh, and afterwards to Hoya; in the neighbourhood of which town, after sending away all the magazines, sick, and wounded, he encamped, in order to cover Bremen and Verden, and to preserve a communication with Stade, to which place the archives and most valuable effects of Hanover had been removed. In this engagement, Colonel Bredembach attacked four brigades very strongly posted, with a battery of fourteen pieces of cannon, repulsed, and drove them down a precipice, and took all their artillery and ammunition; but preferring the care of his wounded to the glory of carrying away the cannon, he brought off only six, nailing up and destroying the rest. The loss of the allies in all the skirmishes, which lasted three days, was three hundred and twenty-seven men killed, nine hundred and seven wounded, and two hundred and twenty missing, or taken prisoners; whilst that of the French, according to their own accounts, amounted to fifteen hundred men.

The French, being left masters of the field, soon reduced Hamelen, which was far from being well fortified, obliged the garrison to capitulate, and took out of the town sixty brass cannon, several mortars, forty ovens, part of the equipage of the duke's army, and large quantities of provisions and ammunition, which they found in it, together with a great many sick and wounded, who, not being included in the capitulation, were made prisoners of war. Whether the court of France had any reason to find fault with the conduct of the Mareschal d'Etrées, or whether its monarch was blindly guided by the counsels of his favourite, the Marquise de Pompadour, who, desirous to testify her gratitude to the man who had been one of the chief instruments of her high promotion, was glad of an opportunity to retrieve his shattered fortunes, and, at the same time, to add to her own already immense treasures, we shall not pretend to determine; though the event seems plainly to speak the last. Even at the time, no comparison was made between the

The French
take Hamelen.
Duke de Richelieu
succeeds
Mareschal d'Etrées in
the command of
the French
army.

military skill of the Mareschal d'Etrées, and that of the Duke de Richelieu ; but, however that may have been, this last, who, if he had not shone in the character of a soldier, excelled all, or at least most, of his contemporaries, in the more refined arts of a courtier, was, just before the battle we have been speaking of, appointed to supersede the former in the command of the French army in Lower Saxony, where he arrived on the sixth of August, with the title of Mareschal of France ; and M. d'Etrées immediately resigned the command.

Immediately after the battle of Hastenbeck, the French sent a detachment of four thousand men to lay under contribution the countries of Hanover and Brunswick-Wolfenbittel, as well as the duchies of Bremen and Verden ; and two days after the arrival of this new commander, the Duke de Chevreuse was detached with two thousand men to take possession of Hanover itself, with the title of governor of that city. He accordingly marched thither ; and upon his arrival the Hanoverian garrison was disarmed, and left at liberty to retire where they pleased. About the same time M. de Contades, with a detachment from the French army, was sent to make himself master of the territories of Hesse-Cassel, where he found no opposition. He was met at Warberg by that prince's master of the horse, who declared, that they were ready to furnish the French army with all the succours the country could afford ; and accordingly the magistrates of Cassel presented him with the keys as soon as he entered their city. Gottingen was ordered by M. d'Armentieres to prepare for him within a limited time, upon pain of military execution, four thousand pounds of white bread, two thousand bushels of oats, a greater quantity than could be found in the whole country, a hundred loads of hay, and other provisions.

The Duke of Cumberland remained encamped in the neighbourhood of Hoya till the twenty-fourth of August, when upon advice that the enemy had laid two bridges over the Aller, in the night, and had passed that river with a large body of troops, he ordered his army to march to secure the important post and passage of Rothenbourg, lest they should attempt to march round on his left. He encamped that night at Hausen, having detached Lieutenant-General

The French
take pos-
session of
Hanover
and Hesse-
Cassel.

And reduce
Verden and
Bremen.
Duke of
Cumberland
signs the
convention
of Closter-
Seven.

Oberg, with eight battalions and six squadrons, to Ottersberg, to which place he marched next day, and encamped behind the Wummer in a very strong situation, between Ottersberg and Rothenbourg. The French took possession of Verden on the twenty-sixth of August, and one of their detachments went on the twenty-ninth to Bremen, where the gates were immediately opened to them. The Duke of Cumberland, now closely pressed on all sides, and in danger of having his communication with Stade cut off, which the enemy was endeavouring to effect by seizing upon all the posts round him, found it necessary to decamp again; to abandon Rothenbourg, of which the French immediately took possession; to retreat to Selsingen, where his headquarters were, on the first of September; and from thence, on the third of the same month, to retire under the cannon of Stade. Here it was imagined that his army would have been able to maintain their ground between the Aller and the Elbe, till the severity of the season should put an end to the campaign. Accordingly, his royal highness, upon his taking this position, sent a detachment of his forces to Buck-Schantz, with some artillery, and orders to defend that place to the utmost; but as it could not possibly have held out many days, and as the French, who now hemmed him in on all sides, by making themselves masters of a little fort at the mouth of the river Zwinga, would have cut off his communication with the Elbe, so that four English men of war, then in that river, could have been of no service to him, he was forced to accept of a mediation offered by the King of Denmark, by his minister the Count de Lynar, and to sign the famous convention of Closter-Seven,^d by which

^d This remarkable capitulation, which we shall give here at full length, on account of the disputes that arose shortly after, concerning what the French called an infraction of it, was to the following effect:

His majesty the King of Denmark, touched with the distresses of the countries of Bremen and Verden, to which he has always granted his special protection; and being desirous, by preventing those countries from being any longer the theatre of war, to spare also the effusion of blood in the armies which are ready to dispute the possession thereof; hath employed his mediation by the ministry of the Count de Lynar. His royal highness the Duke of Cumberland, general of the army of the allies, on the one part, and his excellency the Mareschal Duke de Richelieu, general of the King of France's forces in Germany, on the other, have, in consideration of the intervention of his Danish majesty, respectively engaged their word of honour to the Count de Lynar, to abide by the convention hereafter stipulated; and he, the Count de Lynar, correspondently to the magnanimity of the king his master's intention, obliges himself to procure the guarantee mentioned in the present convention; so that it shall be sent to him, with his full powers, which there was no time to make out, in the circumstances which hurried his departure.

Article I. Hostilities shall cease on both sides within twenty-four hours, or sooner, if possible. Orders for this purpose shall be immediately sent to the detached corps.

II. The

thirty-eight thousand Hanoverians laid down their arms, and were dispersed into different quarters of cantonment.

II. The auxiliary troops of the army of the Duke of Cumberland, namely, those of Hesse, Brunswick, Saxe-Gotha, and even those of the Count de la Lippe Buckebourg, shall be sent home; and as it is necessary to settle particularly their march to their respective countries, a general officer of each nation shall be sent from the army of the allies, with whom shall be settled the route of those troops, the divisions they shall march in, their subsistence on their march, and their passports to be granted them by his excellency the Duke de Richelieu to go to their own countries, where they shall be placed and distributed as shall be agreed upon between the court of France and their respective sovereigns.

III. His royal highness the Duke of Cumberland obliges himself to pass the Elbe, with such part of his army as he shall not be able to place in the city of Stade; that the part of his forces which shall enter into garrison in the said city, and which it is supposed may amount to between four and six thousand men, shall remain there under the guarantee of his majesty the King of Denmark, without committing any act of hostility; nor, on the other hand, shall they be exposed to any from the French troops. In consequence thereof, commissaries, named on each side, shall agree upon the limits to be fixed round that place, for the convenience of the garrison; which limits shall not extend beyond half a league, or a league, from the place, according to the nature of the ground or circumstances, which shall be fairly settled by the commissaries. The rest of the Hanoverian army shall go and take quarters in the country beyond the Elbe; and, to facilitate the march of those troops, his excellency the Duke de Richelieu shall concert with a general officer, sent from the Hanoverian army, the route they shall take: obliging himself to give the necessary passports and security for the free passage of them and their baggage to the places of their destination; his royal highness the Duke of Cumberland reserving to himself the liberty of negotiating between the two courts for an extension of those quarters. As to the French troops, they shall remain in the rest of the duchies of Bremen and Verden, till the definitive reconciliation of the two sovereigns.

IV. As the aforesaid articles are to be executed as soon as possible, the Hanoverian army, and the corps which are detached from it, particularly that which is at Buck-Schantz, and the neighbourhood, shall retire under Stade in the space of eight-and-forty hours. The French army shall not pass the river Oste, in the duchy of Bremen, till the limits be regulated. It shall, besides, keep all the posts and countries of which it is in possession; and, not to retard the regulation of the limits between the armies, commissaries shall be nominated and sent on the tenth instant to Bremen-warden, by his royal highness the Duke of Cumberland, and his excellency the Mareschal Duke de Richelieu, to regulate, as well the limits to be assigned to the French army, as those that are to be observed by the garrison at Stade, according to Art. III.

V. All the aforesaid articles shall be faithfully executed, according to their form and tenor, and under the faith of his majesty the King of Denmark's guarantee, which the Count de Lynar, his minister, engages to procure.

Done at the Camp at Closter-Seven, Sept. 8, 1757.

(Signed) WILLIAM.

SEPARATE ARTICLES.

Upon the representation made by the Count de Lynar, with a view to explain some dispositions made by the present convention, the following articles have been added:

I. It is the intention of his excellency the Mareschal Duke de Richelieu, that the allied troops of his royal highness the Duke of Cumberland shall be sent back to their respective countries, according to the form mentioned in the second article: and that as to their separation and distribution in the country, it shall be regulated between the courts, those troops not being considered as prisoners of war.

II. It having been represented that the country of Lunenbourg cannot accommodate more than fifteen battalions and six squadrons, and that the city of Stade cannot absolutely contain the garrison of six thousand men allotted to it, his excellency the Mareschal Duke de Richelieu, being pressed by M. de Lynar, who supported this representation by the guarantee of his Danish majesty, gives his consent; and his royal highness the Duke of Cumberland engages to cause the fifteen battalions and six squadrons to pass the Elbe, and the whole body of hunters, and the remaining ten battalions and twenty-eight squadrons shall be placed in the town of Stade, and the places nearest to it that are within the line, which shall be marked by posts from the mouth of the Liche in the Elbe, to the mouth of the Elmerbeck in the river Oste; provided always, that the said ten battalions

and twenty-eight squadrons shall be quartered there as they are at the time of signing this convention, and shall not be recruited under any pretext, or augmented in any case; and this clause is particularly guaranteed by the Count de Lynar, in the name of his Danish majesty.

III. Upon the representation of his royal highness the Duke of Cumberland, that the army and detached corps cannot both retire under Stade in eight-and-forty hours, agreeable to the convention, his excellency the Mareschal Duke de Richelieu hath signified, that he will grant them proper time, provided the corps encamped at Buck-Schantz, as well as the army encamped at Bremen-warden, begin their march to retire in four-and-twenty hours after signing the convention. The time necessary for other arrangements, and the execution of the articles concerning the respective limits, shall be settled between Lieutenant-General Sporecken, and the Marquis de Villemar, first lieutenant-general of the king's army.

Done, &c.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE FRENCH ENTER THE PRUSSIAN DOMINIONS, WHERE THEY COMMIT GREAT DISORDERS.—
 RUSSIAN FLEET BLOCKS UP THE SWEDISH PORTS IN THE BALTIK.—RUSSIANS TAKE MINEL.—DECLARATION OF THE
 KING OF PRUSSIA ON THAT OCCASION.—ARMY OF THE EMPIRE RAISED WITH DIFFICULTY.
 —THE AUSTRILIANS TAKE GALL.—AND DESTROY ZITTAU.—THE PRINCE OF PRUSSIA
 RETIRES TO AUM.—COMMUNICATION BETWEEN ENGLAND AND OSTEND BROKEN OFF.—
 COMMUNICATIONS.—SKIRMISHES BETWEEN THE PRUSSIANS AND AUSTRILIANS.—AND
 BETWEEN THE PRUSSIANS AND RUSSIANS.—MARSCHAL LEHWALD ATTACKS THE RUSSIANS
 IN THE J. G. SCHWIMM N. NEAR NOLEKITTEN.—HASTY RETREAT OF THE RUSSIANS OUT OF
 PRUSSIA.—FRENCH AND IMPERIALISTS TAKE GOIHA.—ACTION BETWEEN THE PRUSSIANS
 AND AUSTRILIANS NEAR GÖLTLITZ.—THE FRENCH OBLIGE PRINCE FERDINAND TO RETIRE.—
 DEFEAT OF THE PRUSSIANS BY THE AUSTRILIANS; AND LEIPSIQ SUBJECTED TO A
 MONTHLY INVASION BY THE PRUSSIANS.—BATTLE OF ROSSBACH.—THE AUSTRILIANS TAKE
 SCHWEDNITZ; AND OBLIGE THE PRINCE OF BEVERN NEAR BRESLAU.—MARSCHAL KEITH
 TAKES BOHEMIA UNDER CONTRIBUTION.—KING OF PRUSSIA DEFEATS THE AUSTRILIANS AT
 LISSA; RETAKES BRESLAU AND SCHWEDNITZ, AND BECOMES MASTER OF ALL SILESIA.
 —HOSTILITIES OF THE SWEDISH IN POMERANIA.—MARSCHAL LEHWALD FORCES THE
 SWEDISH TO RETIRE.—MEMORIAL PRESENTED TO THE DUTCH BY COLONEL YORKE,
 RELATIVE TO OSTEND AND NILSPORT.—KING OF PRUSSIA'S LETTER TO THE KING OF
 GREAT BRITAIN.—HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S DECLARATION.—DISPUTES CONCERNING
 THE CANTONMENT OF CUSTER-SHALL.—PROGRESS OF THE HANOVERIAN ARMY.—DEATH
 OF THE QUEEN OF PRUSSIA.—TRANSACTIONS AT SEA.—FATE OF CAPTAIN DEATH.
 —SESSION OPENED.—SUPPLIES GRANTED.—FUNDS FOR RAISING THE SUPPLIES.—
 MESSAGE FROM THE KING TO THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.—SECOND TREATY WITH THE
 KING OF PRUSSIA.—BILL FOR FORTIFYING MILFORD-HAVEN.—REGULATIONS WITH RESPECT
 TO THE COAST.—BILLS FOR THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF SEAMEN, AND FOR EXPLAINING THE
 MISTAKE.—ACT FOR REPAIRING LONDON BRIDGE.—ACT FOR ASCERTAINING THE
 QUALIFICATION OF VOTING.—BILL FOR MORE EFFECTUALLY MANNING THE NAVY.—
 AMENDMENTS IN THE HABEAS-CORPUS ACT.—SCHEME IN FAVOUR OF THE FOUNDLING-
 HOSPITAL.—PROCEEDINGS RELATIVE TO THE AFRICAN COMPANY.—SESSION CLOSED.—
 VIOLENT PREPARATIONS FOR WAR.—DEATH OF THE PRINCESS CAROLINE.—SEA EN-
 GAGEMENTS OFF CÔTE FRANÇOISE.—REMARKABLE SUCCESS OF CAPTAIN FOREST.—FRENCH
 INVADE EMDEN.—SUCCEEDS OF ADMIRAL OSBORNE.—FRENCH FLEET DRIVEN ASHORE
 IN BASQUE ROAD.—ADMIRAL BRODERICK'S SHIP BURNT AT SEA.—DESCENT AT CAN-
 CALLE-BAY.—EXHIBITION AGAINST CHERBOURG.—DESCENT AT ST. MALOES.—ENGLISH
 DEFEATED AT ST. CAN.—CAPTURES FROM THE ENEMY.—CLAMOURS OF THE DUTCH MERCHANTS,
 ON ACCOUNT OF THE CAPTURE OF THEIR SHIPS.—THEIR FAMOUS PETITION TO THE
 STATES-GENERAL.

THE Hanoverians being now quite subdued, and the whole
 force of the French let loose against the King of
 Prussia by this treaty, Mareschal Richelieu im-
 mediately ordered Lieutenant-General Berchini to
 march with all possible expedition with the troops
 under his command, to join the Prince de Soubise :
 the gens-d'armes, and other troops that were in the
 landgraviate of Hesse-Cassel, received the same

1757.
 The French
 enter the
 Prussian
 dominions,
 where they
 commit
 great dis-
 orders.

order; and sixty battalions of foot, and the greatest part of the horse belonging to the French army, were directed to attack the Prussian territories. Mareschal Richelieu himself arrived at Brunswick on the fifteenth of September; and having, in a few days after, assembled a hundred and ten battalions, and a hundred and fifty squadrons, with a hundred pieces of cannon, near Wolfenbittel, he entered the King of Prussia's dominions with his army on the twenty-seventh, twenty-eighth, and twenty-ninth of the same month, in three columns, which penetrated into Halberstadt and Brandenburg, plundering the towns, exacting contributions, and committing many enormities, at which their general is said to have connived. In the mean time the Duke of Cumberland returned to England, where he arrived on the eleventh of October, and shortly after resigned all his military commands.

Had the allied army, after the battle of Hastenbeck, marched directly to the Leine, as it might easily have done, and then taken post on the other side of Wolfenbittel, Halberstadt, and Magdebourg, it might have waited securely under the cannon of the latter place for the junction of the Prussian forces; instead of which, they injudiciously turned off to the Lower Weser, retiring successively from Hamelen to Nieuburgh, Verden, Rothenbourg, Buxtehude, and lastly to Stade, where, for want of subsistence and elbow-room, the troops were all made prisoners of war at large. They made a march of a hundred and fifty miles to be cooped up in a nook, instead of taking the other route, which was only about a hundred miles, and would have led them to a place of safety. By this unaccountable conduct, the King of Prussia was not only deprived of the assistance of near forty thousand good troops, which, in the close of the campaign, might have put him upon an equality with the French and the army of the empire; but also exposed to, and actually invaded by, his numerous enemies on all sides, insomuch that his situation became now more dangerous than ever; and the fate which seemed to have threatened the empress a few months before, through his means, was, to all appearance, turned against himself. His ruin was predicted, nor could human prudence foresee how he might be extricated from his complicated distress; for, besides the invasion of his territories by the French under the Duke de Richelieu, the Russians, who

Reflections
on the mis-
conduct of
the allied
army.

had made for a long time a dilatory march, and seemed uncertain of their own resolutions, all at once quickened their motions, and entered ducal Prussia under Mareschal Apraxin and General Fermor, marking their progress by every inhumanity that unbridled cruelty, lust, and rapine, can be imagined capable of committing. A large body of Austrians entered Silesia, and penetrated as far as Breslau : then turning back, they laid siege to the important fortress of Schweidnitz, the key of that country. A second body entered Lusatia, another quarter of the Prussian territories, and made themselves masters of Zittau. Twenty-two thousand Swedes penetrated into Prussian Pomerania, took the towns of Anclam and Demmin, and laid the whole country under contribution. The army of the empire, reinforced by that of Prince Soubise, after many delays, was at last in full march to enter Saxony ; and this motion left the Austrians at liberty to turn the greatest part of their forces to the reduction of Silesia. An Austrian general, penetrating through Lusatia, passed by the Prussian armies, and suddenly presenting himself before the gates of Berlin, laid the whole country under contribution ; and though he retired on the approach of a body of Prussians, yet he still found means to interrupt the communication of these last with Silesia. The Prussians, it is true, exerted themselves bravely on all sides, and their enemies fled before them ; but whilst one body was pursuing, another gained upon them in some other part. The winter approached, their strength decayed, and their adversaries multiplied daily. The king, harassed, and almost spent with incessant fatigue, both of body and of mind, was in a manner excluded from the empire. The greatest part of his dominions were either taken from him, or laid under contribution, and possessed by his enemies ; who collected the public revenues, fattened on the contributions, and with the riches which they drew from the electorate of Hanover, and other conquests, defrayed the expenses of the war ; and by the convention of Closter-Seven he was deprived of his allies, and left without any assistance whatever, excepting what the British Parliament might think fit to supply. How different is this picture from that which the King of Prussia exhibited when he took arms to enter Saxony ! But, in order to form a clear idea of these events, of the situation of his Prussian majesty, and of the steps he took to defeat the designs of his antago-

nists, and extricate himself from his great and numerous distresses, it will be proper now to take a view of the several transactions of his enemies, as well during his stay in Bohemia, as from the time of his leaving it, down to that which we are now speaking of.

Whilst the King of Prussia was in Bohemia, the Empress of Russia ordered notice to be given to all masters of ships, that if any of them were found assisting the Prussians, by the transportation of troops, artillery, and ammunition, they should be condemned as legal prizes; and her fleet, consisting of fifteen men of war and frigates, with two bomb-ketches, was sent to block up the Prussian ports in the Baltic, where it took several ships of that nation, which were employed in carrying provisions and merchandise from one port to another. One of these ships of war appearing before Memel, a town of Poland, but subject to Prussia, the commandant sent an officer to the captain, to know whether he came as a friend or an enemy; to which interrogation the Russian captain replied, that, notwithstanding the dispositions of the Empress of both the Russias were sufficiently known, yet he would further explain them, by declaring that his orders, and those of the other Russian commanders, were, in conformity to the laws of war, to seize on all the Prussian vessels they met with on their cruise. Upon which the commandant of Memel immediately gave orders for pointing the cannon to fire upon all Russian ships that should approach that place.

Russian
fleet blocks
up the
Prussian
ports in the
Baltic.

The land forces of the Russians had now lingered on their march upwards of six months; and it was pretty generally doubted, by those who were supposed to have the best intelligence, whether they ever were really designed to pass into the Prussian territories, not only on account of their long stay on the borders of Lithuania, but also because several of their Cossacks had been severely punished for plundering the waggons of some Prussian peasants upon the frontiers of Courland, and the damage of the peasants compensated with money, though General Apraxin's army was at the same time greatly distressed by the want of provisions; when, on a sudden, they quickened their motions, and showed they were, in earnest, determined to accomplish the ruin of Prussia. Their first act of hostility was the attack of Memel, which surrendered; and by the articles of capitulation it was agreed, that the garrison

Russians
take Memel.

should march out with all the honours of war, after having engaged not to serve against the empress, or any of her allies, for the space of one year.

His Prussian majesty, justly foreseeing the great enormities that were to be expected from these savage enemies, who were unaccustomed to make war, except upon nations as barbarous as themselves, who looked upon war only as an opportunity for plunder, and every country through which they happened to march as their by right of conquest, published the following declaration:—"It is sufficiently known, that the King of Prussia, after the example of his glorious predecessors, has, ever since his accession to the crown, laid it down as a maxim to seek the friendship of the imperial court of Russia, and cultivate it by every method. His Prussian majesty hath had the satisfaction to live, for several successive years, in the strictest harmony with the reigning empress; and this happy union would be still subsisting, if evil-minded potentates had not broke it by their secret machinations, and carried things to such a height, that the ministers on both sides have been recalled, and the correspondence broken off. However melancholy these circumstances might be for the king, his majesty was nevertheless most attentive to prevent any thing that might increase the alienation of the Russian court. He hath been particularly careful, during the disturbances of the war that now unhappily rages, to avoid whatever might involve him in a difference with that court, notwithstanding the great grievances he hath to allege against it; and that it was publicly known the court of Vienna had at last drawn that of Russia into its destructive views, and made it serve as an instrument for favouring the schemes of Austria. His majesty hath given the whole world incontestable proofs, that he was under an indispensable necessity of having recourse to the measures he hath taken against the courts of Vienna and Saxony, who forced him by their conduct to take up arms for his defence. Yet, even since things have been brought to this extremity, the king hath offered to lay down his arms, if proper securities should be granted to him. His majesty hath not neglected to expose the artifices by which the imperial court of Russia hath been drawn into measures so opposite to the empress's sentiments, and which would excite the utmost indignation of that great princess, if the

truth could be placed before her without disguise. The king did more: he suggested to her imperial majesty sufficient means, either to excuse her not taking any part in the present war, or to avoid upon the justest grounds the execution of those engagements which the court of Vienna claimed by a manifest abuse of obligations, which they employed to palliate their unlawful views. It wholly depended upon the Empress of Russia to extinguish the flames of the war, without unsheathing the sword, by pursuing the measures suggested by the king. This conduct would have immortalized her reign throughout all Europe. It would have gained her more lasting glory than can be acquired by the greatest triumphs. The king finds with regret, that all his precautions and care to maintain peace with the Russian empire are fruitless, and that the intrigues of his enemies have prevailed. His majesty sees all the considerations of friendship and good neighbourhood set aside by the imperial court of Russia, as well as the observance of its engagements with his majesty. He sees that court marching its troops through the territories of a foreign power, and contrary to the tenor of treaties, in order to attack the king in his dominions; and thus taking part in a war, in which his enemies have involved the Russian empire. In such circumstances, the king hath no other part to take, but to employ the power which God hath entrusted to him in defending himself, protecting his subjects, and repelling every unjust attack. His majesty will never lose sight of the rules which are observed, even in the midst of war, among civilized nations. But if, contrary to all hope and expectation, these rules should be violated by the troops of Russia, if they commit in the king's territories disorders and excesses disallowed by the laws of arms, his majesty must not be blamed if he makes reprisals in Saxony; and if, instead of that good order and rigorous discipline which have hitherto been observed by his army, avoiding all sorts of violence, he finds himself forced, contrary to his inclination, to suffer the provinces and subjects of Saxony to be treated in the same manner as his own territories shall be treated. As to the rest, the king will soon publish to the whole world the futility of the reasons alleged by the imperial court of Russia to justify its aggression; and as his majesty is forced upon making his defence, he has room to hope with confidence, that the Lord of Hosts will bless his righteous

armies; that he will disappoint the unjust enterprises of his enemies, and grant him his powerful assistance, to enable him to make a head against them."

When the King of Prussia was put under the ban of the empire, the several princes who compose that body were required by the decree of the Aulic council, as was resolved before, to furnish their respective contingents against him. Those who feared him looked upon this as a fair opportunity of reducing him; and those who stood in awe of the house of Austria were, through necessity, compelled to support that power which they dreaded. Besides, they were accustomed to the influence of a family, in which the empire had, for a long time, been in a manner hereditary; and were also intimidated by the appearance of a confederacy, the most formidable, perhaps, that the world had ever seen. Yet, notwithstanding all this, the contingents, both of men and money, were collected slowly; the troops were badly composed; and many of those, not only of the Protestant princes, but also of the Catholics, showed the utmost reluctance to act against his Prussian majesty, which, indeed, none of them would have been able to do, had it not been for the assistance of the French under the Prince de Soubise. The Elector Palatine lost above a thousand men by desertion. Four thousand of the troops belonging to the Duke of Wirtemberg being delivered to the French commissary on the twenty-fourth of June, were immediately reviewed; but the review was scarcely finished, when they began to cry aloud that they were sold. Next morning thirty of them deserted at once, and were soon followed by parties of twenty and thirty each, who forced their way through the detachments that guarded the gates of Stutgard, and in the evening the mutiny became general. They fired upon the officers in their barracks, and let their general know, that if he did not immediately withdraw, they would put him to death. Meanwhile, some of the officers having pursued the deserters, brought back a part of them prisoners, when the rest of the soldiers declared, that if they were not immediately released, they would set fire to the stadthouse and barracks; upon which the prisoners were set at liberty late in the evening. Next morning the soldiers assembled, and having seized some of the officers, three or four hundred of them marched out of the town at a time with the music of the regiments playing before them; and in this manner near

three thousand of them filed off, and the remainder were afterwards discharged.

The King of Prussia, upon his leaving Bohemia, after the battle of Kolin, retired towards Saxony, as we observed before: and having sent his heavy artillery and mortars up the Elbe to Dresden, fixed his camp on the banks of that river, at Leitmeritz, where his main army was strongly intrenched, whilst Mareschal Keith, with the troops under his command, encamped on the opposite shore, a free communication being kept open by means of a bridge. At the same time detachments were ordered to secure the passes into Saxony. As this position of the King of Prussia prevented the Austrians from being able to penetrate into Saxony by the way of the Elbe, they moved, by slow marches, into the circle of Buntzlau, and, at last, with a detachment commanded by the Duke d'Aremberg and M. Macguire, on the eighteenth of June fell suddenly upon and took the important post at Gabel, situated between Boemisch-Leypa and Zittau, after an obstinate defence made by the Prussian garrison under Major-General Putkammer, consisting of four battalions, who were obliged to surrender prisoners of war. ^{The Austrians took Gabel.} The Austrians having by this motion gained a march towards Lusatia, upon a corps which had been detached under the command of the Prince of Prussia to watch them, his Prussian majesty thought proper to leave Leitmeritz on the twentieth in the morning, and lay that night at Lickowitz, a village opposite to Leitmeritz, of which a battalion of his troops still kept possession, while the rest of his army remained encamped in the plain before that place. Next morning, at break of day, Prince Henry decamped, and made so good a disposition for his retreat, that he did not lose a single man, though he marched in sight of the whole body of Austrian irregulars. He passed the bridge at Leitmeritz, after withdrawing the battalion that was in the town, and having burnt the bridge, the whole army united, and made a small movement towards the passes of the mountains; the king then lying at Sulowitz, near the field where the battle of Lowoschutz was fought on the first of October of the preceding year. The heavy baggage was sent on in the afternoon, with a proper escort; and in the morning of the twenty-second the army marched in two columns, and encamped on the high grounds at Lusechitz, a little beyond Lonai, where it halted the twenty-third. No attack was

made upon the rear-guard, though great numbers of Austrian hussars, and other irregulars, had appeared the evening before within cannon-shot of the Prussian camp. On the twenty-fourth the army marched to Nellendorf; on the twenty-fifth it encamped near Cotta; on the twenty-sixth near Pirna, where it halted the next day; and on the twenty-eighth it crossed the river near that place, and entered Lusatia, where, by the end of the month, it encamped near Bautzen.

The king's army made this retreat with all the success that could be wished; but the corps under the And destroy Zittau. Prince of Prussia had not the same good fortune; for the Austrians, immediately after their taking Gabel, sent a strong detachment against Zittau, a trading town in the circle of Upper Saxony, where the Prussians had large magazines, and a garrison of six battalions, and, in his sight, attacked it with uncommon rage. Paying no regard to the inhabitants as being friends or allies, but determined to reduce the place before the King of Prussia could have time to march to its relief, they no sooner arrived before it, than they bombarded and cannonaded it with such fury, that most of the garrison, finding themselves unable to resist, made their escape, and carried off as much as they could of the magazines, leaving only three or four hundred men in the town, under Colonel Diricke, to hold it out as long as possible; which he accordingly did, till the whole place was almost destroyed. The cannonading began on the twenty-third of July, at eleven in the morning, and lasted till five in the evening. In this space of time four thousand balls, many of them red hot, were fired into this unfortunate city with so little intermission, that it was soon set on fire in several places. In the confusion which the conflagration produced, the Austrians entered the town, and the inhabitants imagined that they had then nothing further to fear; and that their friends the Austrians would assist them in extinguishing the flames, and saving the place: but in this particular their expectations were disappointed. The pandours and Scлавonians, who rushed in with the regular troops, made no distinction between the Prussians and the inhabitants of Zittau; instead of helping to quench the flames, they began to plunder the warehouses which the fire had not reached; so that all the valuable merchandise they contained was either carried off or reduced to ashes. Upwards of six hundred houses, and almost all the public buildings, the

cathedrals of St. John and St. James, the orphan-house, eight parsonage-houses, eight schools, the town-house, and every thing contained in it, the public weigh-house, the prison, the archives, and all the other documents of the town-council, the plate and other things of value, presented to the town from time to time, by the emperors, kings, and other princes and noblemen, were entirely destroyed, and more than four hundred citizens were killed in this assault. Of the whole town there were left standing only one hundred and thirty-eight houses, two churches, the council, library, and the salt-works. The Queen of Poland was so affected by this melancholy account, that she is said to have fainted away upon hearing it. As this city belonged to their friend the King of Poland, the Austrians thought proper to publish an excuse for their conduct, ascribing it entirely to the necessity they were under, and the obstinate defence made by the Prussian garrison. But what excuses can atone for such barbarity?

The corps under the Prince of Prussia, which had been witness to the destruction of this unhappy place, was, by the king's march to Bautzen, fortunately extricated from the danger of being surrounded by the Austrians, who, upon his majesty's approach, retired from their posts on the right. Soon after this event, the Prince of Prussia, finding his health much impaired by the fatigues of the campaign,* quitted the army, and returned to Berlin. In the mean time, Mareschal Keith, who had been left upon the frontier, to guard the passes of the mountains of Bohemia, arrived at Pirna, having been much harassed in his march by the enemy's irregular troops, and lost some waggons of provisions and baggage. After resting a day at Pirna, he pursued his march through Dresden with twenty battalions and forty squadrons, and encamped on the right of the Elbe, before the gate of the new city, from whence he joined the king between Bautzen and Goerlitz. The Prussian army, now re-assembled at this place, amounted to about sixty thousand men, besides twelve battalions and

* This was the reason that was publicly assigned for his quitting the army; but a much more probable one, which was only whispered, seems to have been, that this prince, than whom none ever was more remarkable for humanity and the social virtues, disliking the violent proceedings of the king his brother, could not refrain from expostulating with him upon that subject: upon which his majesty, with an air of great disapprobation, told him, "That the air of Berlin would be better for him than that of the camp." The prince accordingly retired to Berlin, where he died soon after: grief and concern for the welfare of his brother, and for the steps taken by him, having no small share in his death.

ten squadrons, which remained in the famous camp at Pirna, under the Prince of Anhalt-Dessau, to cover Dresden, secure the gorges of the mountains, and check the incursions of the Austrian irregulars, with whom, as they were continually flying about the skirts of the Prussian army, as well in their encampments as on their marches, almost daily skirmishes happened, with various success. Though some of these encounters were very bloody, they cost the Prussians much fewer men than they lost by desertion since the battle of Kolin. The reason seems obvious:—The Prussian army had been recruited, in times of peace, from all parts of Germany; and though this way of recruiting may be very proper in such times, yet it cannot be expected to answer in a state of actual war, especially an unfortunate war; because the fidelity of such soldiers can never be so much depended on as that of natives, who serve their natural sovereign from principle, and not merely for pay; and who must desert their country, their parents, and their friends at the same time that they desert their prince.

It will be proper here to take notice of some events which could not easily be mentioned before, without breaking through the order we have proposed to ourselves in the writing of this history.—The empress-queen, more embittered than ever against the King of Prussia and his allies, recalled her ministers, Count Coloredo, and Mons. Zohern from London, towards the beginning of July; and about the same time Count Kaunitz, great chancellor of the empire, informed Mr. Keith, the British minister at Vienna, that the court of London, by the succours it had given, and still continued to give, the King of Prussia, as well as by other circumstances relating to the present state of affairs, having broken the solemn engagements which united this crown with the house of Austria, her majesty, the empress-queen, had thought proper to recall her minister from England, and consequently to break off all correspondence. Mr. Keith, in pursuance of this notice, set out from Vienna on the twenty-ninth of July; as did also Mr. Desrolles, his Britannic majesty's minister at the court of Brussels, from this last place, about the same time. On the seventh of July, General Pisa, commandant of Ostend, Nieupoort, and the maritime ports of Flanders, sent his adjutant to the English vice-consul at Ostend, at six o'clock in the morning, to tell

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him, that by orders from his court all communication with England was broken off; and desired the vice-consul to intimate to the packet-boats and British shipping at Ostend, Bruges, and Nieuport, to depart in twenty-four hours, and not to return into any of the ports of the empress-queen till further disposition should be made. The reasons alleged by the court of Vienna for debarring the subjects of his Britannic majesty from the use of these ports, obtained for the house of Austria by the arms and treasures of Great Britain, were, "That her imperial majesty, the empress-queen, could not, with indifference, see England, instead of giving the succours due to her by the most solemn treaties, enter into an alliance with her enemy the King of Prussia, and actually afford him all manner of assistance, assembling armies to oppose those which the most Christian king, her ally, had sent to her aid, and suffering privateers to exercise open violence in her 'roads, under the cannon of her ports and coasts, without giving the least satisfaction or answer to the complaints made on that account; and the King of Great Britain himself, at the very time she was offering him a neutrality for Hanover, publishing, by a message to his Parliament, that she had formed, with the most Christian king, dangerous designs against that electorate; therefore, her majesty, desirous of providing for the security of her ports, judged it expedient to give the forementioned orders; and at the same time to declare, that she could no longer permit a free communication between her subjects and the English, which had hitherto been founded upon treaties that Great Britain had without scruple openly violated." Notwithstanding these orders, the English packet-boats, with letters, were allowed to pass as usual to and from Ostend; the ministers of her imperial majesty wisely considering how good a revenue the postage of English letters brings into the post-office of the Austrian Netherlands. Ostend and Nieuport, by order of her imperial majesty, received each of them a French garrison; the former on the nineteenth of July, and the latter the next day, under the command of M. de la Motte, upon whose arrival the Austrian troops evacuated those places; though the empress-queen still reserved to herself, in both of them, the full and free exercise of all her rights of sovereignty; to which purpose an oath was administered to the French commandant by her majesty's minister-plenipotentiary for the government of the

Low Countries. At the same time, their imperial and most Christian majesties notified to the magistracy of Hamburgh, that they must not admit any English men of war, or transports, into their port, on pain of having a French garrison imposed on them. The city of Gueldres, which had been blocked up by the French ever since the beginning of summer, was forced by famine to capitulate on the twenty-fourth of August, and the garrison marched out with all the honours of war, in order to be conducted to Berlin; but so many of them deserted, that when they passed by Cogn, the whole garrison consisted only of the commandant and forty-seven men. By the surrender of this place the whole country lay open to the French and their allies quite up to Magdebourg; and the empress-queen immediately received two hundred thousand crowns from the revenues of Cleves and La Marcke alone.

To return to the affairs more immediately relating to the King of Prussia. The advanced posts of the Prince of Anhalt-Dessau at Pirna were attacked, on the tenth of August, by a body of hussars, and other irregular troops of the Austrians; but the Prussians soon obliged them to retire, with the loss of several men and two pieces of cannon. On the nineteenth of the same month, early in the morning, a great number of Austrian pandours surrounded a little town called Gotliebe, in which a Prussian garrison was quartered, with a design to take it by surprise. The pandours attacked it on all sides, and in the beginning killed twenty-three Prussians, and wounded many; but the Prussians having rallied, repulsed the assailants with great loss. These, however, were but a sort of preludes to much more decisive actions, which happened soon after. Silesia, which had hitherto been undisturbed this year, began now to feel the effects of war. Baron Jahnus, an Austrian colonel, entering that country with only a handful of men, made himself master of Hirschberg, Waldenberg, Gottesburg, Frankenstein, and Landshut. They were, indeed, but open places; and he was repulsed in an attempt upon Strigau. On the side of Franconia the army of the empire was assembling with all speed, under the Prince of Saxe-Hildburghausen; the French were marching a second army from their interior provinces into Alsace, in order to join the imperialists; the first division of their troops had already entered the empire, and were ad-

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vanced as far as Hanau. The Swedes were now preparing, with the utmost expedition, to send a numerous army into Pomerania ; and the Russians, who since the taking of Memel had not done the King of Prussia much damage, besides that of obliging him to keep an army in Prussia, to oppose them, and interrupting the trade of Königsberg by their squadrons, were again advancing with hasty strides towards Prussia, marking their steps with horrid desolation. Field-Mareschal Lehwald, who had been left in Prussia with an army of thirty thousand men, to guard that kingdom during the absence of his master, was encamped near Velau, when the Russians, to the number of eighty thousand, after taking Memel, advanced against the territories of the Prussian king, whose situation now drew upon him the attention of all Europe. In the night between the seventh and eighth of August, Colonel Malachowski, one of Mareschal Lehwald's officers, marched to reconnoitre the position of the enemy, when a skirmish happened, which lasted near two hours, between his advanced ranks and a Russian detachment, three times stronger than the Prussians. The Russians were repulsed, and fled into the woods, after having fifty men killed, and a greater number wounded. The Prussians lost but one man, and had fourteen wounded.

Several other little skirmishes happened between straggling parties of the two armies ; and the Russians went on pillaging and laying waste every thing before them, till at length the two armies having approached one another in Brandenburg Prussia, Mareschal Lehwald, finding it impossible to spare detachments from so small a number as his was, compared to that of the enemy, to cover the wretched inhabitants from the outrages committed on them by the Russian Cossacks, and other barbarians belonging to them, judged it absolutely necessary to attack their main army, and accordingly, notwithstanding his great disadvantage in almost every respect, he resolved to hazard a battle on the thirteenth of August. The Russians, consisting, as we before observed, of eighty thousand regulars, under the command of Mareschal Apraxin, avoiding the open field, were intrenched in a most advantageous camp near Norkitten in Prussia. Their army was composed of four lines, each of which was guarded by an intrenchment, and the whole was defended by two hundred pieces of cannon, batteries being placed upon all

Mareschal
Lehwald
attacks the
Russians, in
their in-
trenchments
near Norkitten.

the eminences. Mareschal Lehwald's army scarcely amounted to thirty thousand men. The action began at five in the morning, and was carried on with so much vigour, that the Prussians entirely broke the whole first line of the enemy, and forced all their batteries. The Prince of Holstein-Gottorp, brother to the King of Sweden, at the head of his regiment of dragoons, routed the Russian cavalry, and afterwards fell upon a regiment of grenadiers, which was cut to pieces; but when the Prussians came to the second intrenchment, Mareschal Lehwald, seeing that he could not attempt to carry it, without exposing his army too much, took the resolution to retire. The Prussians returned to their former camp at Velau, and the Russians remained in their present situation. The loss of the Prussians, little exceeding two thousand, killed and wounded, was immediately replaced out of the disciplined militia. The Russians lost a much greater number. General Lapuchin was wounded and taken prisoner, with a colonel of the Russian artillery; but the former was sent back on his parole. The Prussian army had, at first, made themselves masters of above eighty pieces of cannon; but were afterwards obliged to abandon them, with eleven of their own, for want of carriages. Three Russian generals were killed; but the Prussians lost no general or officer of distinction, of which rank Count Dohna was the only one that was wounded.

Hasty retreat of the Russians out of Prussia. After this engagement, Mareschal Lehwald changed the position of his army, by drawing towards Petersburg; and the Russians, after remaining quite inactive till the thirteenth of September, on a sudden, to the great surprise of every one, retreated out of Prussia with such precipitation, that they left all their sick and wounded behind them, to the amount of fifteen or sixteen thousand men, together with eighty pieces of cannon, and a considerable part of their military stores. Mareschal Apraxin masked his design by advancing all his irregulares towards the Prussian army; so that Mareschal Lehwald was not informed of it till the third day, when he detached Prince George of Holstein with ten thousand horse to pursue them; but with little hopes of coming up with them, as they made forced marches, in order to be sooner in their own country. However, the Prussians took some of them prisoners, and many stragglers were killed by the country people in their flight towards Tilsit, which they abandoned,

though they still kept Memel, and shortly after added some new fortifications to that place. They made their retreat in two columns, one of which directed its course towards Memel, while the other took the nearest way through the bailiwick of Absternen, and threw bridges over the river Jura. Both columns burnt every village they passed through without distinction. The Prussians were obliged to desist from the pursuit of these barbarians, because the bridges thrown over the river Memel had been destroyed by the violence of the stream. The Russian army suffered greatly for want of bread, as all the countries were ruined through which it passed, so that they could procure no sort of subsistence but herbage and rye-bread. All the roads were strewed with dead bodies of men and horses. The real cause of this sudden retreat is as great a mystery as the reason of stopping so long, the year before, on the borders of Lithuania; though the occasion of it is said to have been the illness of the czarina, who was seized with a kind of apoplectic fit, and had made some new regulations in case of a vacancy of the throne, which rendered it expedient that the regular forces should be at hand to support the measures taken by the government.

The King of Prussia, after remaining for some time encamped between Bautzen and Goerlitz, removed his head-quarters to Bernstedel; and on the fifteenth of August his army came in sight of the Austrian camp, and within cannon-shot of it; upon which the Austrians struck their tents, and drew up in order of battle before their camp. The king formed his army over against them, and immediately went to reconnoitre the ground between the armies: but, as it was then late, he deferred the more exact examination of that circumstance till the next day. The two armies continued under arms all night. Next morning at break of day, the king found the Austrians encamped with their right at the river Weisle; the rest of their army extended along a rising ground, at the foot of a mountain covered with wood, which protected their left; and before their front, at the bottom of the hill on which they were drawn up, was a small brook, passable only in three places, and for no more than four or five men abreast. Towards the left of their army was an opening, where three or four battalions might have marched in front; but behind it they had placed three lines of infantry, and on a hill

French and
imperialists
take Gotha.

which flanked this opening, within musket shot, were placed four thousand foot, with forty or fifty pieces of cannon ; so that, in reality, this was the strongest part of their camp. The king left nothing undone to bring the Austrians to a battle ; but finding them absolutely bent on avoiding it, after lying four days before them, he and his army returned to their camp at Bernstedel. They were followed by some of the enemy's hussars and pandours, who, however, had not the satisfaction to take the smallest booty in this retreat. The Austrian army which thus declined engaging was, by their own account, a hundred and thirty thousand strong, more than double the number of the King of Prussia, who, the day he returned to Bernstedel, after he had retired about two thousand yards, again drew up his army in line of battle, and remained so upwards of an hour, but not a man stirred from the Austrian camp. The army of the empire, commanded by the Prince of Saxe-Hildburghausen, and that of the French, under the Prince de Soubise, making together about fifty thousand men, half of which were French, had by this time joined, and advanced as far as Erfurth in Saxony ; upon which his Prussian majesty, finding that all his endeavours could not bring the Austrians to an engagement, set out from Lusatia, accompanied by Mareschal Keith, with sixteen battalions and forty squadrons of his troops, and arrived at Dresden on the twenty-ninth of August, leaving the rest of the army in a strong camp, under the Prince of Bevern. With this detachment, which, by the junction of several bodies of troops, amounted to about forty thousand men, he made a quick march, by the way of Leipzig, towards Erfurth, to give battle to the united army of the French and the empire. But by the time he arrived at Erfurth, which was on the fourteenth of September, the enemy had retreated towards Gotha ; and upon his further approach, they retired to Eyesenach, where they entrenched themselves in a very strong camp. His majesty's head-quarters were at Kirschlaben, near Erfurth. While the two armies were thus situated, Major-General Seydelitz, who occupied the town of Gotha, being informed, on the nineteenth, that a large body of the enemy was coming towards him, and that it consisted of two regiments of Austrian hussars, one regiment of French hussars, and a detachment made up of French grenadiers, troops of the army of the empire, and a great number of Croats and pandours, retired,

and posted himself at some distance. The enemy immediately took possession of the town and castle; but General Seydelitz, having been reinforced, attacked the enemy with such vigour, that he soon obliged them to abandon this new conquest, and to retire with great precipitation; a report having been spread, that the Prussian army was advancing against them, with the king himself in person. The Prussian hussars took a considerable booty on this occasion, and General Seydelitz sent prisoners to the camp, one lieutenant-colonel, three majors, four lieutenants, and sixty-two soldiers of the enemy, who had also about one hundred and thirty killed. After this action his Prussian majesty advanced near Eyesenach, with a design to attack the combined army; but they were so strongly intrenched, that he found it impracticable. His provisions falling short, he was obliged to retire towards Erfurth, and soon after to Naumburgh, on the river Sala; whereupon the combined army marched, and again took possession of Gotha, Erfurth, and Weiman; which last place, however, they soon after quitted.

Upon the King of Prussia's leaving Bernstedel, the Austrians took possession of it on the sixth of September, and made prisoners a Prussian battalion which had been left there. The next day fifteen thousand Austrians attacked two battalions of General Winterfield's troops, being part of the Prince of Bevern's army, who were posted on a high ground on the other side of the Neiss, near Hennemersdorff, in the neighbourhood of Goerlitz; and, after being repulsed several times, at last made themselves masters of the eminence. The loss in this action was considerable on both sides, but greatest on that of the Prussians, not so much by the number of their slain, which scarcely exceeded that of the Austrians, as by the death of their brave general, Winterfield, who, as he was leading up succours to the battalions that were engaged, received a shot from a cannon, of which he died the night following. The Generals Nadasti and Clerici, Count d'Arberg, Colonel Elrickhausen, and several other persons of distinction, were wounded, and the young Count of Groesbeck and the Marquis d'Asque killed, on the side of the Austrians, who took six pieces of the Prussian cannon, six pair of their colours, and made General Kemeke, the Count d'Anhalt, and some other officers, prisoners. After this

Action between the Prussians and Austrians near Goerlitz.

skirmish, the Prince of Bevern, with the Prussian army under his command, retreated from Goerlitz to Rothenberg, then passed the Queiss at Sygersdorff, from whence he marched to Buntzlau, in Silesia, and on the first of October reached Breslau, without suffering any loss, though the numerous army of the Austrians followed him for some days. Upon his arrival there, he chose a very strong camp on the other side of the Oder, in order to cover the city of Breslau, to the fortifications of which he immediately added several new works. Though neither side had any very signal advantage in this engagement, more than that the Austrians remained masters of the field, yet great rejoicings were made at Vienna on account of it. The death of General Winterfield was, indeed, an irreparable loss to his Prussian majesty, who received at the same time the news of this misfortune, and of the Swedes having now actually begun hostilities in Pomerania.

A body of the French, who, let loose against the King of Prussia by the ever-memorable and shameful convention of Closter-Seven, had entered the territories of Halberstadt and Magdeburgh, were worsted at Eglen by a party of six hundred men, under the command of Count Horn, whom Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick had detached from a body of troops with which his Prussian majesty had sent him to defend those countries. The Prussians took prisoners the Count de Lusignan, colonel, eighteen other French officers, and four hundred soldiers, and made themselves masters of a considerable booty in baggage, &c., with the loss of only two men; and, moreover, a French officer and forty men were made prisoners at Halberstadt. Upon this check the French evacuated the country of Halberstadt for a little while, but returning again on the twenty-ninth of September with a considerable reinforcement from Mareschal Richelieu's army, which he now could easily spare, Prince Ferdinand was obliged to retire to Winsleben, near the city of Magdeburgh. The dangers which had been hitherto kept at a distance from the Prussian dominions, by the surprising activity of their king, now drew nearer, and menaced them on all sides. Mareschal Richelieu, with eighty battalions, and a hundred squadrons, entered the country of Halberstadt, and levied immense contributions: whilst the allied army of the French and imperialists, being joined by six thousand men under

The French
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Prince Fer-
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retire.

General Laudohn, who had just defeated a regiment of Prussian cavalry near Erfurth, marched to Weissenfels, a city in the very centre of Thuringia. The Swedes had actually taken some towns in Pomerania, and were advancing to besiege Stetin; and the Austrians, who had made themselves masters of Lignitz, and a considerable part of Silesia, had now laid siege to Schweidnitz, and were preparing to pass the Oder, in order to attack the Prince of Bevern in his camp near Breslau. In the mean time they made frequent and most destructive incursions into Brandenburg: to oppose which his Prussian majesty ordered detachments from all his regiments in those parts to join the militia of the country, and sent the Prince of Anhalt-Dessau from Leipzig, with a body of ten thousand men, to guard Berlin, whilst he himself marched with the troops under his command to Interbeck, on the frontier of the Lower Lusatia, to be the more at hand to cover Brandenburg, and preserve the communication with Silesia.

While these precautions were taking, General Haddick, with fifteen or sixteen thousand Austrians, entered Brandenburg on the sixteenth of October, and the next day arrived before Berlin, of which city he demanded a contribution of six hundred thousand crowns; but contented himself with two hundred and ten thousand. The Austrians pillaged two of the suburbs; but before they could do any further mischief, they were obliged to retire in great haste, at the approach of the Prince of Anhalt-Dessau, whose vanguard entered the city in the evening of their departure. This alarm, however, obliged the queen and the royal family of Prussia to remove to Magdeburgh on the twenty-third; and the most valuable records were sent to the fort of Spandau, at the conflux of the Havel and the Sphre. On the other hand, the unfortunate inhabitants of Leipzig now felt most severely the cruel effects of the power of their new master: the Prussian commandant in that city had, by order of the king, demanded of them three hundred thousand crowns, a sum far greater than it was in their power to raise. This truth they represented, but in vain. The short time allowed them to furnish their contingents being expired, and all their efforts to comply with this demand having proved ineffectual, they were subjected to the rigours of military execution; in consequence of which their houses

Berlin laid under contribution by the Austrians, and Leipzig subjected to a military execution by the Prussians.

were occupied by the soldiery, who seized upon the best apartments, and lived at discretion; but the sum demanded could not be found. Such was the situation of this distressed city, when, on the fifteenth of October, an express arrived, with advice that his Prussian majesty would soon be there; and accordingly he arrived a few minutes after, attended by his life-guards. At the same time, a rumour was spread that the city would be delivered up to pillage, which threw the inhabitants into the utmost consternation. Their fears, however, in that respect, were soon abated by his majesty's declaring, that he was willing to spare the place, upon condition that half the sum required should be immediately paid. All that could be done was to collect among the merchants, traders, and others, fifty thousand crowns; bills of exchange were drawn upon Amsterdam and London for seventy thousand crowns; and hostages were given, by way of security, for the payment of thirty thousand more within a time which was agreed on. But still, notwithstanding this, the military execution was continued, even with greater rigour than before, and all the comfort the wretched inhabitants could obtain was, that it should cease whenever advice should be received that their bills were accepted.

The King of Prussia had tried several times to bring the combined army under the Princes Saxe-Hildburghausen and Soubise to an engagement upon fair ground; but finding them bent on declining it, notwithstanding the superiority of their numbers, he had recourse to one of those strokes in war, by which a general is better seen than by the gaining of a victory. He made a feint, soon after the beginning of October, as if he intended nothing more than to secure his own dominions, and march his army into winter quarters back to Berlin, leaving Mareschal Keith, with only seven or eight thousand men, to defend Leipzig. Upon this the enemy took courage, passed the Sala, and having marched up to the city, summoned the mareschal to surrender; to which he answered, that the king his master had ordered him to defend the place to the last extremity, and he would obey his orders. The enemy then thought of besieging the city; but before they could prepare any one implement for that purpose, they were alarmed by the approach of the King of Prussia, who, judging that his feint would probably induce them to take the step they did, had,

Battle of
Rosbach.

by previous and private orders, collected together all his distant detachments, some of which were twenty leagues asunder, and was advancing by long marches to Leipzig; upon notice of which the enemy repassed the Sala. The Prussian army was reassembled on the twenty-seventh of October, and remained at Leipzig the twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth, when every body expected a battle would be fought in the plains of Lutzen. On the thirtieth, the king drew nigh to that place, and on the thirty-first, in his way through Weissenfels and Meresbourg, he made five hundred men prisoners of war. The combined army had repassed the Sala at Weissenfels, Meresbourg, and Halle, where they broke down the bridges; but these were soon repaired; and the whole Prussian army, amounting to no more than twenty thousand men, having passed that river, through these towns, in each of which they left a battalion, joined again on the third of November, in the evening, over against the enemy, whose forces consisted of forty thousand French, and twenty-five thousand imperialists. On the fifth, about nine o'clock in the morning, the Prussians received intelligence that the enemy were every where in motion. They likewise heard the drums beating the march, and so near were the two armies to each other, plainly perceived from their camp, that the whole infantry, which had drawn nearer upon the rising grounds over against them, was filing off towards their right. No certain judgment could, however, yet be formed of the enemy's real design, and as they were in want of bread, it was thought probable that they intended to repass the Unstrut; but it was soon perceived that their several motions were contradictory to each other. At the same time that some of their infantry were filing off towards their right, a large body of cavalry wheeled round towards their left, directing its march all along to the rising grounds with which the whole Prussian camp, that lay in a bottom between the villages of Rederow and Rosbach, was surrounded, within the reach of large cannon. Soon after that the cavalry were seen to halt, and afterward to fall back to the right; though some of them still remained where they were, whilst the rest marched back. About two in the afternoon the doubts of the Prussians were cleared up; it plainly appearing then that the enemy intended to attack them, and that their dispositions were made with a view to surround them, and to open the action by attacking them in the rear. A body of

reserve was posted over against Rederow, to fall upon their routed troops, in case they should be defeated, and to prevent their retiring to Meresbourg, the only retreat which could then have been left them. In this situation the King of Prussia resolved to attack them. His majesty had determined to make the attack with one wing only, and the disposition of the enemy made it necessary that it should be the left wing. The very instant the battle was going to begin, his majesty ordered the general who commanded the right wing to decline engaging, to take a proper position in consequence thereof, and, above all, to prevent his being surrounded. All the cavalry of the right wing of the Prussians, except two or three squadrons, had already marched to the left at full gallop, and being arrived at the place assigned them, they formed over against that of the enemy; they then moved on immediately, the enemy's advanced to meet them, and the charge was very fierce, several regiments of the French coming on with great resolution. The advantage, however, was entirely on the side of the Prussians. The enemy's cavalry being routed, were pursued for a considerable time with great spirit, but having afterwards reached an eminence, which gave them an opportunity of rallying, the Prussian cavalry fell upon them afresh, and gave them so total a defeat that they fled in the utmost disorder. This happened at four in the afternoon. Whilst the cavalry of the Prussians charged, their infantry opened. The enemy cannonaded them briskly during this interval, and did some execution, but the Prussian artillery was not idle. After this cannonading had continued on both sides a full quarter of an hour, without the least intermission, the fire of the infantry began. The enemy could not stand it, nor resist the valour of the Prussian foot, who gallantly marched up to their batteries. The batteries were carried one after another, and the enemy were forced to give way, which they did in great confusion. As the left wing of the Prussians advanced, the right changed its position, and having soon met with a small rising ground, they availed themselves of it, by planting it with sixteen pieces of heavy artillery. The fire from thence was partly pointed at the enemy's right, to increase the disorder there, and took their left wing in front, which was excessively galled thereby. At five the victory was decided, the cannonading ceased, and the enemy fled on all sides. They were pursued as long as there was any light to distinguish

them, and it may be said, that night alone was the preservation of this army, which had been so formidable in the morning. They took the benefit of the darkness to enter into Fryburgh, and there to repass the Unstrut, which they did on the morning of the sixth, after a whole night's march. The King of Prussia set out early in the morning to pursue them with all his cavalry, supported by four battalions of grenadiers, the infantry following them in two columns. The enemy had passed the Unstrut at Fryburgh when the Prussians arrived on its banks, and as they had burnt the bridge, it became necessary to make another, which, however, was soon done. The cavalry passed first, but could not come up with the enemy till five in the evening, upon the hills of Eckersberg. It was then too late to force them there, for which reason the king thought proper to canton his army in the nearest villages, and to be satisfied with the success his hussars had in taking near three hundred baggage-waggon, and every thing they contained. The whole loss of the Prussians, in this important engagement, did not exceed five hundred men killed and wounded. Among the former was General Meincke, and among the latter Prince Henry and General Seydelitz. The enemy lost sixty-four pieces of cannon, a great many standards and colours, near three thousand men killed on the field of battle, and upwards of eight thousand taken prisoners, among whom were several generals, and other officers of distinction. Three hundred waggon were sent to Leipzig, laden with wounded French and Swiss. Upon the approach of the Prussians towards Eckersberg, the enemy retreated with great precipitation; and, after marching all night, arrived the next day at Erfurth, in the utmost want of every necessary of life, not having had a morsel of bread for two days, during which they had been obliged to live upon turnips, radishes, and other roots, which they dug out of the earth. The French, under the Duke de Richelieu, were preparing to go into winter quarters; but, upon the news of this defeat of the combined army, they again put themselves in motion, and a large detachment of them advanced as far as Dunderstadt, to favour the retreat of their countrymen under the Prince de Soubise, who, with great precipitancy, made the best of their way from Erfurth to the county of Hohenstein, and from thence bent their march towards Halberstadt. Of the remains of the imperial army, which was now almost entirely

dispersed, whole bodies deserted, and went over to the King of Prussia soon after the battle.

Whilst his Prussian majesty was thus successful against the French and imperialists, the Austrians, who had carefully avoided coming to an open engagement with him, gained ground apace in Silesia. A detachment of their army, under the command of Count Nadasti, had already invested Schweidnitz, and opened the trenches before it on the twenty-sixth of October. The Prussian garrison, commanded by General de la Motte Fouquet, determined to defend the place as long as possible; and accordingly on the thirtieth they made a sally, in which they killed, wounded, and took prisoners, eight hundred of the besiegers, and did some damage to their works; but on the sixth of November the Austrians began to cannonade the city furiously, and on the eleventh made themselves masters of the ramparts by assault. The garrison, however, having taken care, during the siege, to throw up a strong entrenchment in the market-place, retreated thither, and held out till the next day, when they surrendered themselves prisoners of war. After the reduction of this place, General Nadasti, leaving in it a sufficient garrison, marched with the remainder of his troops, and joined the main army of the Austrians, under the command of Prince Charles of Lorraine and Mareschal Daun, who, whilst he was busied in the siege of Schweidnitz, had invested Breslau on the left of the Oder; the Prince of Bevern defending it on the right, where he was strongly encamped, with his little army, under the cannon of the city. The whole army of the Austrians being now reassembled, and intelligence having been brought not only of the King of Prussia's late victory near Leipzig, but also that he was advancing to the relief of the Prince of Bevern, it was resolved immediately to attack the last in his intrenchments. Accordingly, on the twenty-second of November, about nine in the morning, the Austrians began a most furious discharge of their cannon, forty of which were twenty-four pounders, and thus continued without ceasing till one, when it was succeeded by a severe fire of their small arms, which lasted till five in the evening. The Prussians, with undaunted resolution, stood two of the most violent attacks that were ever made; but at the third, overpowered by numbers, and assailed on both sides, they began to lose ground, and were

The Austrians take Schweidnitz; and defeat the Prince of Bevern near Breslau.

forced to retire from one intrenchment to another. In this extremity, night coming on, the Prussian generals, fearing their intrenchments would be entirely forced, and that they should then be totally defeated, thought proper to retreat. The Prince of Bevern, with the greatest part of the army, retired to an eminence on the banks of the Oder, whilst the rest of the troops threw themselves into Breslau, which they might have defended, in all probability, till the king had come to its relief. But on the twenty-fourth, their commander-in-chief, the Prince of Bevern, going to reconnoitre the enemy, with only a single groom to attend him, fell in among a party of Croats, who took him prisoner.^b His army, thus deprived of their general, retreated northward that night, leaving in Breslau only four battalions, who, the next day surrendered the place by capitulation, one of the articles of which was, that they should not serve against the empress, or her allies, for two years. All the magazines, chests, artillery, &c., remained in the hands of the Austrians. The garrison marched out with all military honours, conducted by General Leswitz, governor of Breslau. Though the Austrians sung *Te Deum* for this victory, they owned that such another would put an end to their army; for it cost them the lives of twelve thousand men; a number almost equal to the whole of the Prussian army before the battle. They had four almost inaccessible intrenchments to force, planted thick with cannon, which fired cartridge-shot from nine in the morning till the evening, and the Prussians, when attacked, were never once put into the least confusion. Among the slain, on the side of the Austrians, were General Wurben, and several other officers of distinction. The loss of the Prussians did not much exceed three thousand men, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, of which last there were about sixteen hundred. Their general Kleist was found dead on the field of battle.

^b We are told that he mistook these Croats for Prussian hussars. But some of the circumstances of this mysterious affair were interpreted into a premeditated design in the prince to be taken prisoner. It cannot otherwise be supposed that a man of his rank, a prince, a commander-in-chief, should officiously undertake the always dangerous task of reconnoitring the enemy with so slight an attendance as only one man, and that but a groom, even if he had judged it necessary to see things with his own eyes. Some secret dissatisfaction, hitherto unknown to us, may possibly have been the cause of his taking this step; or, which seems still more probable, he might be ashamed, or, perhaps, even afraid, to see the king his master, after having so injudiciously abandoned the defence of Breslau, by quitting his lines, which it is asserted his Prussian majesty had sent him express orders not to quit on any account whatever, for that he would certainly be with him by the fifth of December, in which we shall find he kept his word.

The King of Prussia, who, like Cæsar, thought nothing was done while any thing was left undone, stayed no longer at Rosbach than till the routed forces of the French and imperialists, whom he had defeated there on the fifth of November, were totally dispersed. Then he marched directly with the greatest part of his army for Silesia, and on the twenty-fourth of that month arrived at Naumberg on the Queiss, a little river which runs into the Bobber, having in his route detached Mareschal Keith, with the rest of his army, to clear Saxony from all the Austrian parties, and then to make an irruption into Bohemia, a service which he performed so effectually, as to raise large contributions in the circles of Satz and Leitmeritz, and even to give an alarm to Prague itself. His majesty reserved for himself only fifteen thousand men, with whom he advanced, with his usual rapidity, to Barchwitz, where, notwithstanding all that had happened at Schweidnitz and at Breslau, he was joined by twenty-four thousand more; part of them troops which he had ordered from Saxony, part the remains of the army lately commanded by the Prince of Bevern, and part the late garrison of Schweidnitz, which had found means to escape from the Austrians, and accidentally joined their king upon his march.* With this force, though greatly inferior in number to that of the enemy, he resolved to attack the Austrians, who were intrenched at Lissa near Breslau. On the fourth of December he seized upon their ovens at Neumarck, and upon a considerable magazine, guarded by two regiments of Croats, who retired to a rising ground, where his majesty ordered his hussars to surround them, and send a trumpet to summon them to surrender themselves prisoners of war. Upon their refusal, the hussars of Zithen fell upon them sabre in hand, and some hundreds of them having been cut in pieces, the rest threw down their arms, begging for quarter on their knees. After this seizure,

* Whilst the Austrians were conducting them to prison, on their route they chanced to hear of the victory their master had gained at Rosbach. Animated by these tidings, they unanimously rose upon the escort that guarded them, which, happening not to be very strong, they entirely dispersed. Thus freed, they marched on, not very certain of their way, in hopes to rejoin some corps of the Prussian troops, their countrymen. The same fortune which freed them, led them directly to the army commanded by the king himself, which was hastening to their relief, as well as to that of the prince of Bevern. This unexpected meeting was equally pleasing to both, the prisoners not having heard any thing of his majesty's march; and at the same time this lucky incident, whilst it added a considerable strength to the army, added likewise to its confidence, for the slightest occurrence is construed into an omen by an army at the eve of an engagement.

and after having distributed to his army the bread prepared for his enemies, he began again the next morning his march towards Lissa. General Zithen, who led the vanguard of light horse, about seven in the morning fell in with a body of Austrian hussars, and three regiments of Saxon dragoons, which were the very best cavalry the enemy had left after the battle of the twenty-second. They had been detached by the Austrians, in order to retard the king's march, and to conceal their own, till their batteries should be completed; for, as they held the small number of the Prussians in contempt, their intention was to have met the king two German miles from their intrenchments. The Austrian cavalry having been vigorously repulsed to a considerable distance, General Zithen perceived that their whole army was forming. He immediately acquainted the king with what he had discovered, and his majesty, after having himself observed the disposition of the enemy, made his own with that sagacity and despatch for which he was always remarkable. The action began by attacking a battery of forty pieces of large cannon, which covered the right wing of the enemy. The two battalions of guards, with the regiments of the Margrave Charles and of Itzenplitz, marched up, amidst a most terrible fire, to the very mouths of the cannon, with their bayonets screwed. In this attack the Prussians sustained the greatest loss, though the battery was carried as soon almost as they could reach it; then the enemy's artillery, now turned against themselves, played furiously upon them with their own powder. From that instant the two wings and the centre of the Prussians continued to drive the enemy before them, advancing all the time with that firm and regular pace for which they have always been renowned, without ever halting or giving way. The ground which the Austrians occupied was very advantageous, and every circumstance that could render it more so had been improved to the utmost by the diligence and skill of Count Daun, who, remembering his former success, was emboldened to enter the lists again with his royal antagonist. The Prussians, however, no way terrified by the enemy's situation, nor their numbers, went calmly and dreadfully forward. It was almost impossible, in the beginning, for the Prussian cavalry to act, on account of the impediments of fallen trees, which the enemy had cut down and laid in the field of battle, to retard their approach; but a judicious disposition which the king

made overcame that disadvantage.' When he first formed his army, he had placed four battalions behind the cavalry of his right wing, foreseeing that General Nadasti, who was placed with a corps of reserve on the enemy's left, designed to take him in flank. It happened as he had foreseen; this general's horse attacked the king's right wing with great fury; but he was received with so severe a fire from the four battalions, that he was obliged to retire in disorder. The enemy gave way on all sides; but at some distance recovered themselves, and rallied three times, animated by their officers, and by the superiority of their numbers. Every time they made a stand, the Prussians attacked them with redoubled vigour, and with success equal to their bravery. Towards night, the enemy, still retreating, fell into disorder. Their two wings fled in confusion; one of them, closely pressed by the king, retired towards Breslau, and took shelter under the cannon of that city; the other, pursued by the greatest part of the light cavalry, took their flight towards Canth and Schweidnitz. Six thousand Austrians fell in this engagement, and the Prussians, who had only five hundred men killed, and two thousand three hundred wounded, made upwards of ten thousand of the enemy prisoners, among whom were two hundred and ninety-one officers. They took also a hundred and sixteen cannon, fifty-one colours and standards, and four thousand waggons of ammunition and baggage. The consequences that followed this victory declared its importance. Future ages will read with astonishment, that the same prince, who but a few months before seemed on the verge of inevitable ruin, merely by the dint of his own abilities, without the assistance of any friend whatever, with troops perpetually harassed by long and painful marches, and by continual skirmishes and battles, not only retrieved his affairs, which almost every one, except himself, thought past redress; but, in the midst of winter, in countries where it was judged next to impossible for any troops to keep the field at that season, conquered the united forces of France and the empire at Rosbach, on the fifth of November; and on the same day of the very next month, with a great part of the same army, was at Lissa, where he again triumphed over all the power of the house of Austria. Pursuing his advantage, he immediately invested Breslau, and within two days after this great victory, every thing was in readiness to besiege it in form. His troops, flushed with success,

were at first for storming it; but the king, knowing the strength of the garrison, which consisted of upwards of thirteen thousand men, and considering both the fatigues which his own soldiers had lately undergone, and the fatal consequences that might ensue, should they fail of success in this attempt, ordered the approaches to be carried on in the usual form. His commands were obeyed, and Breslau surrendered to him on the twentieth of December in the morning. The garrison, of which ten thousand bore arms, and between three and four thousand lay sick or wounded, were made prisoners of war. Fourteen of these prisoners were officers of high rank. The military chest, a vast treasure, with eighty pieces of cannon, fell into the hands of the victors, who lost only about twenty men in their approaches. During the siege, a magazine of powder was set on fire by a bomb, which occasioned great confusion among the besieged, and damaged one of the bastions. The strong fortress of Schweidnitz still remained in the enemy's possession, defended by a garrison so numerous, that it might be compared to a small army; and whilst that continued so, the King of Prussia's victories in Silesia were of no decisive effect. For this reason, though it was now the dead of winter, and the soldiers stood in need of repose, his majesty resolved, if possible, to become master of that place before the end of the year; but as a close siege was impracticable, a blockade was formed, as strictly as the rigour of the season would permit.^d It was not, however, till the beginning of the ensuing campaign that this place was taken. The Prussians opened their trenches before it on the third of April, one thousand seven hundred and fifty-eight, and erected two large batteries, which kept a continual fire upon the town. The artillery of the besiegers consisted of three hundred pieces of cannon, of different dimensions, and eighty mortars; an amazing artillery, and such as we have never heard of in former campaigns. On the night of the fourteenth, the Prussians carried one of the chief works by assault, and lodged themselves therein; the commandant capitulated the next day, with the garrison, which was now greatly reduced in number, being not half of what it amounted to at the beginning of

^d Such was the rigour of the season, that some hundreds of the sentinels dropped down dead on their several posts, unable to sustain the severity of the cold. The Germans lie under the general reproach of paying very little regard to the lives of their soldiers, and indeed this practice of winter campaigns, in such a cold country, bespeaks very little regard to the dictates of humanity.

the blockade. Thus, all the parts of Silesia, which the King of Prussia had lost by one unfortunate blow, fell again into his possession; and his affairs, which but a few months before seemed irretrievable, were now re-established upon a firmer basis than ever. The Prussian parties not only repossessed themselves of those parts of Silesia which belonged to their king, but penetrated into the Austrian division, reduced Jägerndorf, Troppau, Tretchen, and several other places, and left the empress-queen scarce any footing in that country, in which, a few days before, she reckoned her dominion perfectly established.

The Swedes, after many debates between their king and senate, had at length resolved upon an open declaration against the King of Prussia, and, in consequence of that resolution, sent so many troops into Pomerania, that, by the end of August, their army in that country amounted to twenty-five thousand men. Their first act of hostility was the seizure of Anclam and Demmin, two towns that lay in the way to Stetin, against which their principal design was levelled. But before they proceeded farther, General Hamilton, their commander, by way of justifying the conduct of his master, published a declaration, setting forth, "that the King of Sweden, as guarantee of the treaty of Westphalia, could not help sending his troops into the upper part of the duchy of Pomerania belonging to the King of Prussia; and that, therefore, all the officers appointed to receive the public revenue in that country must pay what money they had in their hands to him, who was commissioned to receive it for his Swedish majesty: that, moreover, an exact account was required, within eight days, of the revenues of the country; but that no more than ordinary contributions would be demanded of the inhabitants, who might rest assured that the Swedish troops should observe the strictest discipline." After this declaration, they attacked the little fortress of Penemunde upon the river Pene, and on the twenty-third of September, after a siege of nine days, obliged the garrison, which consisted only of militia, to surrender themselves prisoners of war. This alternative the commanding officer chose rather than engage not to serve for two years, observing that such an engagement was inconsistent with his honour, whilst his prince had so much occasion for his service; and the Swedish general, touched with this noble way of thinking, was, on his part,

Hostilities
of the
Swedes in
Pomerania.

so generous as to give him his liberty. On the other hand. General Manteuffel, who commanded the Prussian forces then in Pomerania, amounting to twelve thousand men, with whom he was encamped before Stetin, to cover that place, published, in answer to this, a declaration enjoining the inhabitants of Pomerania to remain faithful to the King of Prussia, their lawful sovereign, under pain of incurring his just indignation, and absolutely forbidding them to pay any regard to the Swedish manifesto.

In the mean time, Mareschal Lehwald, immediately after the battle of Norkitten, when the Russians began their retreat, detached Prince George of Holstein-Gottorp, with a considerable body of forces, to the relief of Pomerania; and shortly after, the Russian forces having totally evacuated every part of Prussia, except Memel, and most of them being actually gone into winter quarters, he himself followed with an additional reinforcement of sixteen thousand men. Upon his approach, the Swedes, who were then encamped at Ferdinandshoff, and had begun to fill up the harbour of Schwinemunde, by way of previous preparation for the siege of Stetin, retired with such precipitation, that they did not allow themselves time to draw off a little garrison they had at Wollin, consisting of two hundred and ten men, who were made prisoners of war. Demmin was cannonaded by the Prussians on the twenty-ninth of December; and the Swedes, having lost one officer and forty men, desired to capitulate. As, in order to ease the troops, it was not thought proper to continue the siege in so sharp a season, their request was granted, and they had leave to retire with two pieces of cannon. The Prussians took possession of the town on the second day of January, after the Swedes had, on the thirtieth of December, likewise given up Anclam, where the conquerors took a hundred and fifty prisoners, and found a considerable magazine of provisions and ammunition. Mareschal Lehwald then passed the Pene, entered Swedish Pomerania, and reduced Gutzkow, Loitz, Tripsus, and Nebringen. At the same time, Lieutenant-General Schorlemmer passed with his corps from the isle of Wollin into the isle of Usedom, and from thence to Wolgast, the Swedes having abandoned the town, as well as Schwinemunde, and the fort of Penemunde. The Prince of Holstein advanced as far as Grimm and Grieffswalde, and the Swedes, losing one town after another, till they had

Mareschal
Lehwald
forces the
Swedes to
retire.

nothing left in Pomerania but the port of Stralsunde, continued retreating till they had reached this last place. The French party in Sweden, to comfort the people, called this retreat, or rather flight, going into winter quarters. The Prussian hussars were not idle wherever they penetrated; for, besides plundering and pillaging, they raised a contribution of a hundred and sixty thousand crowns in Swedish Pomerania. The Mecklenburghers, who had joined the Swedes with six thousand of their troops, now found cause to repent of their forwardness, being left quite exposed to the resentment of the victors, who chastised them with the most severe exactions. The army of the Swedes, though they did not fight a battle, was, by sickness, desertion, and other accidents, reduced to half the number it consisted of when they took the field. The Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, soon after his territories were invaded by the French, in consequence of their advantage in the affair of Hastenbeck, had applied to the King of Sweden, as one of the guarantees of the treaty of Westphalia, desiring him to employ his good offices with the court of France, to obtain a more favourable treatment for his dominions: but his Swedish majesty, by the advice of the senate, thought proper to refuse complying with this request, alleging that as the crown of Sweden was one of the principal guarantees of the treaty of Westphalia, it would be highly improper to take such a step, in favour of a prince who had not only broken the laws and constitutions of the empire, in refusing to furnish his contingent, but had even assisted, with his troops, a power known to be its declared enemy. The Aulic council, too, seeing, or pretending to see, the behaviour of the Landgrave in the same light, issued a decree against his serene highness towards the end of this year.

The court of Great Britain, justly displeased with the Dutch on account of the extreme facility with which they had granted the French a free passage through Namur and Maestricht for their provisions, ammunition, and artillery, in the beginning of this campaign, had very properly remonstrated against that step, before it was absolutely resolved on, or at least declared to be so; but in vain; a pusillanimous answer being all the satisfaction that was obtained. The tameness and indifference with which the States-General had since seen Ostend and Nieupoort put into the hands of the French,

Memorial
presented to
the Dutch
by Colonel
Yorke,
relative to
Ostend and
Nieupoort.

drew upon their high mightinesses a further remonstrance, which was delivered to them on the twenty-eighth of November of this year by Colonel Yorke, his Britannic majesty's plenipotentiary at the Hague, in the following terms, well calculated to awaken in them a due sense of their own danger, as well as to evince the injustice of the proceedings of the house of Austria :—" Considering the critical situation which Europe has been in during the course of this year, in consequence of measures concerted to embroil all Europe, the King of Great Britain was willing to flatter himself that the courts of Vienna and Versailles, out of regard to the circumspcct conduct observed by your high mightinesses, would have at least informed you of the changes they have thought proper to make in the Austrian Netherlands. It was with the utmost surprise the king heard that, without any previous consent of yours, and almost without giving you any notice, the court of Vienna had thought proper to put the towns of Ostend and Nieuport into the hands of the French troops, and to withdraw her own, as well as her artillery and stores, whilst France continues to send thither a formidable quantity of both. The conduct of the court of Vienna towards his majesty is indeed so unmerited and so extraordinary, that it is difficult to find words to express it; but whatever fallacious pretext she may have made use of to palliate her behaviour towards England, it does not appear that they can be extended so far as to excuse the infringement, in concert with France, of the most solemn treaties between her and your high mightinesses. The king never doubted that your high mightinesses would have made proper representations to the two courts, newly allied, to demonstrate the injustice of such a proceeding, and the danger that might afterwards result from it. Your high mightinesses will have perceived that your silence on the first step encouraged the two courts, newly allied, to attempt others; and who can say where they will stop? The pretext at first was, the need which the empress-queen stood in of the troops for the war kindled in the empire, and the necessity for providing for the safety of those important places, and afterwards of their imaginary danger from England. But, high and mighty lords, it is but too evident that the two powers who have taken these measures in concert have other projects in view, and have made new regulations with regard to that country, which cannot but alarm the neighbouring states. The late

demand made to your high mightinesses, of a passage for a large train of warlike implements through some of the barrier towns, in order to be sent to Ostend and Nieuport, could not fail to awaken the king's attention. The sincere friendship and parity of interests of Great Britain and Holland require that they should no longer keep silence, lest, in the issue, it should be considered as a tacit consent, and as a relinquishment of all our rights. The king commands me, therefore to recall to your high mightinesses the twofold right you have acquired to keep the Austrian Netherlands under the government of the house of Austria; and that no other has a title to make the least alteration therein, without the consent of your high mightinesses; unless the new allies have resolved to set aside all prior treaties, and to dispose at pleasure of every thing that may suit their private interest. In the treaty between your high mightinesses and the crown of France, signed at Utrecht, on the eleventh of April, one thousand seven hundred and thirteen, in the fifteenth article, are these words: 'It is also agreed, that no province, fort, town, or city of the said Netherlands, or of those which are given up by his Catholic majesty, shall ever be ceded, transferred, or given, or shall ever devolve, to the crown of France, or any prince or princess of the house or line of France, either by virtue of any gift, exchange, marriage-contract, succession by will, or by any other title whatever, to the power and authority of the most Christian king, or of any prince or princess of the house or line of France.' In the barrier treaty these very stipulations are repeated in the first article: 'His imperial and Catholic majesty promises and engages, that no province, city, town, fortress, or territory of the said country shall be ceded, transferred, given, or devolve to the crown of France, or to any other but the successor of the German dominions of the house of Austria, either by donation, sale, exchange, marriage-contract, heritage, testamentary succession, nor under any other pretext whatsoever: so that no province, town, fortress, or territory of the said Netherlands shall ever be subject to any other prince, but to the successor of the states of the house of Austria alone, excepting what has been yielded by the present treaty to the said lords the States-General.' A bare reading of these two articles is sufficient to evince all that I have just represented to your high mightinesses; and whatever pretext the courts of Vienna and Versailles may

allege, to cover the infraction of these treaties, the thing remains, nevertheless, evident, whilst these two courts are unable to prove that the towns of Ostend and Nieuport are not actually in the power of France. If their designs are just, or agreeable to those treaties, they will doubtless not scruple, in the least, to make your high mightinesses easy on that head, by openly explaining themselves to a quiet and pacific neighbour, and by giving you indisputable proofs of their intentions to fulfil the stipulations of the said two treaties with regard to the Netherlands. The king hath so much confidence in the good sense, prudence, and friendship of your high mightinesses, that he makes not the least doubt of your taking the most efficacious measures to clear up an affair of such importance; and of your being pleased, in concert with his majesty, to watch over the fate of a country, whose situation and independence have, for more than a century, been regarded as one of the principal supports of your liberty and commerce." It does not appear that this remonstrance had the desired effect upon the States-General, who were apprehensive of embroiling themselves with an enemy so remarkably alert in taking all advantages. The truth is, they were not only unprepared for a rupture with France, but extremely unwilling to forego the commercial profits which they derived from their neutrality.

The King of Prussia, about this period, began to harbour a suspicion that certain other powers longed eagerly to enjoy the same respite from the dangers and inconveniences of war, and that he ran the risk of being abandoned by his sole patron and ally, who seemed greatly alarmed at his defeat in Bohemia, and desirous of detaching himself from a connexion which might be productive of the most disagreeable consequences to his continental interest. Stimulated by this opinion, his Prussian majesty is said to have written an expostulatory letter * to the King of Great Britain, in which

King of
Prussia's
letter to the
King of
Great
Britain.
His Britan-
nic ma-
jesty's de-
claration.

* The letter, which was written in French, we have translated for the reader's satisfaction.

"I am informed that the design of a treaty of neutrality for the electorate of Hanover is not yet laid aside. Is it possible that your majesty can have so little fortitude and constancy as to be dispirited by a small reverse of fortune? Are affairs so rumous that they cannot be repaired? I hope your majesty will consider the step you have made me hazard, and remember that you are the sole cause of these misfortunes that now impend over my head. I should never have abandoned the alliance of France but for your flattering assurances. I do not now repent of the treaty I have concluded with your majesty: but I expect you will not ingloriously leave me at the mercy of my enemies, after having brought upon me all the force of Europe. I depend upon your adhering to your repeated

he very plainly taxes that monarch with having instigated him to commence hostilities; and insists upon his remembering the engagements by which he was so solemnly bound. From the strain of this letter, and the Prussian's declaration to the British minister when he first set out for Saxony, importing, that he was going to fight the King of England's battles, a notion was generally conceived, that these two powers had agreed to certain private pacts or conventions, the particulars of which have not yet transpired. Certain it is, a declaration was delivered to the Prussian resident at London, which appears to have been calculated as an answer to the letter. In that paper the King of Great Britain declared, that the overtures made by his majesty's electoral ministers in Germany, touching the checks received on the continent, should have no influence on his majesty as king; that he saw in the same light as before the pernicious effects of the union between the courts of Vienna and Versailles, threatening a subversion of the whole system of public liberty, and of the independence of the European powers: that he considered as a fatal consequence of this dangerous connexion the cession made by the court of Vienna of the ports in the Netherlands to France in such a critical situation, and contrary to the faith of the most solemn treaties: that whatever might be the success of his arms, his majesty was determined to act in constant concert with the King of Prussia, in employing the most efficacious means to frustrate the unjust and oppressive designs of their common enemies. He concluded with assuring the King of Prussia, that the British crown would continue to fulfil, with the greatest punctuality, its engagements with his Prussian majesty, and to support him with firmness and vigour. Such a representation could not fail of being agreeable to a prince who, at this juncture, stood in need of an extraordinary cordial. He knew he could securely depend, not only on the good faith of an English ministry, but also on the good plight of the British nation, which, like an indulgent nurse, hath always presented the nipple to her meagre German allies. Those, however, who pretended to consider and canvass events without prejudice and prepossession, could not help owning their surprise at hearing an alliance stigmatized as pernicious to the system of public

engagements of the twenty-sixth of last month, and that you will listen to no treaty in which I am not comprehended."

liberty, and subversive of the independence of the European powers, as they remembered that this alliance was the effect of necessity, to which the house of Austria was reduced for its own preservation; reduced, as its friends and partisans affirm, by those very potentates that now reproached her with these connexions.

His Britannic majesty was resolved that the King of Prussia should have no cause to complain of his indifference, whatever reasons he had to exclaim against the convention of Closter-Seven, which he did not scruple to condemn as a very scandalous capitulation, as much as he disapproved of the conduct, in consequence of which near forty thousand men were so shamefully disarmed, and lost to his cause. Those stipulations also met with a very unfavourable reception in England, where the motions of the allied army in their retreat before the enemy were very freely censured, and some great names exposed to the ridicule and contempt of the public. This event, so singular in itself and so important in its consequences, attracted the attention of the privy-council, where it is said to have been canvassed with great warmth and animosity of altercation. The general complained that he was restricted by peremptory orders from the regency of Hanover; and they were reported to have used recriminations in their defence. In all probability, every circumstance of the dispute was not explained to the satisfaction of all parties, inasmuch as that great commander quitted the harvest of military glory, and, like another Cincinnatus, retired to his plough. The convention of Closter-Seven was equally disagreeable to the courts of London and Versailles. The former saw the electorate of Hanover left, by this capitulation, at the mercy of the enemy, who had taken possession of the whole country, seized the revenues, exacted contributions, and changed the whole form of government, in the name of his most Christian majesty; while the French army, which had been employed in opposing the Hanoverians, was now at liberty to throw their additional force into the scale against the King of Prussia, who, at that period, seemed to totter on the verge of destruction. On the other hand, the French ministry thought their general had granted too favourable terms to a body of forces, whom he had cooped up in such a manner, that, in a little time, they must have surrendered at discretion. They therefore

Disputes
concerning
the con-
vention of
Closter-
Seven.

determined either to provoke the Hanoverians by ill usage to an infraction of the treaty, or, should that be found impracticable, renounce it as an imperfect convention, established without proper authority. Both expedients were used without reserve. They were no sooner informed of the capitulation, than they refused to acknowledge its validity, except on condition that the Hanoverian troops should formally engage to desist from all service against France and her allies during the present war, and be disarmed on their return to their own country. At the same time her general, who commanded in the electorate, exhausted the country, by levying exorbitant contributions, and connived at such outrages as degraded his own dignity, and reflected disgrace on the character of his nation. The court of London, to make a merit of necessity, affected to consider the conventional act as a provisional armistice, to pave the way for a negotiation that might terminate in a general peace, and proposals were offered for that purpose: but the French ministry kept aloof, and seemed resolved that the electorate of Hanover should be annexed to their king's dominions. At least they were bent upon keeping it as a precious depositum, which, in the plan of a general pacification, they imagined would counterbalance any advantage that Great Britain might obtain in other parts of the world. Had they been allowed to keep this deposit, the kingdom of Great Britain would have saved about twenty millions of money, together with the lives of her best soldiers; and Westphalia would have continued to enjoy all the blessings of security and peace. But the King of England's tenderness for Hanover was one of the chief sources of the misfortunes which befell that electorate. He could not bear the thoughts of seeing it, even for a season, in the hands of the enemy; and his own sentiments in this particular were reinforced by the pressing remonstrances of the Prussian monarch, whom, at this juncture, he thought it dangerous to disoblige. Actuated by these motives, he was pleased to see the articles of the convention so palpably contravened, because the violation unbound his hands, and enabled him, consistently with good faith, to take effectual steps for the assistance of his ally, and the recovery of his own dominions. He, therefore, in quality of Elector of Brunswick-Lunenbourg, published a declaration, observing, "That his royal highness the Duke of Cumberland had, on

his part, honestly fulfilled all the conditions of the convention; but the Duke de Richelieu demanded that the troops should enter into an engagement specified above, and lay down their arms; although it was expressly stipulated in the convention, that they should not be regarded as prisoners of war, under which quality alone they could be disarmed; that the French court pretended to treat the convention as a military regulation only; and, indeed, it was originally nothing more; but as they had expressly disowned its validity, and a negotiation had been actually begun for disarming the auxiliaries, upon certain conditions, though the French general would never answer categorically, but waited always for fresh instructions from Versailles, the nature of that act was totally changed, and what was at first an agreement between general and general, was now become a matter of state between the two courts of London and Versailles: that however hard the conditions of the convention appeared to be for the troops of Hanover, his Britannic majesty would have acquiesced in them, had not the French glaringly discovered their design of totally ruining his army and his dominions; and, by the most outrageous conduct, freed his Britannic majesty from every obligation under which he had been laid by the convention: that, in the midst of the armistice, the most open hostilities had been committed; the castle of Schartzfels had been forcibly seized and pillaged, and the garrison made prisoners of war: the prisoners made by the French before the convention had not been restored, according to an express article stipulated between the generals, though it had been fulfilled on the part of the electorate, by the immediate release of the French prisoners; the baillies of those districts, from which the French troops were excluded by mutual agreement, had been summoned, on pain of military execution, to appear before the French commissary, and compelled to deliver into his hands the public revenue; the French had appropriated to themselves part of those magazines, which, by express agreement, were destined for the use of the electoral troops; and they had seized the houses, revenue, and corn belonging to the King of England in the city of Bremen, in violation of their engagement to consider that city as a place absolutely free and neutral. He took notice, that they had proceeded to menaces unheard of among civilized people, of burning, sacking, and destroying every thing that fell in their way,

should the least hesitation be made in executing the convention according to their interpretation." Such were the professed considerations that determined his Britannic majesty to renounce the agreement which they had violated, and have recourse to arms for the relief of his subjects and allies. It was in consequence of this determination that he conferred the command of his electoral army on Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, brother to the duke of that name, who had distinguished himself in the Prussian army by his great military talents, and was, by blood and inclination, as well as interest, supposed warmly attached to his Britannic majesty. The truth is, the King of Prussia recommended him to this command, because he knew he could depend upon his concurring with all his measures, in conducting the operations of the British army. The Duke de Richelieu was no sooner informed of these particulars, than he sent a letter to Prince Ferdinand, specifying "That although for some days he had perceived the Hanoverian troops in motion, in order to form themselves into a body, he could not imagine the object of these movements was to infringe the convention of neutrality which had been established between the Duke of Cumberland and himself, as French general; that he was blinded so far by his confidence in the good faith of the Elector of Hanover, who had signed that convention, as to believe the troops were assembled for no other purpose than to be distributed into winter quarters, which had been assigned them by the agreement; but his eyes were at last opened, by repeated advices which he had received from all quarters, importing, that the Hanoverians intended to infringe those articles which ought to be sacred and inviolable; he affirmed, the king his master was still willing to give fresh proofs of his moderation, and his desire to spare the effusion of human blood; with that view he declared to his serene highness, in the name of his most Christian majesty, that he persisted in his resolution of fulfilling exactly all the points of the convention, provided they should be equally observed by the Hanoverian army; but he could not help apprising his serene highness, that if this army should take any equivocal step, and still more, should it commit any act of hostility, he would then push matters to the last extremity, looking upon himself as authorized so to do by the rules of war; that he would set fire to all the palaces, houses, and gardens; sack all the towns and villages, with-

out sparing the most inconsiderable cottage, and subject the country to all the horrors of war and devastation. He conjured his serene highness to reflect on these particulars, and begged he would not lay him under the necessity of taking steps so contrary to his own personal character, as well as to the natural humanity of the French nation." To this letter, which was seconded by the Count de Lynar, the Danish ambassador, who had mediated the convention, Prince Ferdinand returned a very laconic answer, intimating that he would give the Duke de Richelieu his answer in person at the head of his army. At this particular juncture, the French general was disposed to abide by the original articles of the convention, rather than draw upon himself the hostilities of an army which he knew to be brave, resolute, and well appointed, and which he saw at present animated with an eager desire of wiping out the disgrace they had sustained by the capitulation, as well as of relieving their country from the grievous oppression under which it groaned.

About the latter end of November the Hanoverian army was wholly assembled at Stade, under the auspices of Prince Ferdinand, who resolved, without delay, to drive the French from the electorate, whither they now began their march. Part of the enemy's rear, consisting of two thousand men, was; in their march back to Zell, attacked in the bailiwick of Ebstorff, and entirely defeated by General Schuylenbourg; and in a few days after this action, another happened upon the river Aller, between two considerable bodies of each army, in which the Hanoverians, commanded by General Zastrow, remained masters of the field. These petty advantages served to encourage the allies, and put them in possession of Lunenbourg, Zell, and part of the Brunswick dominions, which the enemy were obliged to abandon. The operations of Prince Ferdinand, however, were retarded by the resolution and obstinate perseverance of the French officer who commanded the garrison of Harbourg. When the Hanoverian troops made themselves masters of the town, he retired into the castle, which he held out against a considerable detachment of the allied army, by whom it was invested: at length, however, the fortifications being entirely demolished, he surrendered upon capitulation. On the sixth day of December, Prince Ferdinand began his march towards Zell, where the French army had taken post, under the command of the Duke de

Richelieu, who, at the approach of the Hanoverians, called in his advanced parties, abandoned several magazines, burned all the farm-houses and buildings belonging to the sheep-walks of his Britannic majesty, without paying the least regard to the representations made by Prince Ferdinand on this subject; reduced the suburbs of Zell to ashes, after having allowed his men to plunder the houses, and even set fire to the orphan hospital, in which a great number of helpless children are said to have perished. One cannot, without horror, reflect upon such brutal acts of inhumanity. The French troops, on divers occasions, and in different parts of the empire, acted tragedies of the same nature which are not easily reconcilable to the character of a nation famed for sentiment and civility. The Hanoverians having advanced within a league of Zell, the two armies began to cannonade each other; the French troops, posted on the right of the Aller, burned their magazines, and retired into the town, where they were so strongly intrenched, that Prince Ferdinand could not attempt the river, the passes of which were strongly guarded by the enemy. At the same time his troops were exposed to great hardships from the severity of the weather; he therefore retreated to Ultzen and Lunenbourg, where his army was put into winter quarters, and executed several small enterprises by detachment, while the French general fixed his head-quarters in the city of Hanover, his cantonments extending as far as Zell, in the neighbourhood of which many sharp skirmishes were fought by the out-parties with various success. Their imperial majesties were no sooner apprised of these transactions, which they considered as infractions of the convention, than they sent an intimation to the Baron de Steinberg, minister from the King of Great Britain as Elector of Hanover, that he should appear no more at court to confer with their ministers; and that his residing at Vienna, as he might easily conceive, could not be very agreeable; in consequence of which message he retired, after having obtained the necessary passports for his departure. The chagrin occasioned at the court of Vienna by the Hanoverian army's having recourse to their arms again, was, in some measure, alleviated by the certain tidings received from Petersburg, that the czarina had signed her accession in form to the treaty between the courts of Vienna, Versailles, and Stockholm.

In closing our account of this year's transactions on the continent, we may observe, that on the sixteenth day of November the Queen of Poland died at Berlin of an apoplexy, supposed to be occasioned by the shock she received on hearing that the French were totally defeated at Rosbach. She was a lady of exemplary virtue and piety, whose constitution had been broken by grief and anxiety conceived from the distress of her own family, as well as from the misery to which she saw her people exposed. With respect to the European powers that were not actually engaged as principals in the war, they seemed industriously to avoid every step that might be construed a deviation from the most scrupulous neutrality. The States-General proceeded with great circumspection, in the middle course, between two powerful neighbours, equally jealous and formidable; and the King of Spain was gratified for his forbearance with a convention settled between him and the belligerent powers, implying, that his subjects should pursue their commerce at sea without molestation, provided they should not transport those articles of merchandise which were deemed contraband by all nations. The operations at sea during the course of this year, either in Europe or America, were far from being decisive or important. The commerce of Great Britain sustained considerable damage from the activity and success of French privateers, of which a great number had been equipped in the islands of Martinique and Guadaloupe. The Greenwich ship of war, mounted with fifty guns, and a frigate of twenty, fell into the hands of the enemy, together with a very considerable number of trading vessels. On the other hand, the English cruisers and privateers acquitted themselves with equal vigilance and valour. The Duc d'Aquitaine, a large ship of fifty guns, was taken in the month of June by two British ships of war, after a severe engagement; and about the same time the Aquilon, of nearly the same force, was driven on shore and destroyed near Brest, by the Antelope, one of the British cruisers. A French frigate of twenty-six guns, called the *Emeraude*, was taken in the channel, after a warm engagement, by an English ship of inferior force, under the command of Captain Gilchrist, a gallant and alert officer, who, in the sequel, signalized himself on divers occasions by very extraordinary acts of valour. All the sea-officers seemed to be animated

Death of
the Queen
of Poland.
Trans-
actions at
sea.

with a noble emulation to distinguish themselves in the service of their country, and the spirit descended even to the captains of privateers, who, instead of imitating the former commanders of that class, in avoiding ships of force, and centering their whole attention in advantageous prizes, now encountered the armed ships of the enemy, and fought with the most obstinate valour in the pursuit of national glory.

Perhaps history cannot afford a more remarkable instance of desperate courage than that which was exerted in December of the preceding year, by the officers and crew of an English privateer, called the *Terrible*, under the command of Captain William Death, equipped with twenty-six carriage guns, and manned with two hundred sailors. On the twenty-third day of the month he engaged and made prize of a large French ship from St. Domingo, after an obstinate battle, in which he lost his own brother and sixteen seamen: then he secured with forty men his prize, which contained a valuable cargo, and directed his course to England; but in a few days he had the misfortune to fall in with the *Vengeance*, a privateer of St. Maloes, carrying thirty-six large cannon, with a complement of three hundred and sixty men. Their first step was to attack the prize, which was easily retaken; then the two ships bore down upon the *Terrible*, whose mainmast was shot away by the first broadside. Notwithstanding this disaster, the *Terrible* maintained such a furious engagement against both as can hardly be paralleled in the annals of Britain. The French commander and his second were killed, with two-thirds of his company; but the gallant Captain Death, with the greater part of his officers and almost his whole crew, having met with the same fate, his ship was boarded by the enemy, who found no more than twenty-six persons alive, sixteen of whom were mutilated by the loss of leg or arm, and the other ten grievously wounded. The ship itself was so shattered that it could scarcely be kept above water, and the whole exhibited a scene of blood, horror, and desolation. The victor itself lay like a wreck on the surface, and in this condition made shift, with great difficulty, to tow the *Terrible*^f into St.

Fate of
Captain
Death.

^f There was a strange combination of names belonging to this privateer: the *Terrible*, equipped at Execution-Dock, commanded by Captain Death, whose lieutenant was called Devil, and who had one Ghost for surgeon.

Malaga, where she was not beheld without astonishment and terror. This adventure was no sooner known in England than a liberal subscription was raised for the support of Death's widow, and that part of the crew which survived the engagement. In this, and every sea rencounter that happened within the present year, the superiority in skill and resolution was ascertained to the British mariners; for even when they fought against great odds, their courage was generally crowned with success. In the month of November, Captain Lockhart, a young gentleman who had already rendered himself a terror to the enemy as commander of a small frigate, now added considerably to his reputation, by reducing the *Melanpe*, a French privateer of Bayonne, greatly superior to his own ship in number of men and weight of metal. This exploit was seconded by another of the same nature, in his conquest of another French adventurer, called the Countess of Gramont; and a third large privateer of Bayonne was taken by Captain Saumarez, commander of the *Antelope*. In a word, the narrow seas were so well guarded, that in a little time scarce a French ship durst appear in the English channel, which the British traders navigated without molestation.

On the first day of December, the King of Great Britain opened the session of Parliament with a speech Session from the throne, which seemed calculated to prepare opened. the nation for the expense of maintaining a new war on the continent of Europe. His majesty graciously declared, that it would have given him a most sensible pleasure to acquaint them at the opening of the session, that his success in carrying on the war had been equal to the justice of his cause, and the extent and vigour of the measures formed for that purpose. He expressed the firmest confidence that the spirit and bravery of the nation, so renowned in all times, which had formerly surmounted so many difficulties, were not to be abated by a few disappointments, which he trusted might be retrieved by the blessing of God, and the zeal and ardour of his Parliament for his majesty's honour and the advantage of their country. He said it was his determined resolution to apply his utmost efforts for the security of his kingdoms, and for the recovery and protection of the possessions and rights of his crown and subjects in America and elsewhere, as well by the strongest exertion of his naval force, as by all other methods. He signified that another

great object which he had at heart, was the preservation of the Protestant religion and the liberties of Europe; and in that view, to encourage and adhere to his allies. For this cause, he assured them, he would decline no inconveniences, and in this cause he earnestly solicited their hearty concurrence and vigorous assistance. He observed, that the late signal success in Germany had given a happy turn to affairs, which it was incumbent on them to improve; and that in such a critical conjuncture, the eyes of all Europe were upon them. He particularly recommended to them, that his good brother and ally the King of Prussia might be supported in such a manner as his magnanimity and active zeal for the common cause appeared to deserve. To the Commons he expressed his concern, that the large supplies they had already granted did not produce all the good fruits they had reason to expect; but he had so great a reliance on their wisdom, as not to doubt of their perseverance. He only desired such supplies as should be necessary for the public service, and told them that they might depend upon it, that the best and most faithful economy should be used. He took notice of that spirit of disorder which had shown itself among the common people in some parts of the kingdom; he laid injunctions upon them to use their endeavours for discouraging and suppressing such abuses, and for maintaining the laws and lawful authority. He concluded with observing, that nothing would so effectually conduce to the defence of all that was dear to the nation, as well as to the reducing their enemies to reason, as union and harmony among themselves. The time was when every paragraph of this harangue, which the reader will perceive is not remarkable for its elegance and propriety, would have been canvassed and impugned by the country party in the House of Commons. They would have imputed the bad success of the war to the indiscretion of the ministry, in taking preposterous measures, and appointing commanders unequal to the service. They would have inquired in what manner the Protestant religion was endangered; and, if it was, how it could be preserved or promoted by adhering to allies, who, without provocation, had well nigh ruined the first and principal Protestant country of the empire. They would have started doubts with respect to the late signal success in Germany, and hinted that it would only serve to protract the burden of a

continental war. They would have owned that the eyes of all Europe were upon them, and drawn this consequence, that it therefore behoved them to act with the more delicacy and caution in discharge of the sacred trust reposed in them by their constituents; a trust which their consciences would not allow to be faithfully discharged, should they rush precipitately into the destructive measures of a rash and prodigal ministry, squander away the wealth of the nation, and add to the grievous encumbrances under which it groaned, in support of connexions and alliances that were equally foreign to her consideration, and pernicious to her interest. They would have investigated that cause which was so warmly recommended for support, and pretended to discover that it was a cause in which Great Britain ought to have had no concern, because it produced a certainty of loss, without the least prospect of advantage. They would have varied essentially in their opinions of the necessary supplies, from the sentiments of those who prepared the estimates, and even declared some doubts about the economy to be used in managing the national expense; finally, they would have represented the impossibility of union between the two parties, one of which seemed bent upon reducing the other to beggary and contempt. Such was the strain that used to flow from an opposition, said to consist of disloyalty and disappointed ambition. But that malignant spirit was now happily extinguished. The voice of the sovereign was adored as the oracle of divinity, and those happy days were now approaching that saw the Commons of England pour their treasures, in support of a German prince, with such a generous hand, that posterity will be amazed at their liberality.

To the speech of his majesty the House of Lords returned an address, in such terms of complacency as had long distinguished that illustrious assembly. The Commons expressed their approbation and confidence with equal ardour, and not one objection was made to the form or nature of the address, though one gentleman, equally independent in his mind and fortune, took exceptions to some of the measures which had been lately pursued. Their complaisance was more substantially specified in the resolutions of the House, as soon as the two great committees of supply were appointed. They granted for the sea-service of the ensuing year sixty thousand men, includ-

ing fourteen thousand eight hundred and forty-five marines; and the standing army, comprehending four thousand invalids, was fixed at fifty-three thousand seven hundred and seventy-seven effective men, commission and non-commission officers included. For the maintenance of these forces by sea and land, the charge of guards and garrisons at home and abroad, the expense of the ordnance, and in order to make good the sum which had been issued by his majesty's orders in pursuance of the address from the Commons, they now allotted four millions twenty-two thousand eight hundred and seven pounds, seven shillings, and three pence. They unanimously granted, as a present supply in the then critical exigency, towards enabling his majesty to maintain and keep together the army formed last year in his electoral dominions, and then again put in motion, and actually employed against the common enemy, in concert with the King of Prussia, the sum of one hundred thousand pounds: for the ordinary of the navy, including half-pay to the sea-officers, they allowed two hundred twenty-four thousand four hundred twenty-one pounds, five shillings, and eight pence: towards the building and support of the three hospitals for seamen at Gosport, Plymouth, and Greenwich, thirty thousand pounds: for the reduced officers of the land-forces and marines, pensions to the widows of officers, and other such military contingencies, forty thousand nine hundred and twenty-six pounds, seventeen shillings, and eleven pence: towards building, rebuilding, and repairs of his majesty's ships for the ensuing year, the sum of two hundred thousand pounds: for defraying the charge of two thousand one hundred and twenty horse, and nine thousand nine hundred infantry, together with the general and staff officers, the officers of the hospital and the train of artillery, being the troops of the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel in the pay of Great Britain, for sixty days, together with the subsidy for the same time, pursuant to treaty, they assigned thirty-eight thousand three hundred and sixty pounds, nineteen shillings, and ten pence three farthings. To the Foundling-hospital they gave forty thousand pounds, for the maintenance and education of deserted young children, as well as for the reception of all such as should be presented under a certain age, to be limited by the governors and guardians of that charity. Three hundred thousand pounds were given towards discharging the debt of the

navy, and two hundred eighty-four thousand eight hundred and two pounds for making up the deficiency of the grants for the service of the preceding year. The Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel was, moreover, gratified with the further sum of two hundred and three thousand five hundred and thirty-six pounds, four shillings, and nine pence farthing for the maintenance of his forces, and the remainder of his subsidy. They granted six hundred and seventy thousand pounds for enabling his majesty to make good his engagements with the King of Prussia, pursuant to a convention lately concluded with that potentate. For defraying the charge of thirty-eight thousand men of the troops of Hanover, Wolfenbittel, Saxe-Gotha, and the Count of Buckebourg, together with that of general and staff officers actually employed against the common enemy, in concert with the King of Prussia, from the twenty-eighth day of November in the last, to the twenty-fourth of December in the present year inclusive, to be issued in advance every two months, they allotted the sum of four hundred and sixty-three thousand eighty-four pounds, six shillings, and ten pence; and furthermore they granted three hundred eighty-six thousand nine hundred and fifteen pounds, thirteen shillings, and two pence, to defray the charges of forage, bread-waggons, train of artillery, provisions, wood, straw, and all other extraordinary expenses, contingencies, and losses whatsoever incurred, or to be incurred, on account of his majesty's army, consisting of thirty-eight thousand men, actually employed against the common enemy, in concert with the King of Prussia, from November last to next December inclusive. For the extraordinary expenses of the land-forces, and other services, incurred in the course of the last year, and not provided for by Parliament, they allowed one hundred forty-five thousand four hundred and fifty-four pounds, fifteen shillings, and one farthing. They provided eight hundred thousand pounds to enable his majesty to defray the like sum raised in pursuance of an act made in the last session of Parliament, and charged upon the first aids and supplies to be granted in the current session. Twenty-six thousand pounds were bestowed on the out-pensioners of Chelsea-hospital; above twenty thousand for the expense of maintaining the colonies of Nova Scotia and Georgia; for reimbursing to the province of Massachusetts Bay, and the colony of Connecticut, their expense in furnishing provisions and

stores to the troops raised by them for his majesty's service, in the campaign of the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-six, the sum of forty-one thousand one hundred and seventeen pounds, seventeen shillings, and six pence half-penny; to be applied towards the rebuilding of London-bridge, carrying on the works for fortifying and securing the harbour of Milford, and repairing the parish church of St. Margaret, in Westminster, they allotted twenty-nine thousand pounds. The East India Company were indulged with twenty thousand pounds on account, towards enabling them to defray the expense of a military force in their settlements, to be maintained by them in lieu of the battalion of his majesty's forces withdrawn from those settlements: the sum of ten thousand pounds was given as usual, for maintaining and supporting the British forts and settlements on the coast of Africa; and eleven thousand four hundred and fifty were granted as an augmentation to the salaries of the judges in the superior courts of judicature. They likewise provided one hundred thousand pounds for defraying the charge of pay and clothing to the militia, and advanced eight hundred thousand pounds to enable his majesty to defray any extraordinary expenses of the war, incurred or to be incurred for the service of the current year; and to take all such measures as might be necessary to disappoint or defeat any enterprises or designs of his enemies, as the exigency of his affairs might require. The whole supplies of this session amounted to the enormous sum of ten millions four hundred eighty-six thousand four hundred fifty-seven pounds, and one penny. Nothing could so plainly demonstrate the implicit confidence which the Parliament at this juncture reposed in the sovereign and the ministry, as their conduct in granting such liberal supplies, great part of which were bestowed in favour of our German allies, whom the British nation thus generously paid for fighting their own battles. Besides the sum of one million eight hundred sixty-one thousand eight hundred ninety-seven pounds, four shillings, and eight pence, expressly assigned for the support of these continental connexions, a sum considerably exceeding the whole of the revenue raised in the reign of Charles the Second, and what part of the sum granted to the king for extraordinary expenses might be applied to the same use, the article might not improperly be swelled with the vast expense incurred

by expeditions to the coast of France; the chief, if not sole, design of which seemed to be a diversion in favour of the nation's allies in Germany, by preventing France from sending such numerous armies into that country as it could have spared, had not its sea-coasts required a considerable body of forces for its defence against the attempts of the English. Indeed the partisans of the ministry were at great pains to suggest and inculcate a belief, that the war in Germany was chiefly supported as a necessary diversion in favour of Great Britain and her plantations, which would have been exposed to insult and invasion had not the enemy's forces been otherwise employed. But the absurdity of this notion will at once appear to those who consider, that by this time Great Britain was sole mistress of the sea; that the navy of France was almost ruined, and her commerce on the ocean quite extinguished; that she could not, with the least prospect of success, hazard any expedition of consequence against Great Britain, or any part of her dominions, while the ocean was covered with such powerful navies belonging to that nation; and that if one-third part of the money annually ingulfed in the German vortex had been employed in augmenting the naval forces of England, and those forces properly exerted, not a single cruiser would have been able to stir from the harbours of France; all her colonies in the West Indies would have fallen an easy prey to the arms of Great Britain; and thus cut off from the resources of commerce, she must have been content to embrace such terms of peace as the victor should have thought proper to prescribe.

The funds established by the committee of ways and means, in order to realize those articles of supply, consisted of the malt-tax, the land-tax at four shillings in the pound, sums remaining in the exchequer Funds for raising the supplies. produced from the sinking fund, four millions five hundred thousand pounds to be raised by annuities at three pounds ten shillings per cent. per ann., and five hundred thousand pounds by a lottery, attended with annuities redeemable by Parliament, after the rate of three pounds per cent. per ann.; these several annuities to be transferable at the Bank of England, and charged upon a fund to be established in this session of Parliament for payment thereof, and for which the sinking fund should be a collateral security^g—

^g It was enacted, That every person subscribing for five hundred pounds should be

one million six hundred and six thousand and seventy-six pounds, five shillings, one penny, one farthing, issued and applied out of such monies as should or might arise from the surpluses, excesses, and other revenues composing the sinking fund—a tax of one shilling in the pound to be annually paid from all salaries, fees, and perquisites of offices and employments in Great Britain, and from all pensions and other gratuities payable out of any revenues belonging to his majesty in Great Britain, exceeding the yearly value of one hundred pounds—an imposition of one shilling annually upon every dwelling-house inhabited within the kingdom in Great Britain, over and above all other duties already chargeable upon them, to commence from the fifth day of April—an additional tax of six pence yearly for every window or light in every dwelling-house inhabited in Britain which shall contain fifteen windows or upwards; a continuation of certain acts near expiring, with respect to the duties payable on foreign sail-cloth imported into Great Britain, the exportation of British gunpowder, the securing and encouraging the trade of his majesty's sugar colonies in America, and the empowering the importers and proprietors of spirits from the British sugar plantations to land them before payment of the duties of excise, and to lodge them in warehouses at their own expense—an annual tax of forty shillings for a licence to be taken out by every person trading in, selling, or vending gold or silver plate, in lieu of the duty of six pence per ounce on all silver plate, made or wrought, or which ought to be touched, assayed, or

entitled to four hundred and fifty in annuities, and fifty pounds in lottery tickets, and so in proportion for a greater or less sum; that the lottery should consist of tickets of the value of ten pounds each, in the proportion not exceeding eight blanks to a prize; the blanks to be of the value of six pounds each; the blanks and prizes to bear an interest after the rate of three pounds per cent. to commence from the first day of January, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine; and that the sum of four millions five hundred thousand pounds, to be raised by annuities, should bear an interest after the rate of three pounds ten shillings per cent. from the fifth day of July, in the present year; which annuities should stand reduced to three pounds per cent. after the expiration of twenty-four years, and afterwards be redeemable in the whole, or in part, by sums not less than five hundred thousand pounds at one time, six months' notice having been first given of such payments respectively; that any subscriber might, on or before the twenty-ninth day of April, make a deposit of ten pounds per cent. on such sum as he should choose to subscribe towards raising these five millions, with the cashiers of the bank, as security for his future payments on the days appointed for that purpose; that the several sums so received by the cashiers should be paid into the receipt of the exchequer, to be applied from time to time to such services as should then have been voted by the House of Commons in this session of Parliament, and not otherwise; that any subscriber paying the whole or any part of his subscription previous to the days appointed for the respective payments should be allowed a discount, at the rate of three per cent., from the days of such respective payments to the respective times on which such payments were directed to be made, and that all persons who should make their full payments on the said lottery should receive their tickets as soon as they could be conveniently made out.

marked in this kingdom, which duty now ceased and determined—a cessation of all drawbacks payable on the exportation of silver plate—a law prohibiting all persons from selling, by retail, any sweet or made wines, without having first procured a licence for that purpose—and a loan by exchequer bills for eight hundred thousand pounds, to be charged on the first aids to be granted in the next session of Parliament. These provisions amounted to the sum of eleven millions seventy-nine thousand seven hundred and twenty-two pounds, six shillings, and ten pence, exceeding the grants in the sum of five hundred ninety-three thousand two hundred and sixty-five pounds, six shillings, and nine pence, so that the nation had reason to hope that this surplus of above half a million would prevent any demand for deficiencies in the next session. By these copious grants of the House of Commons, whose complaisance knew no bounds, the national debt was, at this juncture, swelled to the astonishing sum of eighty-seven millions three hundred and sixty-seven thousand two hundred and ten pounds, nineteen shillings, and ten pence farthing; a load that would have crushed the national credit of any other state in Christendom.

The liberality of the Parliament was like the rock in the wilderness, which flowed with the welcome stream when touched by the rod of Moses. The present supply which the Commons granted for the subsistence of the Hanoverian army was, in pursuance of a message from his majesty, communicated to the House by Mr. Secretary Pitt, signifying, that the king had ordered his electoral army to be put again in motion, that it might act with vigour against the common enemy, in concert with his good brother and ally the King of Prussia; that the exhausted and ruined state of the electorate having rendered it incapable of maintaining that army, until the further necessary charge thereof, as well as the more particular measures then concerting for the effectual support of his Prussian majesty, could be laid before the House, the king, relying on the constant zeal of his faithful Commons for the support of the Protestant religion and of the liberties of Europe against the dangerous designs of France and her confederates, found himself, in the mean time, under the absolute necessity of recommending to the House the speedy consideration of such a present supply as might enable his

Message
from the
king to the
House of
Commons.

majesty, at this critical conjuncture, to subsist and keep together the said army. This address was no sooner recited by the speaker than it was unanimously referred to the committee of supply, who gratified his majesty's wish with an immediate resolution; and, considering their generous disposition, doubtless the same compliance would have appeared, even though no mention had been made of the Protestant religion, which, to men of ordinary penetration, appeared to have no natural concern in the present dispute between the belligerent powers, although former ministers had often violently introduced it into messages and speeches from the throne, in order to dazzle the eyes of the populace, even while they insulted the understanding of those who were capable of exercising their own reason. This pretext was worn so threadbare, that, among the sensible part of mankind, it could no longer be used without incurring contempt and ridicule. In order to persuade mankind that the Protestant religion was in danger, it would have been necessary to specify the designs that were formed against it, as well as the nature of the conspiracy, and to descend to particulars properly authenticated. In that case great part of Europe would have been justly alarmed. The States-General of the United Provinces, who have made such glorious and indefatigable efforts in support of the Protestant religion, would surely have lent a helping hand towards its preservation. The Danes would not have stood tamely neutral, and seen the religion they profess exposed to the rage of such a powerful confederacy. It is not to be imagined that the Swedes, who had so zealously maintained the purity of the Protestant faith, would now join an association whose aim was the ruin of that religion. It is not credible that even the Hungarians, who profess the same faith, and other Protestant states of the empire, would enter so heartily into the interests of those who were bent upon its destruction; or that the Russians would contribute to the aggrandizement of the Catholic faith and discipline, so opposite to that of the Greek church, which they espouse. As, therefore, no particular of such a design was explained, no act of oppression towards any Protestant state or society pointed out except those that were exercised by the Protestants themselves; and as the court of Vienna repeatedly disavowed any such design, in the most solemn manner, the unprejudiced part of mankind will be apt to

conclude that the cry of religion was used, as in former times, to arouse, alarm, and inflame; nor did the artifice prove altogether unsuccessful. Notwithstanding the general lukewarmth of the age in matters of religion, it produced considerable effect among the fanatic sectaries that swarm through the kingdom of England. The leaders of those blind enthusiasts, either actuated by the spirit of delusion, or desirous of recommending themselves to the protection of the higher powers, immediately seized the hint, expatiating vehemently on the danger that impended over God's people; and exerting all their faculties to impress the belief of a religious war, which never fails to exasperate and impel the minds of men to such deeds of cruelty and revenge as must discredit all religion, and even disgrace humanity. The signal trust and confidence which the Parliament of England reposed in the king, at this juncture, was in nothing more conspicuous than in leaving to the crown the unlimited application of the sum granted for augmenting the salaries of the judges. In the reign of King William, when the act of settlement was passed, the Parliament, jealous of the influence which the crown might acquire over the judges, provided, by an express clause of that act, that the commissions of the judges should subsist *quamdiu se bene gesserint*, and that their salaries should be established: but now we find a sum of money granted for the augmentation of their salaries, and the crown vested with a discretionary power to proportion and apply this augmentation: a stretch of complaisance which, how safe soever it may appear during the reign of a prince famed for integrity and moderation, will perhaps one day be considered as a very dangerous accession to the prerogative.

So fully persuaded were the ministry that the Commons would cheerfully enable them to pay what subsi-
 dies they might promise to their German allies, Second treaty with the King of Prussia. that on the eleventh of April they concluded a new treaty of convention with his Prussian majesty, which, that it might have the firmer consistence, and the greater authority, was, on the part of Great Britain, transacted and signed by almost all the privy councillors who had any share in the administration.^h This treaty, which was signed

^h These were, Sir Robert Henley, lord keeper of the great seal; John, Earl of Granville, president of the Council; Thomas Holles, Duke of Newcastle, first commissioner of the treasury; Robert, Earl of Holderness, one of the principal secretaries of state;

at Westminster, imported, "That the contracting powers having mutually resolved to continue their efforts for their reciprocal defence and security, for the recovery of their possessions, the protection of their allies, and the support of the liberties of the Germanic body, his Britannic majesty had, from these considerations, determined to grant to his Prussian majesty an immediate succour in money, as being the most ready and the most efficacious; and their majesties having judged it proper that thereupon a convention should be made for declaring and fixing their intentions upon this head, they had nominated and authorized their respective ministers, who, after having communicated their full powers to one another, agreed to the following stipulations: the King of Great Britain engaged to pay in the city of London, to such persons as should be authorized to receive it by his Prussian majesty, the sum of four millions of German crowns, amounting to six hundred and seventy thousand pounds sterling, to be paid at once, and in one whole sum, immediately after the exchange of ratifications, upon being demanded by his Prussian majesty. This prince, on his part, obliged himself to apply that sum to the maintaining and augmenting his forces, which should act in the best manner for the good of the common cause, and for the purpose of reciprocal defence and mutual security, proposed by their said majesties. Moreover, the high contracting parties engaged not to conclude any treaty of peace, truce, or neutrality, nor any other sort of convention or agreement, with the powers engaged in the present war, but in concert and by mutual agreement, wherein both should be nominally comprehended. Finally, it was stipulated that this convention should be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged on both sides within the term of six weeks, to be computed from the day of signing this present convention, or sooner if possible."

All the resolutions to which the committee of ways and means agreed were executed by bills, or clauses in bills, which afterwards received the royal sanction. The militia still continued to be an object of parliamentary care and attention; but the institution was not yet heartily embraced, because seemingly dis-

Bill for
fortifying
Milford-
haven.
Regulations
with respect
to corn.

Philip, Earl of Hardwicke, and William Pitt, Esq., another of the principal secretaries of state. In the name and on the part of his Prussian majesty, the Sieurs Dado Henry, Baron of Knyphausen, his privy councillor of embassy, and minister plenipotentiary at the court of London, and Louis Michel, his resident and chargé d'affaires.

countenanced by the remnant of the old ministry, which still maintained a capital place in the late coalition, and indeed almost wholly engrossed the distribution of pensions and places. The Commons having presented an address to his majesty with respect to the harbour of Milford-haven, a book of plans and estimates for fortifying that harbour was laid before the House, and a committee appointed to examine the particulars. They were of opinion that the mouth of the harbour was too wide to admit of any fortification, or effectual defence; but that the passage called Nailand-point, lying higher than Hubberstone-road, might be fortified, so as to afford safe riding and protection to the trade and navy of Great Britain; that, if it should be thought proper hereafter to establish a yard and dock for building and equipping fleets at Milford, no place could, from the situation, nature, soil, and a general concurrence of all necessary local circumstances, be more fitted for such a design; that if a proper use were made of this valuable though long-neglected harbour, the distressful delays, too often embarrassing and disappointing the nation in her naval operations, might be, in a great measure, happily removed, to the infinite relief and enlargement of the kingdom in the means of improving its naval force; the necessary progress and free execution of which was now so unhappily and frequently restrained and frustrated, by the want of a harbour like that of Milford-haven, framed by nature with such local advantages. This report appeared to be so well supported by evidence, that a bill was framed, and passed into an act, for granting ten thousand pounds towards carrying on the works for fortifying and securing the harbour of Milford in the county of Pembroke. Other laws of national consequence were enacted, in the course of this session, with little or no opposition. On the very first day of their sitting, the Commons received a petition from the mayor, magistrates, merchants, and inhabitants of Liverpool, complaining of the high price of wheat, and other grain; expressing their apprehension that it would continue to rise, unless the time for the importation of foreign corn, duty free, should be prolonged, or some other salutary measure taken by Parliament, to prevent dealers from engrossing corn; submitting to the wisdom of the House a total prohibition of distilling and exporting grain while the high price should continue; praying they would take the premises into

consideration, and grant a seasonable relief to the petitioners, by the continuance of a free importation, and taking such other effectual means to reduce the growing price of corn as to them should seem necessary and expedient. This being an urgent case, that equally interested the humanity of the legislature and the manufactures of the kingdom, it was deliberated upon and discussed with remarkable despatch. In a few days a bill was prepared, passed through both Houses, and enacted into a law, continuing till the twenty-fourth day of December, in the present year, the three acts of last session; for prohibiting the exportation of corn; for prohibiting the distillation of spirits; and for allowing the importation of corn, duty free. A second law was established, regulating the price and assize of bread, and subjecting to severe penalties those who should be concerned in its adulteration. In consequence of certain resolutions taken in a committee of the whole House, a bill was presented for prohibiting the payment of the bounty upon the exportation of corn, unless sold at a lower price than is allowed in an act passed in the first year of the reign of William and Mary; but this bill, after having been read a second time, and committed, was neglected, and proved abortive.

In consequence of a motion made by Mr. Grenville, a humane bill was prepared and brought in for the encouragement of seamen employed in the royal navy, establishing a regular method for the punctual, frequent, and certain payment of their wages; enabling them more easily and readily to remit money for the support of their wives and families, and preventing the frauds and abuses attending such payments. This bill, having passed the Lower House, engaged in a very particular manner the attention of the Lords, who, by divers messages to the House of Commons, desired the attendance of several members. These messages being taken into consideration, several precedents were recited: a debate arose about their formality, and the House unanimously resolved that a message should be sent to the Lords, acquainting them that the House of Commons, not being sufficiently informed by their messages upon what grounds, or for what purposes, their lordships desired the House would give leave to such of their members as were named in the said messages to attend the House of Lords, in order to be examined upon the second reading of the bill, the Commons hoped their

Bills for the
encouragement of seamen, and
for explaining the
militia act.

lordships would make them acquainted with their intention. The Lords, in answer to this intimation, gave the Commons to understand, that they desired the attendance of the members mentioned in their messages, that they might be examined as witnesses upon the second reading of the bill. This explanation being deemed satisfactory, the members attended the House of Lords, where they were carefully and fully examined, as persons conversant in sea affairs, touching the inconveniences which had formerly attended the sea-service, as well as the remedies now proposed; and the bill having passed through their House, though not without warm opposition, was enacted into a law by his majesty's assent. The militia act, as it passed in the last session, being found upon trial defective, Mr. Townshend moved for leave to bring in a new bill to explain, amend, and enforce it: this was accordingly allowed, prepared, and passed into a law; though it did not seem altogether free from material objections, some of which were of an alarming nature. The power vested by law in the crown over the militia is even more independent than that which it exercises over a standing army; for this last expires at the end of the year, if not continued by a new act of Parliament; whereas the militia is subjected to the power of the crown for the term of five years, during which it may be called out into actual service without consent of Parliament, and consequently employed for sinister purposes. A commission-officer in the militia may be detained, as subject to the articles of war, until the crown shall allow the militia to return to their respective parishes; and thus engaged, he is liable to death as a mutineer or deserter, should he refuse to appear in arms, and fight in support of the worst measures of the worst minister. Several merchants and manufacturers of silk offered a petition, representing that, in consequence of the act passed in the last session, allowing the importation of fine organzine Italian thrown silk till the first day of December, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-seven, they had given orders to their correspondents abroad to send large quantities of such silk through Germany to Hamburgh and Holland, which, in the common course of things, might probably have arrived in London before the act expired, if their carriage had not been protracted by the great rains and inundations in Italy and Germany, in the months of August and September last, which rendered the roads for many weeks

impassable : that from unlucky accidents on shore, and storms and contrary winds after the silk was shipped, it could not possibly arrive within the time limited by the act ; and unless it should be admitted to an entry, they, the petitioners, would be great sufferers, the manufacturers greatly prejudiced, and the good end and purpose of the act in a great measure frustrated : they therefore prayed leave to bring in a bill for allowing the introduction of all such fine Italian organzined silk as should appear to have been shipped in Holland and Hamburgh for London on or before the first day of December. The petition being referred to a committee, which reported that these allegations were true, the House complied with their request, and the bill having passed was enacted into a law in the usual form. A speedy passage was likewise granted to the mutiny bill, and the other annual measure for regulating the marine forces, which contained nothing new or extraordinary. A committee being appointed to inquire what laws were already expired, or near expiring, they performed this difficult task with indefatigable patience and perseverance ; and, in pursuance of their resolutions, three bills were prepared and passed into laws, continuing some acts for a certain time, and rendering others perpetual.¹

The lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common council assembled, having drawn up a petition to the House of Commons, alleging that the toll upon loaded vessels, or other craft, passing through the arches of London-bridge, granted by a

Act for
repairing
London-
bridge.

¹ Among those rendered perpetual, we find an act of the 13th and 14th of Charles II. for preventing theft and rapine. An act of the 9th of George I. for punishing persons going armed in disguise. A clause in the act of the 6th of George II. to prevent the breaking down the bank of any river ; and another clause in the said act, to prevent the treacherous cutting of hop-binds. Several clauses in an act of the 10th of George II. for punishing persons settling on fire any mine, &c. The temporary part of the act of the 20th of George II. for taking away the hereditary jurisdictions of Scotland, relating to the power of appealing to circuit courts. Those continued were, I. An act of the 12th of George II. for granting liberty to carry sugars, &c., until the twenty-ninth of September, in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty-four, and to the end of the next session of Parliament. II. An act of the 5th of George II. to prevent frauds by bankrupts, &c., for the same period. III. An act of the 8th of George II. for encouraging the importation of naval stores, &c., for the same period. IV. An act of the 19th of George II. for preventing frauds in the admeasurement of coals, &c., until June 24, 1759 ; and to this was added, a perpetual clause for preventing the stealing or destroying of madder roots. V. An act of the 9th of George II. for encouraging the manufacture of British sail-cloth until the twenty-ninth of September, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-four. VI. An act of the 4th of George II. granting an allowance upon British-made gunpowder, for the same period. VII. An act of the 6th of George II. for encouraging the trade of the sugar colonies, until the twenty-ninth of September, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-one. And, VIII. so much of the act of the 15th and 16th of George II. to empower the importers of rum, &c., as relates to landing it before the payment of duties, until the twenty-ninth of September, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-four.

former act, passed in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty, for improving, widening, and enlarging the passage both under and over the said bridge, was altogether precarious and insufficient to defray the expense, including that of a temporary wooden bridge already erected; and praying that a bill might be prepared for explaining and rendering that act effectual; a committee was appointed to examine the contents, and a bill brought in according to their request. This, however, was opposed by a petition from several persons, owners of barges and other craft navigating the river Thames, who affirmed, that if the bill should pass into a law as it then stood, it would be extremely injurious to the petitioners in particular, and to the public in general. These were heard by their counsel before the committee, but no report was yet given, when the temporary bridge was reduced to ashes. Then the mayor, aldermen, and commons of London presented another petition, alleging that, in pursuance of the powers vested in them by act of Parliament, they had already demolished a good number of the houses on London-bridge, and directed the rest that were standing to be taken down with all convenient expedition, that two of the arches might be laid into one for the improvement of the navigation; that they had, at a very great expense, erected a temporary wooden bridge, to preserve a public passage to and from the city, until the great arch should be finished, which temporary bridge being consumed by fire, they must rebuild it with the greatest expedition, at a further considerable expense; that the sum necessary for carrying on and completing this great and useful work, including the rebuilding of the said temporary bridge, was estimated at fourscore thousand pounds; and as the improving, widening, and enlarging London-bridge was calculated for the general good of the public, for the advancement of trade and commerce, and for making the navigation upon the river Thames more safe and secure; they therefore prayed the House to take the premises into consideration. This petition being recommended by his majesty to the consideration of the House, was referred to the committee of supply, and produced the resolution of granting fifteen thousand pounds towards the rebuilding of London-bridge. A bill was prepared under the title of an act to improve, widen, and enlarge the passage over and through London-bridge, enforcing the payment of the toll imposed upon loaded vessels, which had been

found extremely burdensome to trade; but this incumbrance was prevented by another petition of several merchants, tradesmen, and other inhabitants of the borough of Southwark, taking notice of the fifteen thousand pounds granted towards the repair of London-bridge, and, as they were informed, intended to make the said bridge free for all his majesty's subjects: they said they hoped to partake of this public bounty; but afterwards hearing that the bill then depending was confined to the tolls formerly granted for repairing the said bridge, they represented the hardships which they and all traders would continue to labour under: they alleged, that the surveyors and workmen, then employed upon this work, had discovered the true principles on which the bridge was built; that the foundation of the piers consisted of hard durable stone, well cemented together, and now as strong and firm as when first built; that when the bridge should be finished, great savings would be made in keeping it in repair, from the sums formerly expended, on a mistaken opinion that the foundation was of wood; that there were very considerable estates appointed solely for the repairs of the bridge, which, they apprehended, would be sufficient to maintain it without any toll; or if they should not be thought adequate to that purpose, they hoped the deficiency would not be made up by a toll upon trade and commerce, but rather by an imposition on coaches, chariots, chaises, and saddle-horses. This remonstrance made no impression on the House. The bill being, on a motion of Sir John Philips, read a third time, passed through both Houses, and obtained the royal assent.

The interest of the manufacturers was also consulted in an act encouraging the growth of madder, a plant essentially necessary in dyeing and printing calicoes, which may be raised in England without the least inconvenience. It was judged, upon inquiry, that the most effectual means to encourage the growth of this commodity would be to ascertain the tithe of it, and a bill was brought in for that purpose. The rate of the tithe was established at five shillings an acre; and it was enacted, that this law should continue in force for fourteen years, and to the end of the next session of Parliament; but wherefore this encouragement was made temporary, it is not easy to determine. The laws relating to the poor, though equally numerous and oppressive to the subject, having been found

Act for
ascertaining
the qualifi-
cation of
voting.

defective, a new clause, relating to the settlement of servants and apprentices, was now added to an act passed in the twentieth year of the present reign, entitled, "An act for the better adjusting and more easily recovering of the wages of certain servants, and of certain apprentices." No country in the universe can produce so many laws made in behalf of the poor as those that are daily accumulating in England; in no other country is there so much money raised for their support, by private charity as well as public taxation; yet this, as much as any country, swarms with vagrant beggars, and teems with objects of misery and distress; a sure sign either of misconduct in the legislature, or of shameful relaxation in the executive part of the civil administration. The scenes of corruption, perjury, riot, and intemperance which every election for a member of Parliament had lately produced, were now grown so infamously open and intolerable, and the right of voting was rendered so obscure and perplexed, by the pretensions and proceedings of all the candidates for Oxfordshire in the last election, that the fundamentals of the constitution seemed to shake, and the very essence of Parliaments to be in danger. Actuated by these apprehensions, Sir John Philips, a gentleman of Wales, who had long distinguished himself in the opposition by his courage and independent spirit, moved for leave to bring in a bill that should obviate any doubts which might arise concerning the election of knights of the shire to serve in Parliament for England, and further regulate the proceedings of such elections. He was accordingly permitted to bring in such a bill, in conjunction with Mr. Townshend, Mr. Cornwall, and Lords North and Carysfort; and in the usual course, the bill being prepared, was enacted into a law, under the title of "An act for further explaining the laws touching the election of knights of the shire to serve in Parliament for that part of Great Britain called England." The preamble specified that though, by an act passed in the eighteenth year of the present reign, it was provided that no person might vote at the election of a knight or knights of a shire within England and Wales, without having a freehold estate in the county for which he votes of the clear yearly value of forty shillings, over and above all rents and charges, payable out of or in respect to the same; nevertheless, certain persons, who hold their estates by copy of court-roll, pretend to a right of voting, and have, at certain times, presumed to vote at such

elections: this act, therefore, ordained, that from and after the twenty-ninth day of June, in the present year, no person who holds his estate by copy of court-roll should be entitled thereby to vote at the election of any knight or knights of a shine within England or Wales; but every such vote should be void, and the person so voting should forfeit fifty pounds to any candidate for whom such vote should not have been given, and who should first sue for the same, to be recovered with full costs, by action of debt, in any court of judicature.^b So far the act, thus procured, may be attended with salutary consequences: but, in all probability, the intention of its first movers and patrons was not fully answered; inasmuch as no provision was made for putting a stop to that spirit of licentiousness, drunkenness, and debauchery, which prevails at almost every election, and has a very pernicious effect upon the morals of the people.

Among the bills that miscarried in the course of this session, some turned on points of great consequence to the community. Lord Barrington, Mr. Thomas Gore, and Mr. Charles Townshend, were ordered by the House to prepare a bill for the speedy and effectual recruiting his majesty's land-forces and marines, which was no more than a transcript of the temporary act passed in the preceding session under the same title; but the majority were averse to its being continued for another year, as it was attended with some prejudice to the liberty of the subject. Objections of the same nature might have been as justly started against another bill, for the more effectually manning of his majesty's navy, for preventing desertion, and for the relief and encouragement of seamen belonging to ships and vessels in the service of the merchants. The purport of this project was to establish registers or muster-rolls of all seamen, fishermen, lightermen, and watermen; obliging ship-masters to leave subscribed lists of their respective crews, at offices maintained for that purpose, that a certain number of them might be chosen

^b For the more easy recovery of this forfeit, it was enacted, that the plaintiff in such action might only set forth, in the declaration or bill, that the defendant was indebted to him in the sum of fifty pounds, alleging the offence for which the suit should be brought, and that the defendant had acted contrary to this act, without mentioning the writ of summons to Parliament, or the return thereof, and, upon trial of any issue, the plaintiff should not be obliged to prove the writ of summons to Parliament, or the return thereof, or any warrant or authority to the sheriff upon any such writ: that every such action should be commenced within nine months after the fact committed: and that if the plaintiff should discontinue his action, or be nonsuited, or have judgment given against him, the defendant should recover treble costs.

by lot for his majesty's service, in any case of emergency. This expedient, however, was rejected, as an unnecessary and ineffectual incumbrance on commerce, which would hamper navigation, and, in a little time, diminish the number of seamen, of consequence act diametrically opposite to the purpose for which it was contrived. Numberless frauds having been committed, and incessant lawsuits produced, by private and clandestine conveyances, a motion was made, and leave given, to form a bill for the public registering of all deeds, conveyances, wills, and other incumbrances, that might affect any honours, manors, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, within the kingdom of England, wherein public registers were not already appointed by act of Parliament: but this measure, so necessary to the ascertainment and possession of property, met with a violent opposition; and was finally dropped, as some people imagine, through the influence of those who, perhaps, had particular reasons for countenancing the present mysterious forms of conveyancing. Such a bill must also have been disagreeable and mortifying to the pride of those landholders whose estates were incumbered, because, in consequence of such a register, every mortgage under which they laboured would be exactly known. The next object to which the House converted its attention was a bill explaining and amending a late act for establishing a fish-market in the city of Westminster, and preventing scandalous monopolies of a few engrossing fish-mongers, who imposed exorbitant prices on their fish, and, in this particular branch of traffic, gave law to above six hundred thousand of their fellow-citizens. Abundance of pains was taken to render this bill effectual, for putting an end to such flagrant imposition. Inquiries were made, petitions read, counsel heard, and alterations proposed: at length the bill, having passed through the Lower House, was conveyed to the Lords, among whom it was suffered to expire, on pretence that there was not time sufficient to deliberate maturely on the subject.

The occasion that produced the next bill which miscarried we shall explain, as an incident equally extraordinary and interesting. By an act passed in the preceding session, for recruiting his majesty's land-forces and marines, we have already observed that the commissioners thereby appointed were vested with a power of judging ultimately whether the persons brought before

Amendment
in the ha-
beas-corpus
act

them were such as ought, by the rules prescribed in the act, to be impressed into the service: for it was expressly provided, that no person so impressed by those commissioners should be taken out of his majesty's service by any process, other than for some criminal accusation. During the recess of Parliament, a gentleman having been impressed before the commissioners, and confined in the Savoy, his friends made application for a habeas-corpus, which produced some hesitation, and indeed an insurmountable difficulty; for, according to the act of habeas-corpus, passed in the reign of Charles II., this privilege relates only to persons committed for criminal or supposed criminal matters, and the gentleman did not stand in that predicament. Before the question could be determined he was discharged, in consequence of an application to the secretary at war; but the nature of the case plainly pointed out a defect in the act, seemingly of the most dangerous consequence to the liberty of the subject. In order to remedy this defect, a bill for giving a more speedy relief to the subject, upon the writ of habeas-corpus, was prepared, and presented to the House of Commons, which formed itself into a committee, and made several amendments. It imported, that the several provisions made in the aforesaid act, passed in the reign of Charles II. for the awarding of writs of habeas-corpus, in cases of commitment or detainer, for any criminal or supposed criminal matter, should, in like manner, extend to all cases where any person, not being committed or detained for any criminal or supposed criminal matter, should be confined, or restrained of his or her liberty, under any colour or pretence whatsoever: that, upon oath made by such person so confined or restrained, or by any other on his or her behalf, of any actual confinement or restraint, and that such confinement or restraint, to the best of the knowledge and belief of the person so applying, was not by virtue of any commitment or detainer for any criminal or supposed criminal matter, a habeas-corpus, directed to the person or persons so confining or restraining the party as aforesaid, should be awarded and granted, in the same manner as is directed, and under the same penalties as are provided, by the said act, in the case of persons committed and detained for any criminal or supposed criminal matter: that the person or persons before whom the party so confined or restrained should be brought, by virtue of any

habeas-corpus granted in the vacation time, under the authority of this act, might and should, within three days after the return made, proceed to examine into the facts contained in such return, and into the cause of such confinement and restraint; and thereupon either discharge, or bail, or remand the parties so brought, as the case should require, and as to justice should appertain. The rest of the bill related to the return of the writ in three days, and the penalties incurred by those who should neglect or refuse to make the due return, or to comply with any other clause of this regulation. The Commons seemed hearty in rearing up this additional buttress to the liberty of their fellow-subjects, and passed the bill with the most laudable alacrity; but in the House of Lords, such a great number of objections was started, that it sunk at the second reading, and the judges were ordered to prepare a bill for the same purpose, to be laid before that House in the next session.

His majesty having recommended the care of the Foundling-hospital to the House of Commons, which cheerfully granted forty thousand pounds for the support of that charity, the growing annual expense of it appeared worthy of further consideration, and leave was granted to bring in a bill for obliging all the parishes of England and Wales to keep registers of all their deaths, births, and marriages, that from these a fund might be raised towards the support of the said hospital. The bill was accordingly prepared by a committee appointed for the purpose; but before the House could take the report into consideration, the Parliament was prorogued. The proprietors of the privateer called the *Antigallican*, which had taken a rich French ship homeward bound from China, and carried her into Cadiz, where the Spanish government had wrested her by violence from the captors, and delivered her to the French owners, now presented a petition to the House of Commons, complaining of this interposition as an act of partiality and injustice; representing the great expense at which the privateer had been equipped, the legality of the capture, the loss and hardships which they the petitioners had sustained, and imploring such relief as the House should think requisite. Though these allegations were supported by a species of evidence that seemed strong and convincing, and it might be thought incumbent on the Parliament to vindicate the honour of the nation,

Scheme in
favour of
the Found-
ling-hos-
pital.

when thus insulted by a foreign power, the House upon this occasion treated the petition with the most mortifying neglect, either giving little credit to the assertions it contained, or unwilling to take any step which might, at this juncture, embroil the nation with the court of Spain on such a frivolous subject. True it is, the Spanish government alleged, in their own justification, that the prize was taken under the guns of *Columna*, insomuch that the shot fired by the privateer entered that place, and damaged some houses: but this allegation was never properly sustained, and the prize was certainly condemned as legal by the court of Admiralty at Gibraltar.

As we have already given a detail of the trial of Sir John Mordaunt, it will be unnecessary to recapitulate any circumstances of that affair, except such as relate to its connexion with the proceedings in Parliament. In the beginning of this session, Lord Barrington, as secretary at war, informed the House, by his majesty's command, that Lieutenant-General Sir John Mordaunt, a member of that House, was in arrest for disobedience of his majesty's orders, while employed on the late expedition to the coast of France. The Commons immediately resolved that an address should be presented to his majesty, returning him the thanks of this House for his gracious message of that day, in the communication he had been pleased to make of the reason for putting Lieutenant-General Sir John Mordaunt in arrest. Among the various objects of commerce that employed the attention of the House, one of the most considerable was the trade to the coast of Africa, for the protection of which an annual sum had been granted for some years, to be expended in the maintenance and repairs of castles and factories. While a committee was employed in perusing the accounts relating to the sum granted in the preceding session for this purpose, a petition from the committee of the African Company, recommended in a message from his majesty, was presented to the House, soliciting further assistance for the ensuing year. In the mean time, a remonstrance was offered by certain planters and merchants interested in trading to the British sugar colonies in America, alleging that the price of negroes was greatly advanced since the forts and settlements on the coast of Africa had been under the direction of the committee of the company of merchants trading to that coast;

a circumstance that greatly distressed and alarmed the petitioners, prevented the cultivation of the British colonies, and was a great detriment to the trade and navigation of the kingdom: that this misfortune, they believed, was in some measure owing to the ruinous state and condition of the forts and settlements: that, in their opinion, the most effectual method for maintaining the interest of that trade on a respectable footing, next to that of an incorporated joint-stock company, would be putting those forts and settlements under the sole direction of the commissioners for trade and plantations: that the preservation or ruin of the American sugar colonies went hand in hand with that of the slave trade to Africa: that by an act passed in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty, for extending and improving this trade, the British subjects were debarred from lodging their slaves and merchandize in the forts and settlements on the coast: they, therefore, prayed that this part of the act might be repealed: that all commanders of British and American vessels, free merchants, and all other his majesty's subjects, who were settled, or might at any time thereafter settle in Africa, should have free liberty, from sunrise to sunset, to enter the forts and settlements, and to deposit their goods and merchandize in the warehouses thereunto belonging; to secure their slaves or other purchases without paying any consideration for the same; but the slaves to be victualled at the proper cost and charge of their respective owners. The House having taken this petition into consideration, inquired into the proceedings of the company, and revised the act for extending and improving the trade to Africa, resolved, that the committee of the African Company had faithfully discharged the trust reposed in them, and granted ten thousand pounds for maintaining the British forts and settlements in that part of the world. The enemy were perfectly well acquainted with the weakness of the British castles on the coast of Africa; and had they known as well how to execute with spirit as to plan with sagacity, the attempt which, in the course of the preceding year, they made upon the principal British forts in Guinea would have succeeded, and all the other settlements would have fallen into their hands without opposition.¹

¹ Robert Hunter Morris represented, in a petition to the House, that as no salt was made in the British colonies in America, they were obliged to depend upon a precarious supply

The longest and warmest debate which was maintained in the course of this session arose from a motion for Session close 1. leave to bring in a bill for shortening the term and duration of future Parliaments; a measure truly patriotic, against which no substantial argument could be produced, although the motion was rejected by the majority, on pretence that, whilst the nation was engaged in such a dangerous and expensive war, it would be improper to think of introducing such an alteration in the form of government. Reasons of equal strength and solidity will never be wanting to the patrons and ministers of corruption and venality. The alteration proposed was nothing less than removing and annulling an encroachment which had been made on the constitution: it might have been effected without the least pang or convulsion, to the general satisfaction of the nation: far from being unreasonable at this juncture, it would have enhanced the national reputation abroad, and rendered the war more formidable to the enemies of Great Britain, by convincing them that it was supported by a ministry and Parliament who stood upon such good terms with the people. Indeed, a quick succession of Parliaments might have disconcerted, and perhaps expelled, that spirit of confidence and generosity which now so remarkably espoused and gratified the sovereign's predilection for the interests of Hanover. Other committees were established, to inquire into the expense incurred by new lines and fortifications raised at Gibraltar; to examine the original standards of weights and measures used in England, consider the laws relating to them, and report their observations, together with their opinion of the most effectual means for ascertaining and enforcing uniform standards to be used for the future. The Commons were perfectly satisfied with the new works which had been raised at Gibraltar; and with respect to the weights and measures, the committee agreed to certain resolutions, but no further progress was made in this inquiry, except

of that commodity from foreigners; he, therefore, offered to undertake the making of marine salt, at a moderate price, in one of those colonies, at his own risk and charge, provided he could be secured in the enjoyment of the profits which the works might produce, for such a term of years as might seem to the House a proper and adequate compensation for so great an undertaking. The petition was ordered to lie upon the table, afterwards read; and referred to a committee, which, however, made no report.—A circumstance not easily accounted for, unless we suppose the House of Commons were of opinion that such an enterprise might contribute towards rendering our colonies too independent of their mother country. Equally unaccountable was the mismanagement of another bill, brought in for regulating the manner of licensing alehouses, which was read for the first time; but when a motion was made for a second reading, the question was put, and it passed in the negative.

an order for printing these resolutions, with the appendix; however, as the boxes containing the standards were ordered to be locked up by the clerk of the House, in all probability their intention was to proceed on this subject in some future session. On the ninth day of June, sundry bills received the royal assent by commission, his majesty being indisposed: and on the twentieth day of the same month, the lords commissioners closed the session with a speech to both Houses, expressing his majesty's deep sense of their loyalty and good affection demonstrated in their late proceedings, in their zeal for his honour and real interests in all parts, in their earnestness to surmount every difficulty, in their ardour to maintain the war with the utmost vigour; proofs which must convince mankind that the ancient spirit of the British nation still subsisted in its full force. They were given to understand that the king had taken all such measures as appeared the most conducive to the accomplishment of their public-spirited views and wishes; that with their assistance, crowned by the blessing of God upon the conduct and bravery of the combined army, his majesty had been enabled, not only to deliver his dominions in Germany from the oppressions and devastations of the French, but also to push his advantages on this side the Rhine; that he had cemented the union between him and his good brother the King of Prussia, by new engagements; that the British fleets and armies were now actually employed in such expeditions as appeared likely to annoy the enemy in the most sensible manner, and to promote the welfare and prosperity of these kingdoms; in particular, to preserve the British rights and possessions in America, and to make France feel, in those parts, the real strength and importance of Great Britain. The Commons were thanked for the ample supplies which they had so freely and unanimously given, and assured on the part of his majesty that they should be managed with the most frugal economy. They were desired, in consequence of the king's earnest recommendation, to promote harmony and good agreement amongst his faithful subjects; to make the people acquainted with the rectitude and purity of his intentions and measures, and to exert themselves in maintaining the peace and good order of the country, by enforcing obedience to the laws and lawful authority.

Never, surely, had any sovereign more reason to be pleased with the conduct of his ministers, and the spirit of his

people. The whole nation reposed the most unbounded confidence in the courage and discretion as well as in the integrity of the minister, who seemed eager upon prosecuting the war with such vigour and activity as appeared almost unexampled in the annals of Great Britain. New levies were made, new ships put in commission, fresh expeditions undertaken, and fresh conquests projected. Such was the credit of the administration, that people subscribed to the government loans with surprising eagerness. An unusual spirit of enterprise and resolution seemed to inspire all the individuals that constituted the army and navy; and the passion for military fame diffused itself through all ranks in the civil department of life, even to the very dregs of the populace; such a remarkable change from indolence to activity, from indifference to zeal, from timorous caution to fearless execution, was effected by the influence and example of an intelligent and intrepid minister, who, chagrined at the inactivity and disgraces of the preceding campaign, had, on a very solemn occasion, lately declared his belief that there was a determined resolution, both in the naval and military commanders, against any vigorous exertion of the national power in the service of the country. He affirmed, that though his majesty appeared ready to embrace every measure proposed by his ministers for the honour and interest of his British dominions, yet scarce a man could be found with whom the execution of any one plan in which there was the least appearance of any danger could with confidence be trusted. He particularized the inactivity of one general in North America, from whose abilities and personal bravery the nation had conceived great expectations: he complained that this noble commander had expressed the most contemptuous disregard for the civil power from which he derived his authority, by neglecting to transmit, for a considerable length of time, any other advice of his proceedings but what appeared on a written scrap of paper: he observed that, with a force by land and sea greater than ever the nation had heretofore maintained, with a king and ministry ardently desirous of redeeming her glory, succouring her allies, and promoting her true interest, a shameful dislike to the service every where prevailed, and few seemed affected with any other zeal than that of aspiring to the highest posts, and grasping the largest salaries. The censure levelled at the commander in America was founded

Vigorous
preparation
for
war.
Death of
the Princess
Cecilia.

on mistake : the inactivity of that noble lord was not more disappointing to the ministry than disagreeable to his own inclination. He used his utmost endeavours to answer the expectation of the public, but his hands were effectually tied by an absolute impossibility of success, and his conduct stood justified in the eyes of his sovereign. A particular and accurate detail of his proceedings he transmitted through a channel which he imagined would have directly conveyed it to the foot of the throne ; but the packet was said to have been purposely intercepted and suppressed. Perhaps he was not altogether excusable for having corresponded so slightly with the secretary of state ; but he was said to have gone abroad in full persuasion that the ministry would be changed, and therefore his assiduities were principally directed to the great personage who, in that case, would have superintended and directed all the operations of the army. All sorts of military preparations in foundries, docks, arsenals, raising and exercising troops, and victualling transports, were now carried on with such diligence and despatch as seemed to promise an exertion that would soon obliterate the disagreeable remembrance of past disgrace. The beginning of the year was, however, a little clouded by a general concern for the death of his majesty's third daughter, the Princess Caroline, a lady of the most exemplary virtue and amiable character, who died at the age of forty-five, sincerely regretted as a pattern of unaffected piety and unbounded benevolence.

The British cruisers kept the sea during all the severity of winter, in order to protect the commerce of the kingdom, and annoy that of the enemy. They exerted themselves with such activity, and their vigilance was attended with such success, that a great number of prizes were taken, and the trade of France almost totally extinguished. A very gallant exploit was achieved by one Captain Bray, commander of the *Adventure*, a small armed vessel in the government service : falling in with the *Machault*, a large privateer of Dunkirk, near Dungeness, he ran her aboard, fastened her boltsprit to his capstan, and, after a warm engagement, compelled her commander to submit. A French frigate of thirty-six guns was taken by Captain Parker, in a new fire-ship of inferior force. Divers privateers of the enemy were sunk, burned, or taken, and a great number of merchant-

Sea engagements off Cape François. A remarkable success of Captain Forrest.

ships fell into the hands of the English. Nor was the success of the British ships of war confined to the English Channel. At this period the board of Admiralty received information from Admiral Cotes, in Jamaica, of an action which happened off the island of Hispaniola, in the month of October of the preceding year, between three English ships of war and a French squadron. Captain Forrest, an officer of distinguished merit in the service, had, in the ship *Augusta*, sailed from Port Royal in Jamaica, accompanied by the *Dreadnought* and *Edinburgh*, under the command of the Captains Suckling and Langdon. He was ordered to cruise off Cape François, and this service he literally performed in the face of the French squadron under Kersin, lately arrived at that place from the coast of Africa. The commander, piqued at seeing himself thus insulted by an inferior armament, resolved to come forth and give them battle; and that he might either take them, or at least drive them out of the seas, so as to afford a free passage to a great number of merchant-ships then lying at the Cape, bound for Europe, he took every precaution which he thought necessary to ensure success. He reinforced his squadron with some store-ships, mounted with guns, and armed for the occasion, and supplied the deficiency in his complements by taking on board seamen from the merchant-ships, and soldiers from the garrison. Thus prepared, he weighed anchor, and stood out to sea, having under his command four large ships of the line, and three stout frigates. They were no sooner perceived advancing, than Captain Forrest held a short council with his two captains. "Gentlemen, (said he,) you know our own strength, and see that of the enemy: shall we give them battle?" They replying in the affirmative, he added, "Then fight them we will; there is no time to be lost: return to your ships, and get them ready for engaging." After this laconic consultation among these three gallant officers, they bore down upon the French squadron without further hesitation, and between three and four in the afternoon the action began with great impetuosity. The enemy exerted themselves with uncommon spirit, conscious that their honour was peculiarly at stake, and that they fought in sight, as it were, of their own coast, which was lined with people, expecting to see them return in triumph. But notwithstanding all their endeavours, their commodore, after having sustained a severe engagement, that lasted two hours and a half, found

his ship in such a shattered condition that he made a signal for one of his frigates to come and tow him out of the line. His example was followed by the rest of his squadron, which, by this assistance, with the favour of the land breeze, and the approach of night, made shift to accomplish their escape from the three British ships, which were too much disabled in their masts and rigging to prosecute their victory. One of the French squadron was rendered altogether unserviceable for action: their loss in men amounted to three hundred killed, and as many wounded; whereas that of the English did not much exceed one-third of this number. Nevertheless, they were so much damaged that, being unable to keep the sea, they returned to Jamaica, and the French commodore seized the opportunity of sailing with a great convoy for Europe. The courage of Captain Forrest was not more conspicuous in his engagement with the French squadron near Cape François, than his conduct and sagacity in a subsequent adventure near Port-au-Prince, a French harbour, situated at the bottom of a bay on the western part of Hispaniola, behind the small island of Gonave. After M. de Kersin had taken his departure from Cape François, for Europe, Admiral Cotes, beating up to windward from Port Royal in Jamaica, with three ships of the line, received intelligence that there was a French fleet at Port-au-Prince ready to sail on their return to Europe: Captain Forrest then presented the admiral with a plan for an attack on this place, and urged it earnestly. This, however, was declined, and Captain Forrest directed to cruise off the island Gonave for two days only, the admiral enjoining him to return at the expiration of the time, and rejoin the squadron at Cape Nicholas. Accordingly, Captain Forrest, in the *Augusta*, proceeded up the bay, between the island Gonave and Hispaniola, with a view to execute a plan which he had himself projected. Next day, in the afternoon, though he perceived two sloops, he forbore chasing, that he might not risk a discovery: for the same purpose he hoisted Dutch colours, and disguised his ship with tarpaulins. At five in the afternoon he discovered seven sail of ships steering to the westward, and hauled from them, to avoid suspicion; but at the approach of night gave chase with all the sail he could carry. About ten he perceived two sail, one of which fired a gun, and the other made the best of her way for Leoganne, another harbour in the bay. At this period Captain Forrest reckoned eight

sail to leeward, near another port called Petit Goave: coming up with the ship which had fired the gun, she submitted without opposition, after he had hailed, and told her captain what he was, produced two of his largest cannon, and threatened to sink her if she should give the least alarm. He forthwith shifted the prisoners from this prize, and placed on board of her five-and-thirty of his own crew, with orders to stand for Petit Goave, and intercept any of the fleet that might attempt to reach that harbour. Then he made sail after the rest, and in the dawn of the morning, finding himself in the middle of their fleet, he began to fire at them all in their turns, as he could bring his guns to bear: they returned the fire for some time; at length the *Marguerite*, the *Solide*, and the *Theodore*, struck their colours. These being secured, were afterwards used in taking the *Maurice*, *Le Grand*, and *La Flore*; the *Brilliant* also submitted; and the *Mars* made sail in hopes of escaping; but the *Augusta* coming up with her about noon, she likewise fell into the hands of the victor. Thus, by a well-conducted stratagem, a whole fleet of nine sail were taken by a single ship, in the neighbourhood of four or five harbours, in any one of which they would have found immediate shelter and security. The prizes, which happened to be richly laden, were safely conveyed to Jamaica, and there sold at public auction, for the benefit of the captors, who may safely challenge history to produce such another instance of success.

The ministry having determined to make vigorous efforts against the enemy in North America, Admiral Boscawen was vested with the command of the fleet destined for that service, and sailed from St. Helen's on the nineteenth day of February, when the *Invincible*, of seventy-four guns, one of the best ships that constituted his squadron, ran aground, and perished; but her men, stores, and artillery were saved. In the course of the succeeding month, Sir Edward Hawke steered into the Bay of Biscay with another squadron, in order to intercept any supplies from France designed for Cape Breton or Canada; and about the same time the town of Embden, belonging to his Prussian majesty, which had fallen into the hands of the enemy, was suddenly retrieved by the conduct of Commodore Holmes, stationed on that coast, who sent up two of his small ships to anchor in the river between Knock and the city. The garrison,

French
evacuate
Emden.
Success of
Admiral
Boscawen.
French fleet
driven
ashore in
Biscay-
road.

amounting to three thousand seven hundred men, finding themselves thus cut off from all communication with the country below, abandoned the place with great precipitation, and some of their baggage, being sent off by water, was taken by the boats which the commodore armed for that purpose. It was in the same month that the Admiralty received advice of another advantage by sea, which had been gained by Admiral Osborne, while he cruised between Cape de Gatt and Carthagena, on the coast of Spain. On the twenty-eighth day of March he fell in with a French squadron, commanded by the Marquis du Quesne, consisting of four ships, namely, the *Foudroyant*, of eighty guns, the *Orphée*, of sixty-four, the *Oriflamme*, of fifty, and the *Pleiade* frigate, of twenty-four, in their passage from Toulon to reinforce M. de la Clue, who had for some time been blocked up by Admiral Osborne in the harbour of Carthagena. The enemy no sooner perceived the English squadron than they dispersed, and steered different courses; then Mr. Osborne detached divers ships in pursuit of each, while he himself, with the body of his fleet, stood off for the bay of Carthagena, to watch the motions of the French squadron which lay there at anchor. About seven in the evening, the *Orphée*, having on board five hundred men, struck to Captain Storr, in the *Revenge*, who lost the calf of one leg in the engagement, during which he was sustained by the ships *Berwick* and *Preston*. The *Monmouth*, of sixty-four guns, commanded by Captain Gardner, engaged the *Foudroyant*, one of the largest ships in the French navy, mounted with fourscore cannon, and containing eight hundred men, under the direction of the Marquis du Quesne. The action was maintained with great fury on both sides, and the gallant Captain Gardner lost his life: nevertheless the fight was continued with unabating vigour by his lieutenant, Mr. Carkett, and the *Foudroyant* disabled in such a manner that her commander struck as soon as the other English ships, the *Swiftsure* and the *Hampton-court* appeared. This mortifying step, however, he did not take until he saw his ship lie like a wreck upon the water, and the decks covered with carnage. The *Oriflamme* was driven on shore under the castle of Aiglos, by the ships *Montague* and *Monarque*, commanded by the Captains Rowley and Montague, who could not complete their destruction without violating the neutrality of Spain. As for the *Pleiade* frigate, she made her escape by

being a prime sailer. This was a severe stroke upon the enemy, who not only lost two of their capital ships, but saw them added to the navy of Great Britain; and the disaster was followed close by another, which they could not help feeling with equal sensibility of mortification and chagrin. In the beginning of April, Sir Edward Hawke, steering with his squadron into Basque-road, on the coast of Poictou, discovered off the isle of Aix a French fleet at anchor, consisting of five ships of the line, with six frigates, and forty transports, having on board three thousand troops, and a large quantity of stores and provisions, intended as a supply for their settlements in North America. They no sooner saw the English admiral advancing, than they began to slip their cables, and fly in the utmost confusion. Some of them escaped by sea, but a great number ran into shoal water, where they could not be pursued; and next morning they appeared aground, lying on their broadsides. Sir Edward Hawke, who had rode all night at anchor abreast of the Isle of Aix, furnished the ships *Intrepid* and *Medway* with trusty pilots, and sent them farther in when the flood began to make, with orders to sound ahead, that he might know whether there was any possibility of attacking the enemy; but the want of a sufficient depth of water rendered the scheme impracticable. In the mean time, the French threw overboard their cannon, stores, and ballast; and boats and launches from Rochefort were employed in carrying out warps, to drag their ships through the soft mud, as soon as they should be water-borne by the flowing tide. By these means their large ships of war, and many of their transports, escaped into the river Charente; but their loading was lost, and the end of their equipment totally defeated. Another convoy of merchant-ships, under the protection of three frigates, Sir Edward Hawke, a few days before, had chased into the harbour of St. Martin's in the isle of Rhé, where they still remained, waiting an opportunity for hazarding a second departure: a third, consisting of twelve sail, bound from Bourdeaux to Quebec, under convoy of a frigate and armed vessel, was encountered at sea by one British ship of the line and two fire-ships, which took the frigate and armed vessel, and two of the convoy afterwards met with the same fate: but this advantage was overbalanced by the loss of Captain James Hume, commander of the *Pluto* fire-ship, a brave accomplished officer, who, in an unequal combat with

the enemy, refused to quit the deck, even when he was disabled, and fell gloriously, covered with wounds, exhorting the people, with his latest breath, to continue the engagement while the ship could swim, and acquit themselves with honour in the service of their country.

On the twenty-ninth day of May the *Raisonnéable*, a French ship of the line, mounted with sixty-four cannon, having on board six hundred and thirty men, commanded by the Prince de Mombazon, Admiral Broderick's ship burnt at sea. Chevalier de Rohan, was, in her passage from Port l'Orient to Brest, attacked by Captain Dennis, in the *Dorsetshire*, of seventy guns, and taken after an obstinate engagement, in which one hundred and sixty men of the prince's complement were killed or wounded, and he sustained great damage in his hull, sails, and rigging. These successes were however chequered by the tidings of a lamentable disaster that befel the ship *Prince George*, of eighty guns, commanded by the Rear-Admiral Broderick, in his passage to the Mediterranean. On the thirteenth day of April, between one and two in the afternoon, a dreadful fire broke out in the fore part of the ship, and raged with such fury, that notwithstanding all the efforts of the officers and men for several hours, the flames increased, and the ship being consumed to the water's edge, the remnant sunk about six o'clock in the evening. The horror and consternation of such a scene are not easily described. When all endeavours proved fruitless, and no hope of preserving the ship remained, the barge was hoisted out for the preservation of the admiral, who entered it accordingly; but all distinction of persons being now abolished, the seamen rushed into it in such crowds that in a few moments it overset. The admiral, foreseeing that this would be the case, stripped off his clothes, and committing himself to the mercy of the waves, was saved by the boat of a merchant-ship, after he had sustained himself in the sea a full hour by swimming. Captain Payton, who was the second in command, remained upon the quarter-deck as long as it was possible to keep that station, and then, descending by the stern ladder, had the good fortune to be taken into a boat belonging to the *Alderney sloop*. The hull of the ship, masts, and rigging, were now in a blaze, bursting tremendously in several parts through horrid clouds of smoke; nothing was heard but the crackling of the flames, mingled with the dismal cries of

terror and distraction; nothing was seen but acts of frenzy and desperation. The miserable wretches, affrighted at the horrors of such a conflagration, sought a fate less dreadful, by plunging into the sea, and about three hundred men were pre-served by the boats belonging to some ships that accompanied the admiral in his voyage, but five hundred perished in the ocean.

The King of Great Britain, being determined to renew his attempt upon the coast of France, ordered a very formidable armament to be equipped for that purpose. Two powerful squadrons by sea were destined for the service of this expedition: the first, consisting of eleven great ships, was commanded by Lord Anson and Sir Edward Hawke; the other, composed of four ships of the line, seven frigates, six sloops, two fire-ships, two bombs, ten cutters, twenty tenders, ten store-ships, and one hundred transports, was put under the direction of Commodore Howe, who had signalized himself by his gallantry and conduct in the course of the last fruitless expedition. The plan of a descent upon France having been adopted by the ministry, a body of troops, consisting of sixteen regiments, nine troops of light horse, and six thousand marines, was assembled for the execution of this design, and embarked under the command of the Duke of Marlborough; a nobleman who, though he did not inherit all the military genius of his grandfather, yet far excelled him in the amiable and social qualities of the heart: he was brave beyond all question, generous to profusion, and good-natured to excess. On this occasion he was assisted by the counsels of Lord George Sackville, second in command, son to the Duke of Dorset; an officer of experience and reputation, who had, in the civil departments of government, exhibited proofs of extraordinary genius and uncommon application. The troops having been encamped for some time upon the Isle of Wight, were embarked in the latter end of May, and the two fleets sailed in the beginning of June for the coast of Bretagne, leaving the people of England flushed with the gayest hopes of victory and conquest. The two fleets parted at sea: Lord Anson, with his squadron, proceeded to the Bay of Biscay, in order to watch the motions of the enemy's ships, and harass their navigation; while Commodore Howe, with the land-forces, steered directly towards St. Maloes, a strong place of considerable

Descent at
Cinelle-
by.

commerce, situated on the coast of Bretagne, against which the proposed invasion seemed to be chiefly intended. The town, however, was found too well fortified, both by art and nature, to admit of an attempt by sea with any prospect of success; and therefore it was resolved to make a descent in the neighbourhood. After the fleet had been, by contrary winds, detained several days in sight of the French coast, it arrived in the bay of Cancele, about two leagues to the eastward of St. Maloes: and Mr. Howe having silenced a small battery which the enemy had occasionally raised upon the beach, the troops were landed, without further opposition, on the sixth day of June. The Duke of Marlborough immediately began his march towards St. Servan, with a view to destroy such shipping and magazines as might be in any accessible parts of the river; and this scheme was executed with success. A great quantity of naval stores, two ships of war, several privateers, and about fourscore vessels of different sorts, were set on fire and reduced to ashes, almost under the cannon of the place, which, however, they could not pretend to besiege in form. His grace having received repeated advices that the enemy were busily employed in assembling forces to march against him, returned to Cancele, where Mr. Howe had made such a masterly disposition of the boats and transports, that the re-embarkation of the troops was performed with surprising ease and expedition. The forces, while they remained on shore, were restrained from all outrages by the most severe discipline; and the French houses, which their inhabitants had abandoned, were left untouched. Immediately after their landing, the Duke of Marlborough, as commander-in-chief, published and distributed a manifesto, addressed to the people of Bretagne, giving them to understand that his descent upon the coast was not effected with a design to make war on the inhabitants of the open country, except such as should be found in arms, or otherwise opposing the operations of his Britannic majesty: that all who were willing to continue in peaceable possession of their effects might remain unmolested in their respective dwellings, and follow their usual occupations; that, besides the customs and taxes they used to pay to their own king, nothing should be required of them but what was absolutely necessary for the subsistence of the army; and that, for all provisions brought in, they should be paid in ready money.

He concluded this notice with declaring, that if, notwithstanding these assurances of protection, they should carry off their effects and provisions, and abandon the place of their habitation, he would treat them as enemies, and destroy their houses with fire and sword. To the magistracy of St. Maloes he likewise sent a letter, importing that, as all the inhabitants of the towns and villages between Dinant, Renués, and Doll, now in his possession, had deserted their habitations, probably to avoid the payment of the usual contributions; and he being informed that the magistrates had compelled the people of the country to retire into the town of St. Maloes; he now gave them notice that, if they did not immediately send them back to their houses, and come themselves to his head-quarters, to settle the contributions, he should think himself obliged to proceed to military execution. These threats, however, were not put in force, although the magistrates of St. Maloes did not think proper to comply with his injunction. But it was found altogether impossible to prevent irregularities among troops that were naturally licentious. Some houses were pillaged, and not without acts of barbarity; but the offenders were brought to immediate justice; and it must be owned, as an incontestable proof of the general's humanity, that, in destroying the magazines of the enemy at St. Servan, which may be termed the suburbs of St. Maloes, he ordered one small storehouse to be spared, because it could not be set on fire without endangering the whole district. The British forces being re-embarked, including about five hundred light horse, which had been disciplined and carried over with a view to scour the country, the fleet was detained by contrary winds in the bay of Cancele for several days, during which a design seems to have been formed for attacking Granville, which had been reconnoitred by some of the engineers: but, in consequence of their report, the scheme was laid aside, and the fleet stood out to sea, where it was exposed to some rough weather. In a few days, the wind blowing in a northern direction, they steered again towards the French coast, and ran in with the land near Havre-de-Grace, where the flat-bottomed boats provided for landing were hoisted out, and a second disembarkation expected. But the wind blowing violently towards the evening, the boats were re-shipped, and the fleet obliged to quit the land, in order

to avoid the dangers of a lee-shore. Next day, the weather being more moderate, they returned to the same station, and orders were given to prepare for a descent; but the Duke of Marlborough, having taken a view of the coast in an open cutter, accompanied by Commodore Howe, thought proper to waive the attempt. Their next step was to bear away before the wind for Cherbourg, in the neighbourhood of which place the fleet came to anchor. Here some of the transports received the fire of six different batteries; and a considerable body of troops appeared in arms to dispute the landing: nevertheless, the general resolved that the forts Querquerville, l'Hommet, and Galet, should be attacked in the night by the first regiment of guards. The soldiers were actually distributed in the flat-bottomed boats, and every preparation made for this enterprise, when the wind began to blow with such violence that the troops could not be landed without the most imminent danger and difficulty, nor properly sustained in case of a repulse, even if the disembarkation could have been effected. This attempt, therefore, was laid aside; but at the same time a resolution taken to stand in towards the shore with the whole fleet, to cover a general landing. A disposition was made accordingly; but the storm increasing, the transports ran foul of each other, and the ships were exposed to all the perils of a lee-shore, for the gale blew directly upon the coast; besides, the provisions began to fail, and the hay for the horses was almost consumed. These concurring reasons induced the commanders to postpone the disembarkation to a more favourable opportunity. The fleet stood out to sea, and the tempest abating, they steered for the Isle of Wight, and next day anchored at St. Helen's. Such was the issue of an enterprise achieved with considerable success, if we consider the damage done to the enemy's shipping, and the other objects which the ministry had in view, namely, to secure the navigation of the channel, and make a diversion in favour of the German allies, by alarming the French king, and obliging him to employ a great number of troops to defend his coast from insult and invasion: but whether such a mighty armament was necessary for the accomplishment of these petty aims, and whether the same armament might not have been employed in executing schemes of infinitely greater advantage to the nation, we shall leave to the judicious reader's own reflection.

The designs upon the coast of France, though interrupted by tempestuous weather, were not as yet laid aside for the whole season : but, in the mean time, the troops were disembarked on the Isle of Wight; and one brigade marched to the northward, to join a body of troops, with which the government resolved to augment the army of the allies in Germany, commanded by Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick. The Duke of Marlborough and Lord George Sackville being appointed to conduct this British corps upon the continent, the command of the marine expeditions devolved to Lieutenant-General Bligh, an old experienced officer, who had served with reputation; and his royal highness Prince Edward, afterwards created Duke of York, entered as a volunteer with Commodore Howe, in order to learn the rudiments of the sea-service. The remainder of the troops being re-embarked, and every thing prepared for the second expedition, the fleet sailed from St. Helen's on the first of August; and after a tedious passage, from calms and contrary winds, anchored on the seventh in the bay of Cherbourg. By this time the enemy had intrenched themselves within a line, extending from the fort Ecoudeville, which stands about two miles to the westward of Cherbourg, along the coast for the space of four miles, fortified with several batteries at proper distances. Behind this intrenchment a body of horse and infantry appeared in red and blue uniforms; but as they did not advance to the open beach, the less risk was run in landing the British forces. At first a bomb-ketch had been sent to anchor near the town, and throw some shells into the place, as a feint to amuse the enemy, and deceive them with regard to the place of disembarkation, while the general had determined to land about a league to the westward of Querqueville, the most western fort in the bay. The other bomb-ketches, being posted along shore, did considerable execution upon the intrenchments, not only by throwing shells in the usual way, but also by using ball mortars, filled with great quantities of balls, which may be thrown to a great distance, and, by scattering as they fly, do abundance of mischief. While these ketches fired without ceasing, the grenadiers and guards were rowed regularly ashore in the flat-bottomed boats, and landing without opposition, instantly formed, on a small open portion of the beach, with a natural breast-work in their front, having on the other side a hollow way, and a village rising beyond it

Expedition
against
Cherbourg.

with a sudden ascent: on the left, the ground was intersected by hedges, and covered with orchards; and from this quarter the enemy advanced in order. The British troops immediately quitted the breast-work, in order to meet them half way, and a straggling fire began; but the French, edging to the left, took possession of the hill, from whence they piqueered with the advanced posts of the English. In the mean time, the rest of the infantry were disembarked, and the enemy at night retired. As the light troops were not yet landed, General Bligh encamped that night at the village of Erville, on a piece of ground that did not extend above four hundred paces; so that the tents were pitched in a crowded and irregular manner. Next morning, the general having received intelligence that no parties of the enemy were seen moving on the hill, or in the plain, and that fort Querqueville was entirely abandoned, made a disposition for marching in two columns to Cherbourg. An advanced party took immediate possession of Querqueville; and the lines and batteries along the shore were now deserted by the enemy. The British forces marching behind St. Aulne, Ecœurdeville, Hommet, and La Galet, found the town of Cherbourg likewise abandoned, and, the gates being open, entered it without opposition. The citizens, encouraged by a manifesto containing a promise of protection, which had been published and distributed in order to quiet their apprehensions, received their new guests with a good grace, overwhelming them with civilities, for which they met with a very ungrateful return; for, as the bulk of the army was not regularly encamped and superintended, the soldiers were at liberty to indulge themselves in riot and licentiousness. All night long they ravaged the adjacent country without restraint; and as no guards had been regularly placed in the streets and avenues of Cherbourg, to prevent disorders, the town itself was not exempted from pillage and brutality. These outrages, however, were no sooner known, than the general took immediate steps for putting a stop to them for the present, and preventing all irregularities for the future. Next morning the place being reconnoitred, he determined to destroy, without delay, all the forts and the basin; and the execution of this design was left to the engineers, assisted by the officers of the fleet and artillery. Great sums of money had been expended upon the harbour and basin of Cherbourg, which at one time was considered by the

French court as an object of great importance, from its situation respecting the river Seine, as well as the opposite coast of England; but as the works were left unfinished, in all appearance the plan had grown into disreputation. The enemy had raised several unconnected batteries along the bay; but the town itself was quite open and defenceless. While the engineers were employed in demolishing the works, the light horse scoured the country, and detachments were every day sent out towards Walloign, at the distance of four leagues from Cherbourg, where the enemy were encamped, and every hour received reinforcements. Several skirmishes were fought by the out-parties of each army, in one of which Captain Lindsay, a gallant young officer, who had been very instrumental in training the light horse, was mortally wounded. The harbour and basin of Cherbourg being destroyed, together with all the forts in the neighbourhood, and about twenty pieces of brass cannon secured on board the English ships, a contribution, amounting to about three thousand pounds sterling, was exacted upon the town, and a plan of re-embarkation concerted; as it appeared, from the reports of peasants and deserters, that the enemy were already increased to a formidable number. A slight intrenchment being raised, sufficient to defend the last division that should be re-embarked, the stores and artillery were shipped, and the light horses conveyed on board their respective transports, by means of platforms laid in the flat-bottomed vessels. On the sixteenth day of August, at three o'clock in the morning, the forces marched from Cherbourg down to the beach, and re-embarked at Fort Galet, without the least disturbance from the enemy.

This service being happily performed, the fleet set sail for the coast of England, and anchored in the road of Descent at St. Maloes. Weymouth, under the high land of Portland. In two days it weighed, and stood again to the southward; but was obliged, by contrary winds, to return to the same riding. The second effort, however, was more effectual. The fleet with some difficulty kept the sea, and, steering to the French coast, came to anchor in the bay of St. Lunaire, two leagues to the westward of St. Maloes, against which it was determined to make another attempt. The sloops and ketches being ranged along shore to cover the disembarkation, the troops landed on a fair open beach, and a detachment of grenadiers was sent to the harbour of St. Briac, above the

town of St. Maloes, where they destroyed about fifteen small vessels ; but St. Maloes itself, being properly surveyed, appeared to be above insult, either from the land-forces or the shipping. The mouth of the river that forms its basin extends above two miles in breadth at its narrowest part, so as to be out of the reach of land batteries ; and the entrance is defended by such forts and batteries as the ships of war could not pretend to silence, considering the difficult navigation of the channels : besides fifty pieces of large cannon planted on these forts and batteries, the enemy had mounted forty on the west side of the town ; and the basin was, moreover, strengthened by seven frigates or armed vessels, whose guns might have been brought to bear upon any batteries that could be raised on shore, as well as upon ships entering by the usual channel. For these substantial reasons the design against St. Maloes was dropped ; but the general being unwilling to re-embark without having taken some step for the further annoyance of the enemy, resolved to penetrate into the country, conducting his motions, however, so as to be near the fleet, which had by this time quitted the bay of St. Lunaire, where it could not ride with any safety, and anchored in the bay of St. Cas, about three leagues to the westward.

On Friday, the eighth of September, General Bligh, with his little army, began his march for Guildo, at the distance of nine miles, which he reached in the evening ; next day he crossed a little gut or inlet of the sea, at low water, and his troops being incommoded by the peasants, who fired at them from hedges and houses, he sent a priest with a message, intimating that, if they would not desist, he would reduce their houses to ashes. No regard being paid to this intimation, the houses were actually set on fire as soon as the troops had formed their camp about two miles on the other side of the inlet. Next morning he proceeded to the village of Matignon, where, after some smart skirmishing, the French piquets appeared, drawn up in order, to the number of two battalions ; but having sustained a few shot from the English field-pieces, and seeing the grenadiers advance, they suddenly dispersed. General Bligh continuing his route through the village, encamped in the open ground, about three miles from the bay of St. Cas, which was this day reconnoitred for re-embarkation ; for he now received undoubted intelligence that the Duke d'Aiguillon had ad-

English
defeated at
St. Cas.

vanced from Brest to Lambale, within six miles of the English camp, at the head of twelve regular battalions, six squadrons, two regiments of militia, eight mortars, and ten pieces of cannon. The bay of St. Cas was covered by an intrenchment which the enemy had thrown up, to prevent or oppose any disembarkation; and on the outside of this work there was a range of sand-hills extending along shore, which could have served as a cover to the enemy, from whence they might have annoyed the troops in re-embarking; for this reason a proposal was made to the general that the forces should be re-embarked from a fair open beach on the left, between St. Cas and Guildo; but this advice was rejected, and, indeed, the subsequent operations of the army savoured strongly of blind security and rash presumption. Had the troops decamped in the night without noise, in all probability they would have arrived at the beach before the French had received the least intelligence of their motion; and, in that case, the whole army, consisting of about six thousand men, might have been re-embarked without the least interruption; but, instead of this cautious manner of proceeding, the drums were beaten at two o'clock in the morning, as if with intention to give notice to the enemy, who forthwith repeated the same signal. The troops were in motion before three; and though the length of the march did not exceed three miles, the halts and interruptions were so numerous and frequent, that they did not arrive on the beach of St. Cas till nine. Then the embarkation was begun, and might have been happily finished, had the transports lain near the shore, and received the men as fast as the boats could have conveyed them on board, without distinction; but many ships rode at a considerable distance, and every boat carried the men on board the respective transports to which they belonged; a punctilio of disposition by which a great deal of time was unnecessarily consumed. The small ships and bomb-ketches were brought near the shore to cover the embarkation; and a considerable number of sea-officers were stationed on the beach, to superintend the boats' crews, and regulate the service; but, notwithstanding all their attention and authority, some of the boats were otherwise employed than in conveying the unhappy soldiers. Had all the cutters and small craft belonging to the fleet been properly occupied in this service, the disgrace and disaster of the day would scarce have happened. The British forces

had skirmished a little on the march, but no considerable body of the enemy appeared until the embarkation was begun; then they took possession of an eminence by a wind-mill, and forthwith opened a battery of ten cannon and eight mortars, from whence they fired with considerable effect upon the soldiers on the beach, and on the boats in their passage. They afterwards began to march down the hill, partly covered by a hollow way on their left, with a design to gain a wood, where they might form and extend themselves along the front of the English, and advance against them under shelter of the sand-hills; but in their descent they suffered extremely from the cannon and mortars of the shipping, which made great havoc, and threw them into confusion. Their line of march down the hill was staggered, and for some time continued in suspense; then they turned off to one side, extended themselves along a hill to their left, and advanced in a hollow way, from whence they suddenly rushed out to the attack. Though the greater part of the British troops were already embarked, the rear-guard, consisting of all the grenadiers, and half of the first regiment of guards, remained on the shore, to the number of fifteen hundred, under the command of Major-General Dury. This officer, seeing the French advance, ordered his troops to form in grand divisions, and march from behind the bank that covered them, in order to charge the enemy before they could be formed on the plain. Had this step been taken when it was first suggested to Mr. Dury, before the French were disengaged from the hollow way, perhaps it might have so far succeeded as to disconcert and throw them into confusion; but by this time they had extended themselves into a very formidable front, and no hope remained of being able to withstand such a superior number. Instead of attempting to fight against such odds in an open field of battle, they might have retreated along the beach to a rock on the left, in which progress their right flank would have been secured by the intrenchment; and the enemy could not have pursued them along the shore, without being exposed to such a fire from the shipping, as in all probability they could not have sustained. This scheme was likewise proposed to Mr. Dury; but he seemed to be actuated by a spirit of infatuation. The English line being drawn up in uneven ground, began the action with an irregular fire from right to left, which the enemy returned; but their usual fortitude and

resolution seemed to forsake them on this occasion. They saw themselves in danger of being surrounded and cut in pieces; their officers dropped on every side; and all hope of retreat was now intercepted. In this cruel dilemma their spirits failed; they were seized with a panic; they faltered, they broke; and in less than five minutes after the engagement began they fled in the utmost confusion, pursued by the enemy, who no sooner saw them give way than they fell in among them with their bayonets fixed, and made a great carnage. General Dury being dangerously wounded, ran into the sea, where he perished; and this was the fate of a great number, officers as well as soldiers. Many swam towards the boats and vessels, which were ordered to give them all manner of assistance; but by far the greater number were either butchered on the beach, or drowned in the water: a small body, however, instead of throwing themselves into the sea, retired to the rock on the left, where they made a stand, until they had exhausted their ammunition, and then surrendered at discretion. The havoc was, moreover, increased by the shot and shells discharged from the battery which the enemy had raised on the hill. The slaughter would not have been so great, had not the French soldiers been exasperated by the fire from the frigates, which was still maintained even after the English troops were routed; but this was no sooner silenced by a signal from the commodore, than the enemy exhibited a noble example of moderation and humanity, in granting immediate quarter and protection to the vanquished. About one thousand chosen men of the English army were killed and taken prisoners on this occasion: nor was the advantage cheaply purchased by the French troops, among whom the shot and shells from the frigates and ketches had done great execution. The clemency of the victors was the more remarkable, as the British troops in this expedition had been shamefully guilty of marauding, pillaging, burning, and other excesses. War is so dreadful in itself, and so severe in its consequences, that the exercise of generosity and compassion, by which its horrors are mitigated, ought ever to be applauded, encouraged, and imitated. We ought also to use our best endeavours to deserve this treatment at the hands of a civilized enemy. Let us be humane in our turn to those whom the fate of war has subjected to our power: let us, in prosecuting our military operations, maintain the most rigid discipline among the

troops, and religiously abstain from all acts of violence and oppression. Thus, a laudable emulation will undoubtedly ensue, and the powers at war vie with each other in humanity and politeness. In other respects, the commander of an invading armament will always find his account in being well with the common people of the country in which the descent is made. By civil treatment and seasonable gratifications, they will be encouraged to bring into the camp regular supplies of provision and refreshment; they will mingle with the soldiers, and even form friendships among them; serve as guides, messengers, and interpreters; let out their cattle for hire as draft-horses, work in their own persons as day-labourers; discover proper fords, bridges, roads, passes, and defiles; and, if artfully managed, communicate many useful hints of intelligence. If great care and circumspection be not exerted in maintaining discipline, and bridling the licentious disposition of the soldiers, such invasions will be productive of nothing but miscarriage and disgrace: for this, at best, is but a piratical way of carrying on war; and the troops engaged in it are, in some measure, debauched by the nature of the service. They are crowded together in transports, where the minute particulars of military order cannot be observed, even though the good of the service greatly depends upon a due observance of these forms. The soldiers grow negligent, and inattentive to cleanliness and the exterior ornaments of dress: they become slovenly, slothful, and altogether unfit for a return of duty: they are tumbled about occasionally in ships and boats, landed and re-embarked in a tumultuous manner, under a divided and disorderly command: they are accustomed to retire at the first report of an approaching enemy, and to take shelter on another element: nay, their small pillaging parties are often obliged to fly before unarmed peasants. Their duty on such occasions is the most unmanly part of a soldier's office; namely, to ruin, ravage, and destroy. They soon yield to the temptation of pillage, and are habituated to rapine: they give loose to intemperance, riot, and intoxication; commit a thousand excesses; and, when the enemy appears, run on board the ships with their booty. Thus the dignity of the service is debased: they lose all sense of honour and of shame: they are no longer restricted by military laws, nor overawed by the authority of officers: in a word, they degenerate into a species of lawless buccaneers. From such

a total relaxation of morals and discipline, what can ensue but riot, confusion, dishonour, and defeat? All the advantage that can be expected from these sudden starts of invasion will scarce overbalance the evils we have mentioned, together with the extraordinary expense of equipping armaments of this nature. True it is, these descents oblige the French king to employ a considerable number of his troops for the defence of his maritime places: they serve to ruin the trade of his subjects, protect the navigation of Great Britain, and secure its coast from invasion; but these purposes might be as effectually answered, at a much smaller expense, by the shipping alone. Should it be judged expedient, however, to prosecute this desultory kind of war, the commanders employed in it will do well to consider, that a descent ought never to be hazarded in an enemy's country, without having taken proper precautions to secure a retreat; that the severest discipline ought to be preserved during all the operations of the campaign; that a general ought never to disembark but upon a well-concerted plan, nor commence his military transactions without some immediate point or object in view; that a re-embarkation ought never to be attempted, except from a clear open beach, where the approaches of an enemy may be seen, and the troops covered by the fire of their shipping. Those who presumed to reflect upon the particulars of this last expedition, owned themselves at a loss to account for the conduct of the general in remaining on shore after the design upon St. Maloes was laid aside; in penetrating so far into the country, without any visible object; neglecting the repeated intelligence which he received; communicating, by beat of drum, his midnight motions to an enemy of double his force; loitering near seven hours in a march of three miles; and, lastly, attempting the re-embarkation of the troops at a place where no proper measures had been taken for their cover and defence. After the action of St. Cas, some civilities, by message, passed between the Duke d'Aiguillon and the English commanders, who were favoured with a list of the prisoners, including four sea-captains; and assured that the wounded should receive all possible comfort and assistance. These matters being adjusted, Commodore Howe returned with the fleet to Spithead, and the soldiers were disembarked.

The success of the attempt upon Cherbourg had elevated the people to a degree of childish triumph, and the govern-

ment thought proper to indulge this petulant spirit of exultation, by exposing twenty-one pieces of French cannon ^{captured} in Hyde-park, from whence they were drawn in ^{from the} procession to the Tower, amidst the acclamations of ^{enemy.} the populace. From this pinnacle of elation and pride they were precipitated to the abyss of despondence or dejection, by the account of the miscarriage at St. Cas, which buoyed up the spirits of the French in the same proportion. The people of that nation began to stand in need of some such cordial after the losses they had sustained; and the ministry of Versailles did not fail to make the most of this advantage: they published a pompous narrative of the battle at St. Cas, and magnified into a mighty victory the puny check which they had given to the rear-guard of an inconsiderable detachment. The people received it with implicit belief, because it was agreeable to their passions; and congratulated themselves upon their success in hyperboles dictated by that vivacity so peculiar to the French nation. Indeed, these are artifices which the ministers of every nation find it necessary to use at certain conjunctures, in governing the turbulent and capricious multitude. After the misfortune at St. Cas, nothing further was attempted by that armament; nor was any enterprise of importance achieved by the British ships in Europe during the course of this summer. The cruisers, however, still continued active and alert. Captain Hervey, in the ship *Monmouth*, destroyed a French ship of forty guns at the island of Malta; an exploit of which the Maltese loudly complained, as a violation of their neutrality. About twenty sail of small French vessels were driven ashore on the rocks of Bretagne, by some cruisers belonging to the fleet commanded by Lord Anson, after a smart engagement with two frigates, under whose convoy they sailed. In the month of November the *Belliqueux*, a French ship of war, mounted with sixty-four guns, having, by mistake, run up St. George's channel, and anchored in Lundy-road, Captain Saumarez, of the *Antelope*, then lying in King-road, immediately weighed and went in quest of her, according to the advice he had received. When he appeared, the French captain heaved up his anchor, and made a show of preparing for an engagement; but soon hauled down his colours, and, without firing a shot, surrendered, with complement of four hundred and seventeen men, to a ship of inferior force, both in number of hands and

weight of metal. By this time the English privateers swarmed to such a degree in the channel, that scarce a French vessel durst quit the harbour, and consequently there was little or no booty to be obtained. In this dearth of legal prizes, some of the adventurers were tempted to commit acts of piracy, and actually rifled the ships of neutral nations. A Dutch vessel, having on board the baggage and domestics belonging to the Marquis de Pignatelli, ambassador from the court of Spain to the King of Denmark, was boarded three times successively by the crews of three different privateers, who forced the hatches, rummaged the hold, broke open and rifled the trunks and boxes of the ambassador, insulted and even cruelly bruised his officers, stripped his domestics, and carried off his effects, together with letters of credit, and a bill of exchange. Complaints of these outrages being made to the court of London, the lords of the Admiralty promised, in the Gazette, a reward of five hundred pounds, without deduction, to any person who should discover the offenders concerned in these acts of piracy. Some of them were detected accordingly, and brought to condign punishment.

The Dutch had for some time carried on a very considerable traffic, not only in taking the fair advantages of their neutrality, but also in supplying the French with naval stores, and transporting the produce of the French sugar colonies to Europe, as carriers hired by the proprietors. The English government, incensed at this unfair commerce, prosecuted with such flagrant partiality for their enemies, issued orders for the cruisers to arrest all ships of neutral powers that should have French property on board; and these orders were executed with rigour and severity. A great number of Dutch ships were taken, and condemned as legal prizes, both in England and Jamaica: sometimes the owners met with hard measure, and some crews were treated with insolence and barbarity. The subjects of the United Provinces raised a loud clamour against the English, for having, by these captures, violated the law of nations, and the particular treaty of commerce subsisting between Great Britain and the republic. Remonstrances were made to the English ministry, who expostulated, in their turn, with the deputies of the States-General; and the two nations were inflamed against each other with the most bitter animosity. The British resident at the Hague,

Clamours of
the Dutch
merchants,
on account
of the cap-
ture of their
ships.

in a conference with the states, represented that the king his master could not hope to see peace speedily re-established, if the neutral princes should assume a right of carrying on the trade of his enemies; that he expected, from their known justice, and the alliance by which they were so nearly connected with his subjects, they would honestly abandon this fraudulent commerce, and agree that naval stores should be comprehended in the class of contraband commodities. He answered some articles of the complaints they had made with an appearance of candour and moderation; declared his majesty's abhorrence of the violences which had been committed upon the subjects of the United Provinces; explained the steps which had been taken by the English government to bring the offenders to justice, as well as to prevent such outrages in future; and assured them that his Britannic majesty had nothing more at heart than to renew and maintain, in full force, the mutual confidence and friendship by which the maritime powers of England and Holland had been so long united.

These professions of esteem and affection were not sufficient to quiet the minds, and appease the resentment, of the Dutch merchants; and the French party, which was both numerous and powerful, employed all their art and influence to exasperate their passions, and widen the breach between the two nations. The court of Versailles did not fail to seize this opportunity of insinuation: while on one hand, their ministers and emissaries in Holland exaggerated the indignities and injuries which the states had sustained from the insolence and rapacity of the English; they, on the other hand, flattered and cajoled them with little advantages in trade, and formal professions of respect. Such was the memorial delivered by the Count d'Affry, intimating that the empress-queen being under an absolute necessity of employing all her forces to defend her hereditary dominions in Germany, she had been obliged to withdraw her troops from Ostend and Nieuport; and applied to the French king, as her ally nearest at hand, to garrison these two places, which, however, should be restored at the peace, or sooner, should her imperial majesty think proper. The spirit of the Dutch merchants, at this juncture, and their sentiments with respect to England, appeared with very high colouring in a memorial to the States-General, subscribed by two hundred and sixty-nine

Their famous petition to the States-General.

traders composed and presented with equal secrecy and circumspection. In this famous remonstrance they complained that the violences and unjust depredations committed by the English ships of war and privateers on the vessels and effects of them and their fellow-subjects were not only continued, but daily multiplied; and cruelty and excess carried to such a pitch of wanton barbarity, that the petitioners were forced to implore the assistance of their high mightinesses to protect, in the most efficacious manner, the commerce and navigation, which were the two sinews of the republic. For this necessary purpose they offered to contribute each his contingent, and to arm at their own charge; and other propositions were made for an immediate augmentation of the marine. While this party industriously exerted all their power and credit to effect a rupture with England, the princess gouvernante employed all her interest and address to divert them from this object, and alarm them with respect to the power and designs of France; against which she earnestly exhorted them to augment their military forces by land, that they might be prepared to defend themselves against all invasion. At the same time she spared no pains to adjust the differences between her husband's country and her father's kingdom; and, without doubt, her healing counsels were of great efficacy in preventing matters from coming to a very dangerous extremity.

CHAPTER XXIX.

EXPEDITION AGAINST SENEGAL. — FORT LOUIS AND SENEGAL TAKEN. — UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPT UPON GORDE. — EXPEDITION TO CAPE BRETON. — LOUISBOURG TAKEN — AND ST. JOHN'S. — UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPT UPON TICONDEROGA. — FORT FLOUNTENAC TAKEN AND DESTROYED BY THE ENGLISH. — BRIGADIER FORBES TAKES FORT DU QUÉBEC. — GORDE TAKEN. — SHIPWRECK OF CAPTAIN BARTON. — GALLANT EXPLOIT OF CAPTAIN TYRRELL. — TRANSACTIONS IN THE EAST INDIES. — ADMIRAL POCOCKE ENGAGES THE FRENCH FLEET. — FORT ST. DAVID'S TAKEN BY THE FRENCH. — SECOND ENGAGEMENT BETWEEN ADMIRAL POCOCKE AND M. D'ARCHE. — PROGRESS OF M. LALLY. — TRANSACTIONS ON THE CONTINENT OF EUROPE. — KING OF PRUSSIA RAISES CONTRIBUTIONS IN SAXONY AND THE DOMINIONS OF THE DUKE OF WILTMENBERG. — STATE OF THE ARMY ON THE CONTINENT. — THE FRENCH KING CHANGES THE ADMINISTRATION OF HANOVER. — PLAN OF A TREATY BETWEEN THE FRENCH KING AND THE LANDGRAVE OF HESSE-CASSEL. — TREATY BETWEEN THE FRENCH KING AND THE DUKE OF BRUNSWICK. — DECREE OF THE ATLIC COUNCIL AGAINST THE ELECTOR OF HANOVER AND OTHERS. — BREMEN TAKEN BY THE DUKE DE BROGLIO, AND RETAKEN BY PRINCE FERDINAND. — DUKE DE RICHELIEU RECALLED. — GENEROUS CONDUCT OF THE DUKE DE RANDAN. — THE FRENCH ABANDON HANOVER. — PRINCE OF BRUNSWICK REDUCES HOYA AND MINDEN. — PRINCE FERDINAND DEFEATS THE FRENCH AT CREVELDT, AND TAKES DUSSELDORP. — PRINCE OF YSEMBOURG DEFEATED BY THE DUKE DE BROGLIO. — GENERAL IMHOFF DEFEATS M. DE CHEVERT. — GENERAL OBERG DEFEATED BY THE FRENCH AT LANDWERNHAGEN. — DEATH OF THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH. — OPERATIONS OF THE KING OF PRUSSIA, AT THE BEGINNING OF THE CAMPAIGN. — HE ENTERS MORAVIA, AND INVESTS OLMUTZ. — HE IS OBLIGED TO RAISE THE SIEGE, AND RETIRES INTO BOHEMIA, WHERE HE TAKES KONINGSGRATZ. — PROGRESS OF THE RUSSIANS. — KING OF PRUSSIA DEFEATS THE RUSSIANS AT ZORNDORF — AND IS DEFEATED BY THE AUSTRIANS AT HOCHKIRCHEN. — HE RETIRES TO SILESIA. — SUBURBS OF DRESDEN BURNED BY THE PRUSSIAN GOVERNOR. — KING OF PRUSSIA RAISES THE SIEGE OF NEISS, AND RELIEVES DRESDEN. — INHABITANTS OF SAXONY GRIEVOUSLY OPPRESSED. — PROGRESS OF THE SWEDES IN POMERANIA. — PRINCE CHARLES OF SAXONY ELECTED DUKE OF COURLAND. — KING OF ENGLAND'S MEMORIAL TO THE DIET OF THE EMPIRE. — DEATH OF POPE BENEDICT. — KING OF PORTUGAL ASSASSINATED. — PROCEEDINGS OF THE FRENCH MINISTRY. — CONDUCT OF THE KING OF DENMARK. — ANSWERS TO THE CHARGES BROUGHT BY THE DUTCH AGAINST THE ENGLISH CRUISERS. — CONFERENCES BETWEEN THE BRITISH AMBASSADOR AND THE STATES-GENERAL. — FURTHER PROCEEDINGS.

THE whole strength of Great Britain, during this campaign, was not exhausted in petty descents upon the coast of France. The continent of America was the great theatre on which her chief vigour was displayed; nor did she fail to exert herself in successful efforts against the French settlements on the coast of Africa. The whole gum trade, from Cape Blanco to the river Gambia, an extent of five hundred miles, had been engrossed by the French, who built Fort Louis within the mouth of the Senegal, extending their factories near three hundred leagues

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against
Senegal.

up that river, and on the same coast had fortified the island of Goree, in which they maintained a considerable garrison. The gum-senega, of which a great quantity is used by the manufacturers of England, being wholly in the hands of the enemy, the English dealers were obliged to buy it at second-hand from the Dutch, who purchased it of the French, and exacted an exorbitant price for that commodity. This consideration forwarded the plan for annexing the country to the possessions of Great Britain. The project was first conceived by Mr. Thomas Cumming, a sensible quaker, who, as a private merchant, had made a voyage to Portenderrick, an adjoining part of the coast, and contracted a personal acquaintance with Amir, the Moorish king of Legibelli.^a He found this African prince extremely well-disposed towards the subjects of Great Britain, whom he publicly preferred to all other Europeans; and so exasperated against the French, that he declared he should never be easy till they were exterminated from the river Senegal. At that very time he had commenced hostilities against them, and earnestly desired that the King of England would send out an armament to reduce Fort Louis and Goree, with some ships of force to protect the traders. In that case, he promised to join his Britannic majesty's forces, and grant an exclusive trade to his subjects. Mr. Cumming not only perceived the advantage that would result from such an exclusive privilege with regard to the gum, but foresaw many other important consequences of an extensive trade, in a country which, over and above the gum-senega, contains many valuable articles, such as gold dust, elephants' teeth, hides, cotton, bees-wax, slaves, ostrich feathers, indigo, ambergris, and civet. Elevated with the prospect of an acquisition so valuable to his country, this honest quaker was equally minute and indefatigable in his inquiries touching the commerce of the coast, as well as the strength and situation of the French settlements on the river Senegal; and, at his return to England, actually formed the plan of an expedition for the conquest of Fort Louis. This was presented to the board of trade, by whom it was approved, after a severe examination; but it required the patriotic zeal and invincible perseverance of Cumming to surmount

^a The name the natives give to that part of South Barbary known to merchants and navigators by that of the Gum Coast, and called in maps the Sandy Desert of Sina, and sometimes Zara.

a variety of obstacles before it was adopted by the ministry; and even then it was not executed in its full extent. He was abridged of one large ship, and in lieu of six hundred land-forces, to be drafted from different regiments, which he in vain demanded, first from the Duke of Cumberland, and afterwards from Lord Ligonier, the lords of the Admiralty allotted two hundred marines only for this service. After repeated solicitation, he, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-seven, obtained an order, that the two annual ships bound to the coast of Guinea should be joined by a sloop and two busses, and make an attempt upon the French settlement in the river Senegal. These ships, however, were detained by contrary winds until the season was too far advanced to admit a probability of success, and therefore the design was postponed. In the beginning of the present year, Mr. Cumming, being reinforced with the interest of a considerable merchant in the city, to whom he had communicated the plan, renewed his application to the ministry, and they resolved to hazard the enterprise. A small squadron was equipped for this expedition, under the command of Captain Marsh, having on board a body of marines, commanded by Major Mason, with a detachment of artillery, ten pieces of cannon, eight mortars, and a considerable quantity of warlike stores and ammunition. Captain Walker was appointed engineer, and Mr. Cumming was concerned as a principal director and promoter of the expedition.^b This little armament sailed in the beginning of March; and in their passage touched at the island of Teneriffe, where, while the ships supplied themselves with wine and water, Mr. Cumming proceeded in the Swan sloop to Portenderrick, being charged with a letter of credence to his old friend the king of that country, who had favoured him in his last visit with an exclusive trade on that coast, by a formal charter, written in the Arabic language. This prince was now up the country, engaged in a war with his neighbours, called the Diable Moors;^c and

^b On this occasion Mr. Cumming may seem to have acted directly contrary to the tenets of his religious profession; but he ever declared to the ministry, that he was fully persuaded his schemes might be accomplished without the effusion of human blood; and that if he thought otherwise, he would by no means have concerned himself about them. He also desired, let the consequence be what it might, his brethren should not be chargeable for what was his own single act. If it was the first military scheme of any quaker, let it be remembered it was also the first successful expedition of this war, and one of the first that ever was carried on according to the pacific system of the quakers, without the loss of blood on either side.

^c This is the name by which the subjects of Legibelli distinguished those of Brackna,

reserve appearing mysterious, they retired down the river to their intrenchment, where they understood that the negroes on the island were in arms, and had blocked up the French in Fort Louis, resolving to defend the place to the last extremity, unless they should be included in the capitulation. This intelligence was communicated in a second letter from the governor, who likewise informed the English commander, that unless the French director-general should be permitted to remain with the natives, as a surety for that article of the capitulation in which they were concerned, they would allow themselves to be cut in pieces rather than submit. This request being granted, the English forces began their march to Fort Louis, accompanied by a number of long-boats, in which the artillery and stores had been embarked. The French, seeing them advance, immediately struck their flag; and Major Mason took possession of the castle, where he found ninety-two pieces of cannon, with treasure and merchandise to a considerable value. The corporation and burghers of the town of Senegal submitted, and swore allegiance to his Britannic majesty; the neighbouring princes, attended by numerous retinues, visited the commander, and concluded treaties with the English nation, and the King of Portenderrick or Legibelli sent an ambassador from his camp to Major Mason, with presents, compliments of congratulation, and assurances of friendship. The number of free independent negroes and mulattoes, settled at Senegal, amounted to three thousand, and many of these enjoyed slaves and possessions of their own. The two French factories of Podore and Galam, the latter situated nine hundred miles farther up the river, were included in the capitulation; so that Great Britain, almost without striking a blow, found herself possessed of a conquest from which, with proper management, she may derive inconceivable riches. This important acquisition was in a great measure, if not entirely, owing to the sagacity, zeal, and indefatigable efforts of Mr. Cumming, who not only formed the plan and solicited the armament, but also attended the execution of it in person, at the hazard of his life, and to the interruption of his private concerns.

Fort Louis being secured with an English garrison, and some armed vessels left to guard the passage of the bar at the mouth of the river, the great ships proceeded to make an attempt upon the island of Goree,

Unsuccessful attempt upon Goree.

which lies at the distance of thirty leagues from Senegal. There the French company had considerable magazines and warehouses, and lodged the negro slaves until they could be shipped for the West Indies. If the additional force which Mr. Cumming proposed for the conquest of this island had been added to the armament, in all probability the island would have been reduced, and in that case the nation would have saved the considerable expense of a subsequent expedition against it, under the conduct of Commodore Keppel. At present, the ships by which Goree was attacked were found unequal to the attempt, and the expedition miscarried accordingly, though the miscarriage was attended with little or no damage to the assailants.

Scenes of still greater importance were acted in North America, where, exclusive of the fleet and marines, the government had assembled about fifty thousand men, including two-and-twenty thousand regular troops. The Earl of Loudoun having returned to England, the chief command in America devolved on Major-General Abercrombie; but as the objects of operation were various, the forces were divided into three detached bodies, under as many different commanders. About twelve thousand were destined to undertake the siege of Louisbourg, on the island of Cape Breton. The general himself reserved near sixteen thousand for the reduction of Crown Point, a fort situated on Lake Champlain: eight thousand, under the conduct of Brigadier-General Forbes, were allotted for the conquest of Fort du Quesne, which stood a great way to the southward, near the river Ohio; and a considerable garrison was left at Annapolis, in Nova Scotia. The reduction of Louisbourg and the island of Cape Breton, being an object of immediate consideration, was undertaken with all possible despatch. Major-General Amherst being joined by Admiral Boscawen, with the fleet and forces from England, the whole armament, consisting of one hundred and fifty-seven sail, took their departure from the harbour of Halifax, in Nova Scotia, on the twenty-eighth of May; and on the second of June part of the transports anchored in the bay of Gabarus, about seven miles to the westward of Louisbourg. The garrison of this place, commanded by the Chevalier Drucour, consisted of two thousand five hundred regular troops, three hundred militia, formed of the burghers, and towards the end of the siege they were reinforced by

Expedition
to Cape
Breton.

three hundred and fifty Canadians, including three-score Indians. The harbour was secured by six ships of the line, and five frigates,^c three of which the enemy sunk across the harbour's mouth, in order to render it inaccessible to the English shipping. The fortifications were in bad repair, many parts of them crumbling down the covered way, and several bastions exposed in such a manner as to be enfiladed by the besiegers, and no part of the town secure from the effects of cannonading and bombardment. The governor had taken all the precautions in his power to prevent a landing, by establishing a chain of posts, that extended two leagues and a half along the most inaccessible parts of the beach: intrenchments were thrown up, and batteries erected; but there were some intermediate places which could not be properly secured; and in one of these the English troops were disembarked. The disposition being made for landing, a detachment, in several sloops under convoy, passed by the mouth of the harbour towards Lorembec, in order to draw the enemy's attention that way, while the landing should really be effected on the other side of the town. On the eighth day of June, the troops being assembled in the boats, before daybreak, in three divisions, several sloops and frigates that were stationed along shore in the bay of Gabarus began to scour the beach with their shot; and after the fire had continued about a quarter of an hour, the boats, containing the division on the left, were rowed towards the shore, under the command of Brigadier-General Wolfe, an accomplished officer, who, in the sequel, displayed very extraordinary proofs of military genius. At the same time the two other divisions, on the right and in the centre, commanded by the Brigadiers Whitmore and Laurence, made a show of landing, in order to divide and distract the enemy. Notwithstanding an impetuous surf, by which many boats were upset, and a very severe fire of cannon and musketry from the enemy's batteries, which did considerable execution, Brigadier Wolfe pursued his point with admirable courage and deliberation. The soldiers leaped into the water with the most eager alacrity, and, gaining the shore, attacked the enemy in such a manner, that in a few minutes they abandoned their works and artillery, and fled in the utmost

^c The *Prudent*, of seventy-four guns; the *Entrepenante*, of seventy-four guns; the *Capricieux*, *Celèbre*, and *Bienfaisant*, of sixty-four guns each; the *Apollo*, of fifty guns; the *Chevre*, *Biche*, *Fidèle*, *Diana*, and *Eclat* frigates.

confusion. The other divisions landed also ; but not without an obstinate opposition ; and the stores, with the artillery, being brought on shore, the town of Louisbourg was formally invested. The difficulty of landing stores and implements in boisterous weather, and the nature of the ground, which, being marshy, was unfit for the conveyance of heavy cannon, retarded the operations of the siege. Mr. Amherst made his approaches with great circumspection, securing his camp with redoubts and epaulements, from any attacks of Canadians, of which he imagined there was a considerable body behind him on the island, as well as from the fire of the French shipping in the harbour, which would otherwise have annoyed him extremely in his advances.

The governor of Louisbourg, having destroyed the grand battery, which was detached from the body of the ^{Louisbourg} place, and recalled his outposts, prepared for making ^{taken} a vigorous defence. A very severe fire, well directed, was maintained against the besiegers and their works, from the town, the island battery, and the ships in the harbour ; and divers sallies were made, though without much effect. In the mean time Brigadier Wolfe, with a strong detachment, had marched round the north-east part of the harbour, and taken possession of the Light-house point, where he erected several batteries against the ships and the island fortification, which last was soon silenced. On the nineteenth day of June, the *Echo*, a French frigate, was taken by the English cruisers, after having escaped from the harbour : from the officers on board of this ship the admiral learned that the *Bizarre*, another frigate, had sailed from thence on the day of the disembarkation, and the *Comète* had successfully followed her example. Besides the regular approaches to the town, conducted by the engineers under the immediate command and inspection of General Amherst, divers batteries were raised by the detached corps under Brigadier Wolfe, who exerted himself with amazing activity, and grievously incommoded the enemy, both of the town and shipping. On the twenty-first day of July the three great ships, the *Entreprenante*, *Capricieux*, and *Célèbre*, were set on fire by a bomb-shell, and burned to ashes ; so that none remained but the *Prudent* and *Bienfaisant*, which the admiral undertook to destroy. For this purpose, in the night between the twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth days of the month, the boats of the squadron were in two divisions detached into

the harbour, under the command of two young captains, Laforey and Balfour. They accordingly penetrated, in the dark, through a terrible fire of cannon and musketry; and boarded the enemy sword in hand. The *Prudent*, being aground, was set on fire and destroyed, but the *Bienfaisant* was towed out of the harbour in triumph. In the prosecution of the siege, the admiral and general co-operated with remarkable harmony; the former cheerfully assisting the latter with cannon and other implements; with detachments of marines to maintain posts on shore, with parties of seamen to act as pioneers, and concur in working the guns and mortars. The fire of the town was managed with equal skill and activity, and kept up with great perseverance; until, at length, their shipping being all taken and destroyed, the caserns^f ruined in the two principal bastions, forty out of fifty-two pieces of cannon dismounted, broke, or rendered unserviceable, and divers practicable breaches effected, the governor, in a letter to Mr. Amherst, proposed a capitulation on the same articles that were granted to the English at Port Mahon. In answer to this proposal he was given to understand, that he and his garrison must surrender themselves prisoners of war, otherwise he might next morning expect a general assault by the shipping under Admiral Boscawen. The Chevalier Drucour, piqued at the severity of these terms, replied that he would, rather than comply with them, stand an assault; but the commissary-general and intendant of the colony presented a petition from the traders and inhabitants of the place, in consequence of which he submitted. On the twenty-seventh day of July, three companies of grenadiers, commanded by Major Farquhar, took possession of the western gate; and Brigadier Whitmore was detached into the town, to see the garrison lay down their arms, and deliver up their colours on the esplanade, and to post the necessary guards on the stores, magazines, and ramparts. Thus, at the expense of about four hundred men killed and wounded, the English obtained possession of the important island of Cape Breton, and the strong town of Louisbourg; in which the victors found two hundred and twenty-one pieces of cannon, with eighteen

^f It may not be amiss to observe, that a cavalier, which Admiral Knowles had built at an enormous expense to the nation, while Louisbourg remained in the hands of the English in the last war, was, in the course of this siege, entirely demolished by two or three shots from one of the British batteries: so admirably had this piece of fortification been contrived and executed, under the eye of that profound engineer.

mortars, and a considerable quantity of stores and ammunition. The merchants and inhabitants were sent to France in English bottoms; but the garrison, together with the sea-officers, marines, and mariners, amounting in all to five thousand six hundred and thirty-seven prisoners, were transported to England. The loss of Louisbourg was the more severely felt by the French king, as it had been attended with the destruction of so many considerable ships and frigates. The particulars of this transaction were immediately brought to England, in a vessel despatched for that purpose, with Captain Amherst, brother to the commander; who was also entrusted with eleven pair of colours taken at Louisbourg; these were, by his majesty's order, carried in pompous parade, escorted by detachments of horse and foot-guards, with kettle-drums and trumpets, from the palace of Kensington to St. Paul's cathedral, where they were deposited as trophies, under a discharge of cannon, and other noisy expressions of triumph and exultation. Indeed, the public rejoicings for the conquest of Louisbourg were diffused through every part of the British dominions, and addresses of congratulation were presented to the king by a great number of flourishing towns and corporations.

After the reduction of Cape Breton, some ships were detached with a body of troops under the command ^{And St. John's.} of Lieutenant-Colonel Lord Rollo, to take possession of the island of St. John, which also lies in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and, by its fertility in corn and cattle, had, since the beginning of the war, supplied Quebec with considerable quantities of provision. It was likewise the asylum to which the French neutrals of Annapolis fled for shelter from the English government; and the retreat from whence they and the Indians used to make their sudden irruptions into Nova Scotia, where they perpetrated the most inhuman barbarities on the defenceless subjects of Great Britain. The number of inhabitants amounted to four thousand one hundred, who submitted and brought in their arms; then Lord Rollo took possession of the governor's quarters, where he found several scalps of Englishmen, whom the savages had assassinated, in consequence of the encouragement they received from their French patrons and allies, who gratified them with a certain premium for every scalp they produced. The island was stocked with above ten thousand head of black cattle, and some of the farmers raised each

twelve hundred bushels of corn annually for the market of Quebec.

The joy and satisfaction arising from the conquest of Louisbourg and St. John was not a little checked by the disaster which befel the main body of the British forces in America, under the immediate conduct of General Abercrombie, who, as we have already observed, had proposed the reduction of the French forts on the Lakes George and Champlain, as the chief objects of his enterprise, with a view to secure the frontier of the British colonies, and open a passage for the future conquest of Canada. In the beginning of July his forces, amounting to near seven thousand regular troops, and ten thousand provincials, embarked on the Lake George, in the neighbourhood of Lake Champlain, on board of nine hundred batteaux, and one hundred and thirty-five whale-boats, with provision, artillery, and ammunition; several pieces of cannon being mounted on rafts to cover the proposed landing, which was next day effected without opposition. The general's design was to invest Ticouderoga, a fort situated on a tongue of land extending between Lake George and a narrow gut that communicates with Lake Champlain. This fortification was, on three sides, surrounded with water, and in front nature had secured it with a morass. The English troops being disembarked were immediately formed into three columns, and began their march to the enemy's advanced posts, consisting of one battalion, encamped behind a breastwork of logs, which they now abandoned with precipitation, after having set them on fire, and burned their tents and implements. The British forces continued their march in the same order; but the route lying through a thick wood that did not admit of any regular progression or passage, and the guides proving extremely ignorant, the troops were bewildered, and the columns broken by falling in one upon another. Lord Howe, being advanced at the head of the right centre column, encountered a French detachment, who had likewise lost their way in the retreat from the advanced post, and a warm skirmish ensuing, the enemy were routed with considerable loss, a good number were killed, and one hundred and forty-eight were taken prisoners, including five officers. This petty advantage was dearly bought with the loss of Lord Howe, who fell in the beginning of the action, unspeakably regretted, as a young nobleman of the most promising talents, who had

distinguished himself in a peculiar manner by his courage, activity, and rigid observation of military discipline, and had acquired the esteem and affection of the soldiery by his generosity, sweetness of manners, and engaging address. The general, perceiving the troops were greatly fatigued and disordered from want of rest and refreshment, thought it advisable to march back to the landing-place, which they reached about eight in the morning. Then he detached Lieutenant-Colonel Bradstreet, with one regular regiment, six companies of the royal Americans, with the batteau-men, and a body of rangers, to take possession of a saw-mill in the neighbourhood of Ticonderoga, which the enemy had abandoned. This post being secured, the general advanced again towards Ticonderoga, where he understood from the prisoners, the enemy had assembled eight battalions, with a body of Canadians and Indians, amounting in all to six thousand. These, they said, being encamped before the fort, were employed in making a formidable intrenchment, where they intended to wait for a reinforcement of three thousand men, who had been detached under the command of M. de Levi, to make a diversion on the side of the Mohawk river;^s but, upon intelligence of Mr. Abercrombie's approach, were now recalled for the defence of Ticonderoga. This information determined the English general to strike, if possible, some decisive stroke before the junction could be effected. He, therefore, early next morning sent his engineer across the river on the opposite side of the fort, to reconnoitre the enemy's intrenchments; and he reported that the works, being still unfinished, might be attempted with a good prospect of success. A disposition was made accordingly for the attack, and after proper guards had been left at the saw-mill and the landing-place, the whole army was put in motion. They advanced with great alacrity towards the intrenchment, which, however, they found altogether impracticable. The breastwork was raised eight feet high, and the ground before it covered with an abattis, or felled trees with their boughs pointing outwards, and projecting in such a manner as to render the intrenchment almost inaccessible. Notwithstanding these discouraging difficulties, the British troops marched up to the assault with an undaunted resolution, and sustained

^s This officer intended to have made an irruption through the pass of Oneida on the Mohawk river, but was recalled before he could execute his design. General Abercrombie afterwards sent thither Brigadier Stanwix, with a considerable body of provincials; and this important pass was secured by a fort built at that juncture.

a terrible fire without flinching. They endeavoured to cut their way through these embarrassments with their swords, and some of them even mounted the parapet; but the enemy were so well covered, that they could deliberately direct their fire without the least danger to themselves: the carnage was, therefore, considerable, and the troops began to fall into confusion, after several repeated attacks, which lasted above four hours, under the most di-advantageous circumstances. The general by this time, saw plainly that no hope of success remained; and, in order to prevent a total defeat, took measures for the retreat of the army, which retired unmolested to their former camp, with the loss of about eighteen hundred men killed or wounded, including a great number of officers. Every corps of regular troops behaved, on this unfortunate occasion, with remarkable intrepidity; but the greatest loss was sustained by Lord John Murray's Highland regiment, of which above one half of the private men, and twenty-five officers, were either slain upon the spot or desperately wounded. Mr. Abercrombie, unwilling to stay in the neighbourhood of the enemy with forces which had received such a dispiriting check, retired to his batteaux, and re-embarking the troops, returned to the camp at Lake George, from whence he had taken his departure. Censure, which always attends miscarriage, did not spare the character of this commander: his attack was condemned as rash, and his retreat as pusillanimous. In such case, allowance must be made for the peevishness of disappointment, and the clamour of connexion. How far Mr. Abercrombie acquitted himself in the duty of a general, we shall not pretend to determine; but if he could depend upon the courage and discipline of his forces, he surely had nothing to fear, after the action, from the attempts of the enemy, to whom he would have been superior in number, even though they had been joined by the expected reinforcement: he might, therefore, have remained on the spot, in order to execute some other enterprise when he should be reinforced in his turn; for General Amherst no sooner heard of his disaster, than he returned with the troops from Cape Breton to New England, after having left a strong garrison in Louisbourg. At the head of six regiments he began his march to Albany, about the middle of September, in order to join the forces on the lake, that they might undertake some other service before the season should be exhausted.

In the mean time, General Abercrombie had detached Lieutenant-Colonel Bradstreet, with a body of three thousand men, chiefly provincials, to execute a plan which this officer had formed against Cadaragui, or Fort Frontenac, situated on the north side of the river St. Lawrence, just where it takes its origin from the Lake Ontario. To the side of this lake he penetrated with his detachment, and embarking in some sloops and batteaux provided for the purpose, landed within a mile of Fort Frontenac, the garrison of which, consisting of one hundred and ten men, with a few Indians, immediately surrendered at discretion. Considering the importance of this post, which, in a great measure, commanded the mouth of the river St. Lawrence, and served as a magazine to the more southern castles, the French general was inexcusable for leaving it in such a defenceless condition. The fortification itself was inconsiderable and ill-contrived; nevertheless, it contained sixty pieces of cannon, sixteen small mortars, and an immense quantity of merchandise and provisions, deposited for the use of the French forces detached against Brigadier Forbes, their western garrisons, and Indian allies, as well as for the subsistence of the corps commanded by M. de Levi, on his enterprise against the Mohawk river. Mr. Bradstreet not only reduced the fort without bloodshed, but also made himself master of all the enemy's shipping on the lake, amounting to nine armed vessels, some of which carried eighteen guns. Two of these Mr. Bradstreet conveyed to Oswego, whither he returned with his troops, after he had destroyed Fort Frontenac with all the artillery, stores, provisions, and merchandise which it contained. In consequence of this exploit, the French troops to the southward were exposed to the hazard of starving; but it is not easy to conceive the general's reason for giving orders to abandon and destroy a fort, which, if properly strengthened and sustained, might have rendered the English masters of the Lake Ontario, and grievously harassed the enemy, both in their commerce and expeditions to the westward. Indeed great part of the Indian trade centered at Frontenac, to which place the Indians annually repaired from all parts of America, some of them at the distance of a thousand miles, and here exchanged their furs for European commodities. So much did the French traders excel the English in the art of conciliating the affection of those savage tribes, that great part of them, in their

yearly progress to this remote market, actually passed by the British settlement of Albany, in New York, where they might have been supplied with what articles they wanted, much more cheap than they could purchase them at Frontenac or Montreal; nay, the French traders used to furnish themselves with these very commodities from the merchants of New York, and found this traffic much more profitable than that of procuring the same articles from France, loaded with the expense of a tedious and dangerous navigation, from the sea to the source of the river St. Lawrence.

In all probability, the destruction of Frontenac facilitated the expedition against Fort du Quesne, entrusted to the conduct of Brigadier Forbes, who, with his little army, began his march in the beginning of July from Philadelphia for the river Ohio, a prodigious tract of country, very little known, destitute of military roads, incumbered with mountains, morasses, and woods, that were almost impenetrable. It was not without incredible exertion of industry that he procured provisions and carriages for this expedition, formed new roads, extended scouting parties, secured camps, and surmounted many other difficulties in the course of his tedious march, during which he was also harassed by small detachments of the enemy's Indians. Having penetrated with the main body as far as Ray's-town, at the distance of ninety miles from Fort du Quesne, and advanced Colonel Bouquet, with two thousand men, about fifty miles farther to a place called Lyal-Henning, this officer detached Major Grant, at the head of eight hundred men, to reconnoitre the fort and its outworks. The enemy perceiving him approach sent a body of troops against him, sufficient to surround his whole detachment: a very severe action began, which the English maintained with their usual courage for three hours against cruel odds; but at length, being overpowered by numbers, they were obliged to give way, and retired in disorder to Lyal-Henning, with the loss of about three hundred men killed or taken, including Major Grant, who was carried prisoner to Fort du Quesne, and nineteen officers. Notwithstanding this mortifying check, Brigadier Forbes advanced with the army, resolved to prosecute his operations with vigour; but the enemy, dreading the prospect of a siege, dismantled and abandoned the fort, and retired down the river Ohio, to their settlements on the Mississippi. They quitted the fort on the twenty-fourth day of November,

Brig. dicit
Forbes takes
Fort du
Quesne.

and next day it was possessed by the British forces. As for the Indians of this country, they seemed heartily to renounce their connexions with France, and be perfectly reconciled to the government of his Britannic majesty. Brigadier Forbes having repaired the fort, changed its name from Du Quesne to Pittsburgh, secured it with a garrison of provincials, and concluded treaties of friendship and alliance with the Indian tribes. Then he marched back to Philadelphia, and in his retreat built a blockhouse, near Lyal-Henning, for the defence of Pennsylvania; but he himself did not long survive these transactions, his constitution having been exhausted by the incredible fatigues of the service. Thus have we given a particular detail of all the remarkable operations by which this campaign was distinguished on the continent of America; the reader will be convinced that, notwithstanding the defeat at Ticonderoga, and the disaster of the advanced party in the neighbourhood of Fort du Quesne, the arms of Great Britain acquired many important advantages; and, indeed, paved the way for the reduction of Quebec, and conquest of all Canada. In the mean time, the Admirals Boscawen and Hardy, having left a considerable squadron at Halifax, in Nova Scotia, returned with four ships of the line to England, where they arrived in the beginning of November, after having given chase to six large French ships, which they descried to the westward of Scilly, but could not overtake or bring to an engagement.

The conquest of the French settlement in the river Senegal being deemed imperfect and incomplete, whilst ^{Goree} France still kept possession of the island of Goree, ^{taken.} the ministry of Great Britain resolved to crown the campaign in Africa with the reduction of that fortress. For this purpose Commodore Keppel, brother to the Earl of Albemarle, was vested with the command of a squadron, consisting of four ships of the line, several frigates, two bomb-ketches, and some transports, having on board seven hundred men of the regular troops, commanded by Colonel Worge, and embarked in the harbour of Cork in Ireland, from whence this whole armament took their departure on the eleventh day of November. After a tempestuous passage, in which they touched at the isle of Teneriffe, they arrived at Goree in the latter end of December, and the commodore made a disposition for attacking this island, which was remarkably strong by nature, but very indifferently fortified. Goree is a small

barren island, extending about three quarters of a mile in length, of a triangular form; and on the south-west side rising into a rocky hill, on which the paltry fort of St. Michael is situated. There is another, still more inconsiderable, called St. Francis, towards the other extremity of the island; and several batteries were raised around its sweep, mounted with about one hundred pieces of cannon, and four mortars. The French governor, M. de St. Jean, had great plenty of ammunition, and his garrison amounted to about three hundred men, exclusive of as many negro inhabitants. The flat-bottomed boats, for disembarking the troops, being hoisted out, and disposed alongside of the different transports, the commodore stationed his ships on the west side of the island, and the engagement began with a shell from one of the ketches. This was a signal for the great ships, which poured in their broadsides without intermission, and the fire was returned with equal vivacity from all the batteries of the island. In the course of the action the cannonading from the ships became so severe and terrible, that the French garrison deserted their quarters, in spite of all the efforts of the governor, who acquitted himself like a man of honour; but he was obliged to strike his colours, and surrender at discretion, after a short but warm dispute, in which the loss of the British commodore did not exceed one hundred men killed and wounded. The success of the day was the more extraordinary, as the French garrison had not lost a man, except one negro killed by the bursting of a bomb-shell, and the number of their wounded was very inconsiderable. While the attack lasted, the opposite shore of the continent was lined with a concourse of negroes, assembled to view the combat, who expressed their sentiments and surprise in loud clamour and uncouth gesticulations, and seemed to be impressed with awe and astonishment at the power and execution of the British squadron. The French colours being struck, as a signal of submission, the commodore sent a detachment of marines on shore, who disarmed the garrison, and hoisted the British flag upon the castle of St. Michael. In the mean time, the governor and the rest of the prisoners were secured among the shipping. Thus the important island of Goree fell into the hands of the English, together with two trading vessels that chanced to be at anchor in the road, and stores, money, and merchandise, to the value of twenty thousand pounds. Part of the troops

being left in garrison at Goree, under the command of Major Newton, together with three sloops for his service, the squadron being watered and refreshed from the continent, that part of which is governed by one of the Julof kings, and the prisoners, with their baggage, being dismissed in three cartel ships to France, the commodore set sail for Senegal, and reinforced Fort Louis with the rest of the troops, under Colonel Worge, who was at this juncture favoured with a visit by the King of Legibelli; but very little pains were taken to dismiss this potentate in good humour, or maintain the disposition he professed to favour the commerce of Great Britain. True it is, he was desirous of engaging the English in his quarrels with some neighbouring nations; and such engagements were cautiously and politically avoided, because it was the interest of Great Britain to be upon good terms with every African prince who could promote and extend the commerce of her subjects.

Commodore Keppel having reduced Goree, and reinforced the garrison of Senegal, returned to England, where all his ships arrived, after a very tempestuous voyage, in which the squadron had been dispersed. This expedition, however successful in the main, was attended with one misfortune, the loss of the Lichfield ship of war, commanded by Captain Barton, which, together with one transport and a bomb-tender, was wrecked on the coast of Barbary, about nine leagues to the northward of Saffy, in the dominions of Morocco. One hundred and thirty men, including several officers, perished on this occasion; but the captain and the rest of the company, to the number of two hundred and twenty, made shift to reach the shore, where they ran the risk of starving, and were cruelly used by the natives, although a treaty of peace at that time subsisted between Great Britain and Morocco; nay, they were even enslaved by the emperor, who detained them in captivity until they were ransomed by the British government: so little dependence can be placed on the faith of such barbarian princes, with whom it is even a disgrace for any civilized nation to be in alliance, whatever commercial advantages may arise from the connexion.

The incidents of the war that happened in the West Indies during these occurrences may be reduced to a small compass. Nothing extraordinary was achieved in the neighbourhood of Jamaica, where

Ship wreck
of Captain
Barton.

Gallant
exploit of
Captain
Tyndal.

Admiral Coates commanded a small squadron, from which he detached cruisers occasionally for the protection of the British commerce; and at Antigua the trade was effectually secured by the vigilance of Captain Tyrrel, whose courage and activity were equal to his conduct and circumspection. In the month of March, this gentleman, with his own ship, the Buckingham, and the Cambridge, another of the line, demolished a fort on the island of Martinique, and destroyed four privateers riding under its protection; but his valour appeared much more conspicuous in a subsequent engagement, which happened in the month of November. Being detached on a cruise in his own ship, the Buckingham, by Commodore Moore, who commanded at the Leeward islands, he fell in with the Weasel sloop, commanded by Captain Boles, between the islands of Montserrat and Guadaloupe, and immediately discovered a fleet of nineteen sail, under convoy of a French ship of war carrying seventy-four cannon, and two large frigates. Captain Tyrrel immediately gave chase with all the sail he could carry, and the Weasel running close to the enemy, received a whole broadside from the large ship, which, however, she sustained without much damage: nevertheless, Mr. Tyrrel ordered her commander to keep aloof, as he could not be supposed able to bear the shock of large metal, and he himself prepared for the engagement. The enemy's large ship, the Florissant, though of much greater force than the Buckingham, instead of lying-to for his coming up, made a running fight with her stern chasers, while the two frigates annoyed him in his course, sometimes raking him fore and aft, and sometimes lying on his quarter. At length he came alongside of the Florissant, within pistol-shot, and poured in a whole broadside, which did considerable execution. The salutation was returned with equal vivacity, and a furious engagement ensued. Captain Tyrrel was wounded in the face, and lost three fingers of his right hand; so that, being entirely disabled, he was obliged to delegate the command of his ship to his first lieutenant, Mr. Marshall, who continued the battle with great gallantry until he lost his life: then the charge devolved to the second lieutenant, who acquitted himself with equal honour, and sustained a desperate fight against three ships of the enemy. The officers and crew of the Buckingham exerted themselves with equal vigour and deliberation, and Captain Troy, who

commanded a detachment of marines on the poop, plied his small arms so effectually as to drive the French from their quarters. At length, confusion, terror, and uproar prevailing on board the *Florissant*, her firing ceased, and her colours were hauled down about twilight; but her commander perceiving that the *Buckingham* was too much damaged in her rigging to pursue in any hope of success, ordered all his sails to be set, and fled in the dark with his two consorts. Nothing but this circumstance could have prevented a British ship of sixty-five guns, indifferently manned in respect to number, from taking a French ship of the line, mounted with seventy-four pieces of cannon, provided with seven hundred men, and assisted by two large frigates, one of thirty-eight guns, and the other wanting two of this number. The loss of the *Buckingham*, in this action, did not exceed twenty men killed and wounded; whereas the number of the slain on board the *Florissant* did not fall short of one hundred and eighty; and that of her wounded is said to have exceeded three hundred. She was so disabled in her hull, that she could hardly be kept afloat until she reached Martinique, where she was repaired; and the largest frigate, together with the loss of forty men, received such damage as to be for some time quite unserviceable.

In the East Indies the transactions of the war were chequered with a variety of success; but, on the whole, the designs of the enemy were entirely defeated. The French commander, M. de Bussy, had, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-six, quarrelled with Salabatzing, Viceroy of Decan, because this last would not put him in possession of the fortress of Golconda. In the course of the next year, while the English forces were employed in Bengal, M. de Bussy made himself master of the British factories of Ingeram, Bandermaalanka, and Vizagapatam, and the reduction of this last left the enemy in possession of the whole coast of Coromandel, from Ganjam to Massulapatam. While a body of the English company's forces, under Captain Caillaud, endeavoured to reduce the important fortress and town of Madura, the French under M. d'Anteuil, invested Trichinopoly. Caillaud no sooner received intelligence of the danger to which this place was exposed than he hastened to its relief, and obliged the

Transactions in the East Indies. Admin d Ponce en 1756 the French fleet.

enemy to abandon the siege. Then he returned to Madura, and after an unsuccessful assault, made himself master of it by capitulation. During these transactions, Colonel Forde made an attempt on the fort of Nelloure, a strong place, at the distance of twenty-four miles from Madras, but miscarried; and this was also the fate of an expedition against Wandewash, undertaken by Colonel Aldercron. The first was repulsed in storming the place, the other was anticipated by the French army, which marched from Pondicherry to the relief of the garrison. The French king had sent a considerable reinforcement to the East Indies, under the command of General Lally, an officer of Irish extraction, together with such a number of ships as rendered the squadron of M. d'Apché superior to that of Admiral Pococke, who had succeeded Admiral Watson, lately deceased, in the command of the English squadron stationed on the coast of Coromandel, which, in the beginning of this year, was reinforced from England with several ships, under the direction of Commodore Steevens. Immediately after this junction, which was effected in the road of Madras on the twenty-fourth day of March, Admiral Pococke, who had already signalized himself by his courage, vigilance, and conduct, sailed to windward, with a view to intercept the French squadron, of which he had received intelligence. In two days he descried in the road of Fort St. David the enemy's fleet, consisting of nine ships, which immediately stood out to sea, and formed the line of battle a-head. The admiral took the same precaution, and bearing down upon M. d'Apché, the engagement began about three in the afternoon. The French commodore having sustained a warm action for about two hours, bore away with his whole fleet, and being joined by two ships, formed a line of battle again to leeward. Admiral Pococke's own ship and some others being greatly damaged in their masts and rigging, two of his captains having misbehaved in the action, and night coming on, he did not think it advisable to pursue them with all the sail he could carry; but, nevertheless, he followed them at a proper distance, standing to the south-west, in order to maintain the weather-gage, in case he should be able to renew the action in the morning. In this expectation, however, he was disappointed: the enemy showed no lights nor made any signals that could be observed; and in the morning not the least vestige of them appeared. Mr. Pococke, on the supposition that they

had weathered him in the night, endeavoured to work up after them to windward; but finding he lost ground considerably, he dropped anchor about three leagues to the northward of Sadras, and received intelligence from the chief of that settlement, that one of the largest French ships, having been disabled in the engagement, was run ashore to the southward of Alemparve, where their whole squadron lay at anchor. Such was the issue of the first action between the English and French squadrons in the East Indies, which, over and above the loss of a capital ship, is said to have cost the enemy about five hundred men; whereas the British admiral did not lose one fifth part of that number. Being dissatisfied with the behaviour of three captains, he, on his return to Madras, appointed a court-martial to inquire into their conduct; two were dismissed from the service, and the third was sentenced to lose one year's rank as a post-captain.

In the mean time Mr. Lally had disembarked his troops at Pondicherry, and, taking the field, immediately invested the fort of St. David, while the squadron blocked it up by sea. Two English ships being at anchor in the road when the enemy arrived, their captains, seeing no possibility of escaping, ran them on shore, set them on fire, and retired with their men into the fortress, which, however, was in a few days surrendered. A much more resolute defence was expected from the courage and conduct of Major Polier, who commanded the garrison. When he arrived at Madras he was subjected to a court of inquiry, which acquitted him of cowardice, but were of opinion that the place might have held out much longer, and that the terms on which it surrendered were shameful, as the enemy were not even masters of the outward covered way, as they had made no breach, and had a wet ditch to fill up and pass, before the town could have been properly assaulted. Polier, in order to wipe off this disgrace, desired to serve as a volunteer with Colonel Draper, and was mortally wounded in a sally at the siege of Madras. Admiral Pococke having, to the best of his power, repaired his shattered ships, set sail again on the tenth of May, in order to attempt the relief of Fort St. David's; but notwithstanding his utmost endeavours, he could not reach it in time to be of any service. On the thirtieth day of the month he came in sight of Pondicherry, from whence

Fort St.
David's
taken by the
French.
Second en-
gagement
between
Admiral
Pococke
and M.
d'Aché.

the French squadron stood away early next morning, nor was it in his power to come up with them, though he made all possible efforts for that purpose. Then receiving intelligence that Fort St. David's was surrendered to the enemy, he returned again to Madras, in order to refresh his squadron. On the twenty-fifth day of July, he sailed a third time in quest of M. d'Apché, and in two days perceived his squadron, consisting of eight ships of the line and a frigate, at anchor in the road of Pondicherry. They no sooner descried him advancing than they stood out to sea as before, and he continued to chase, in hopes of bringing them to an engagement; but all his endeavours proved fruitless till the third day of August, when, having obtained the weather-gage, he bore down upon them in order of battle. The engagement began with great impetuosity on both sides; but in little more than ten minutes M. d'Apché set his foresail, and bore away, his whole squadron following his example, and maintaining a running fight in a very irregular line. The British admiral then hoisted the signal for a general chase, which the enemy perceiving, thought proper to cut away their boats, and crowd with all the sail they could carry. They escaped, by favour of the night, into the road of Pondicherry, and Mr. Pococke anchored with his squadron off Caricál, a French settlement, having thus obtained an undisputed victory, with the loss of thirty men killed, and one hundred and sixteen wounded, including Commodore Steevens and Captain Martin, though their wounds were not dangerous. The number of killed and wounded on board the French squadron amounted, according to report, to five hundred and forty; and their fleet was so much damaged, that in the beginning of September their commodore sailed for the island of Bourbon, in the same latitude with Madagascar, in order to refit; thus leaving the command and sovereignty of the Indian seas to the English admiral, whose fleet, from the beginning of this campaign, had been much inferior to the French squadron in number of ships and men, as well as in weight of metal.

Mr. Lally having reduced Cuddalore and Fort St. David's,^a resolved to extort a sum of money from the King of Tanjour, on pretence that, in the last war, he had

^a Cuddalore was in such a defenceless condition, that it could make no resistance; and there being no place in Fort St. David's bomb-proof, nor any provisions or fresh water, the garrison surrendered in twelve days, on capitulation, after having sustained a severe bombardment.

granted an obligation to the French governor for a certain sum, which had never been paid. Lally accordingly marched with a body of three thousand men into the dominions of Tanjour, and demanded seventy-two lacks of rupees. This extravagant demand being rejected, he plundered Nagare, a trading town of the sea-coast, and afterwards invested the capital; but after he had prosecuted the siege till a breach was made, his provisions and ammunition beginning to fail, several vigorous sallies being made by the forces of the King of Tanjour, and the place well defended by European gunners, sent from the English garrison at Trichinopoly, he found himself obliged to raise the siege and retreat with precipitation, leaving his cannon behind. He arrived at Carical about the middle of August, and from thence retired to Pondicherry towards the end of September. He afterwards cantoned his troops in the province of Arcot, entered the city without opposition, and began to make preparations for the siege of Madras, which shall be recorded among the incidents of the succeeding year. In the mean time, the land-forces belonging to the East India Company were so much outnumbered by the reinforcements which arrived with Mr. Lally, that they could not pretend to keep the field, but were obliged to remain on the defensive, and provide as well as they could for the security of Fort St. George, and the other settlements in that part of India.

Having particularized the events of the war which distinguished this year in America, Africa, and Asia, Transac-
tions on the
continent
of Europe. those remote scenes in which the interest of Great Britain was immediately and intimately concerned, it now remains to record the incidents of the military operations in Germany, supported by British subsidies, and enforced by British troops, to favour the abominable designs of an ally, from whose solitary friendship the British nation can never reap any solid benefit; and to defend a foreign elector, in whose behalf she had already lavished an immensity of treasure. Notwithstanding the bloodshed and ravages which had signalized the former campaign, the mutual losses of the belligerent powers, the incredible expense of money, the difficulty of recruiting armies thinned by sword and distemper, the scarcity of forage and provision, the distresses of Saxony in particular, and the calamities of war, which desolated the greatest part of the empire, no proposition of peace was hinted by either of the parties concerned; but the

powers at variance seemed to be exasperated against each other with the most implacable resentment. Jarring interests were harmonized, old prejudices rooted up, inveterate jealousies assuaged, and even inconsistencies reconciled in connecting the confederacy which was now formed and established against the King of Prussia; and, on the other hand, the King of Great Britain seemed determined to employ the whole power and influence of his crown in supporting this monarch. Yet the members of the grand confederacy were differently actuated by disagreeing motives, which, in the sequel, operated for the preservation of his Prussian majesty, by preventing the full exertion of their united strength. The empress-queen, over and above her desire of retrieving Sile-sia, which was her primary aim, gave way to the suggestions of personal hatred and revenge, to the gratification of which she may be said to have sacrificed, in some measure, the interests of her family, as well as the repose of the empire, by admitting the natural enemies of her house into the Austrian Netherlands, and inviting them to invade the dominions of her co-estates with a formidable army. France, true to her old political maxims, wished to see the house of Austria weakened by the divisions in the empire, which she accordingly fomented; for this reason it could not be her interest to effect the ruin of the house of Brandenburg; and therefore she had, no doubt, set bounds to the prosecution of her schemes in concert with the court of Vienna; but her designs against Hanover amounted to absolute conquest: in pursuance of these, she sent an army of one hundred and twenty thousand men across the Rhine, instead of four and twenty thousand, which she had engaged to furnish by the original treaty with the Empress-Queen of Hungary, who is said to have shared in the spoils of the electorate. The czarina, by co-operating with the houses of Bourbon and Austria, gratified her personal disgust towards the Prussian monarch, augmented her finances by considerable subsidies from both, and perhaps amused herself with the hope of obtaining an establishment in the German empire; but whether she wavered in her own sentiments, or her ministry fluctuated between the promises of France and the presents of Great Britain, certain it is, her forces had not acted with vigour in Pomerania: and her general, Apraxin, instead of prosecuting his advantage, had retreated immediately after the Prussians miscarried in their attack. He

was indeed disgraced, and tried for having thus retired without orders; but in all probability, this trial was no other than a farce acted to amuse the other confederates, while the Empress of Russia gained time to deliberate upon the offers that were made, and determine with regard to the advantages or disadvantages that might accrue to her from persevering in the engagements which she had contracted. As for the Swedes, although they had been instigated to hostilities against Prussia by the intrigues of France, and flattered with hopes of retrieving Pomerania, they prosecuted the war in such a dispirited and ineffectual manner, as plainly proved that either the ancient valour of that people was extinct, or that the nation was not heartily engaged in the quarrel.

When the Russian general Apraxin retreated from Pomerania, Mareschal Lehwald, who commanded the Prussians in that country, was left at liberty to turn his arms against the Swedes, and accordingly drove them before him almost without opposition. By the beginning of January they had evacuated all Prussian Pomerania, and Lehwald invaded their dominions in his turn. He, in a little time, made himself master of all Swedish Pomerania, except Stralsund and the isle of Rugen, and possessed himself of several magazines which the enemy had erected. The Austrian army, after their defeat at Breslau, had retired into Bohemia, where they were cantoned, the head-quarters being fixed at Koningsgratz. The King of Prussia having cleared all his part of Silesia, except the town of Schweidnitz, which he circumscribed with a blockade, sent detachments from his army, cantoned in the neighbourhood of Breslau, to penetrate into the Austrian or southern part of Silesia, where they surprised Troppau and Jaggernsdorf, while he himself remained at Breslau, entertaining his officers with concerts of music. Not that he suffered these amusements to divert his attention from subjects of greater importance. He laid Swedish Pomerania under contribution, and made a fresh demand of five hundred thousand crowns from the electorate of Saxony. Having received intimation that the Duke of Mecklenburgh was employed in providing magazines for the French army, he detached a body of troops into that country, who not only secured the magazines, but levied considerable contributions; and the duke retired to Lubeck,

King of
Prussia
raises con-
tributions
in Saxony
and the
dominions
of the Duke
of Wintem-
berg.

attended by the French minister. The states of Saxony having proved a little dilatory in obeying his Prussian majesty's injunction, received a second intimation, importing, that they should levy and deliver, within a certain time, eighteen thousand recruits for his army, pay into the hands of his commissary one year's revenue of the electorate in advance; and Leipsic was taxed with an extraordinary subsidy of eight hundred thousand crowns, on pain of military execution. The states were immediately convoked at Leipsic, in order to deliberate on these demands; and the city being unable to pay such a considerable sum, the Prussian troops began to put their monarch's threats in execution. He justified these proceedings, by declaring that the enemy had practised the same violence and oppression on the territories of his allies; but how the practice of his declared enemies, in the countries which they had invaded and subdued in the common course of war, should justify him in pillaging and oppressing a people, with whom neither he nor his allies were at war, it is not easy to conceive. As little can we reconcile this conduct to the character of a prince, assuming the title of protector of the Protestant religion, which is the established faith among those very Saxons who were subjected to such grievous impositions; impositions the more grievous and unmerited, as they had never taken any share in the present war, but cautiously avoided every step that might be construed into provocation, since the King of Prussia declared they might depend upon his protection.

Before we proceed to enumerate the events of the campaign, it may be necessary to inform the reader, that the forces brought into the field by the Empress-Queen of Hungary, and the states of the empire, the czarina, the Kings of France and Sweden, fell very little short of three hundred thousand men; and all these were destined to act against the King of Prussia and the Elector of Hanover. In opposition to this formidable confederacy, his Prussian majesty was, by the subsidy from England, the spoils of Saxony, and the revenues of Brandenburg, enabled to maintain an army of one hundred and forty thousand men; while the Elector of Hanover assembled a body of sixty thousand men, composed of his own electoral troops, with the auxiliary mercenaries of Hesse-Cassel, Buckebourg, Saxegotha, and Brunswick Wolfenbittel, all of them maintained by the pay of Great Britain. At this juncture,

State of the
armies on
the conti-
nent.

indeed, there was no other fund for their subsistence, as the countries of Hanover and Hesse were possessed by the enemy, and in the former the government was entirely changed.

In the month of December in the preceding year, a farmer of the revenues from Paris arrived at Hanover, ^{where he established his office, in order to act by} ^{virtue of powers from one John Faidy, to whom the} French king granted the direction, receipt, and administration of all the duties and revenues of the electorate. This director was, by a decree of the council of state, empowered to receive the revenues, not only of Hanover, but also of all other countries that should be subjected to his most Christian majesty in the course of the campaign; to remove the receivers who had been employed in any part of the direction, receipt, and administration of the duties and revenues of Hanover, and appoint others in their room. The French king, by the same decree, ordained that all persons who had been entrusted under the preceding government with titles, papers, accounts, registers, or estimates, relating to the administration of the revenues, should communicate them to John Faidy, or his attorneys; that the magistrates of the towns, districts, and commonalties, as well as those who directed the administration of particular states and provinces, should deliver to the said John Faidy, or his attorneys, the produce of six years of the duties and revenues belonging to the said towns, districts, and provinces, reckoning from the first of January in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-one, together with an authentic account of the sums they had paid during that term to the preceding sovereign, and of the charges necessarily incurred. It appears from the nature of this decree, which was dated on the eighteenth day of October, that immediately after the conventions of Closter-Seven and Bremenworden,¹ the court of Versailles had determined to change the government and system of the electorate, contrary to an express article of the capitulation granted to the city of Hanover, when it surrendered on the ninth day of August, and that the crown of France intended to take advantage of the cessation of arms, in seizing places and provinces which were not yet subdued; for, by the decree

¹ Six days after the convention was signed at Closter-Seven, another act of accommodation was concluded at Bremenworden, between the Generals Sporcken and Villmure, relating to the release of prisoners, and some other points omitted in the convention.

above mentioned, the administration of John Faidy extended to the countries which might hereafter be conquered. With what regard to justice, then, could the French government charge the Elector of Hanover with the infraction of articles? or what respect to good faith and humanity did the Duke de Richelieu observe, in the order issued from Zell, towards the end of the year, importing, that as the treaty made with the country of Hanover had been rendered void by the violation of the articles signed at Closter-Seven, all the effects belonging to the officers, or others employed in the Hanoverian army, should be confiscated for the use of his most Christian majesty?

The Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel being desirous of averting a like storm from his dominions, not only promised to renounce all connexion with the Kings of Great Britain and Prussia, but even solicited the court of France to receive him among the number of its dependants; for, on the eighteenth day of October, the minister of the Duc de Deuxponts delivered at Versailles, in the name of the landgrave, the plan of a treaty founded on the following conditions: the landgrave, after having expressed an ardent desire of attaching himself wholly to France, proposed these articles: that he should enter into no engagement against the king and his allies; and give no assistance, directly or indirectly, to the enemies of his majesty and his allies: that he should never give his vote in the general or particular assemblies of the empire, against his majesty's interest; but, on the contrary, employ his interest, jointly with France, to quiet the troubles of the empire: that, for this end, his troops, which had served in the Hanoverian army, should engage in the service of France, on condition that they should not act in the present war against his Britannic majesty: that, immediately after the ratification of the treaty, his most Christian majesty should restore the dominions of the landgrave in the same condition they were in when subdued by the French forces: that these dominions should be exempted from all further contributions, either in money, corn, foragè, wood, or cattle, though already imposed on the subjects of Hesse; and the French troops pay for all the provision with which they might be supplied; in which case the landgrave should exact no toll for warlike stores, provisions, or other articles of that nature, which might pass through his dominions:

Plan of a
treaty be-
tween the
French king
and the
Landgrave
of Hesse-
Cassel.

that the King of France should guarantee all his estates, all the rights of the house of Hesse-Cassel, particularly the act of assurance signed by his son, the hereditary prince, with regard to religion; use his interest with the emperor and the empress-queen, that in consideration of the immense losses and damages his most serene highness had suffered since the French invaded his country, and of the great sums he should lose with England in arrears and subsidies by this accommodation, he might be excused from furnishing his contingent to the army of the empire, as well as from paying the Roman months granted by the diet of the empire; and if, in resentment of this convention, the states of his serene highness should be attacked, his most Christian majesty should afford the most speedy and effectual succours. These proposals will speak for themselves to the reader's apprehension; and if he is not blinded by the darkest mists of prejudice, exhibit a clear and distinct idea of a genuine German ally. The Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel had been fed with the good things of England, even in time of peace, when his friendship could not avail, nor his aversion prejudice, the interests of Great Britain: but he was retained in that season of tranquillity as a friend, on whose services the most implicit dependence might be placed in any future storm or commotion. How far he merited this confidence and favour might have been determined by reflecting on his conduct during the former war: in the course of which his troops were hired to the King of Great Britain and his enemies alternately, as the scale of convenience happened to preponderate. Since the commencement of the present troubles, he had acted as a mercenary to Great Britain, although he was a principal in the dispute, and stood connected with her designs by solemn treaty, as well as by all the ties of gratitude and honour: but now that the cause of Hanover seemed to be on the decline, and his own dominions had suffered by the fate of the war, he not only appeared willing to abandon his benefactor and ally, but even seemed to be enlisted in the service of his adversary. This intended defection was, however, prevented by a sudden turn of fortune, which he could not possibly foresee; and his troops continued to act in conjunction with the Hanoverians.

The Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel was not singular in making such advances to the French monarch. The Duke of Brun-

wick, still more nearly connected with the King of Great Britain, used such uncommon expedition in detaching himself from the tottering fortune of Hanover, that in ten days after the convention of Closter-Seven he had concluded a treaty with the courts of Vienna and Versailles; so that the negotiation must have been begun before that convention took place. On the twentieth day of September his minister at Vienna, by virtue of full powers from the Duke of Brunswick, accepted and signed the conditions which the French king and his Austrian ally thought proper to impose. These imported, that his most Christian majesty should keep possession of the cities of Brunswick and Wolfenbuttel during the war, and make use of the artillery, arms, and military stores deposited in their arsenals: that the duke's forces, on their return from the camp of the Duke of Cumberland, should be disbanded and disarmed; and take an oath that they should not, during the present war, serve against the king or his allies: that the duke should be permitted to maintain a battalion of foot, and two squadrons of horse, for the guard of his person and castles; but the regulations made by Marschal Richelieu and the intendant of his army should subsist on their present footing: that the duke should furnish his contingent in money and troops, agreeably to the laws of the empire: that his forces should immediately join those which the Germanic body had assembled; and that he should order his minister at Ratisbon to vote conformably to the resolutions of the diet approved and confirmed by the emperor. In consideration of all these concessions, the duke was restored to the favour of the French king, who graciously promised that neither his revenues nor his treasure should be touched, nor the administration of justice invaded; and that nothing further should be demanded but winter quarters for the regiments which should pass that season in the country of Brunswick. How scrupulously soever the duke might have intended to observe the articles of this treaty, his intentions were frustrated by the conduct of his brother Prince Ferdinand, who, being invested with the command of the Hanoverian army, and ordered to resume the operations of war against the enemy, detained the troops of Brunswick, as well as his nephew the hereditary prince, notwithstanding the treaty which his brother had signed, and the injunctions which he had laid upon his son

Treaty
between
the French
king and
the Duke of
Brunswick.

to quit the army, and make a tour to Holland. The duke wrote an expostulatory letter to Prince Ferdinand, pathetically complaining that he had seduced his troops, decoyed his son, and disgraced his family; insisting upon the prince's pursuing his journey, as well as upon the return of the troops; and threatening, in case of non-compliance, to use other means that should be more effectual.* Notwithstanding this warm remonstrance, Prince Ferdinand adhered to his plan. He detained the troops and the hereditary prince, who, being

* Translation of the letter written by the Duke of Brunswick to his brother Prince Ferdinand:

"Sir,

"I know you too well to doubt that the situation in which we stand at present, with respect to each other, gives you abundance of uneasiness: nor will you doubt that it gives me equal concern: indeed, it afflicts me greatly. May I could never, my dearest brother, have believed that you would be the person who should carry away from me my eldest son. I am exceedingly mortified to find myself under the hard necessity of telling you, that this step is contrary to the law of nations and the constitution of the empire; and that, if you persist in it, you will disgrace your family, and bring a stain upon your country, which you pretend to serve. The hereditary prince, my son, was at Hanover by my orders, and you have carried him to Stade. Could he distrust his uncle, an uncle who hath done so much honour to his family? Could he believe that his uncle would deprive him of liberty, a liberty never refused to the lowest officer? I ordered him to make a tour to Holland: could not the lowest officer have done as much? Let us suppose for a moment that my troops, among whom he served, were to have stayed with the Hanoverians, would it not have been still in my power to give an officer leave of absence, or even leave to resign his commission? and would you hinder your brother, the head of your family, and of such a family as ours, to exercise this right with regard to a son, who is the hereditary prince, of whose rights and prerogatives you cannot be ignorant? It is impossible you could have conceived such designs without the suggestions of others. Those who did suggest them have trampled on the rights of nature, of nations, and of the princes of Germany; they have induced you to add to all these the most cruel insult on a brother whom you love, and who always loved you with the warmest affection. Would you have your brother lay his just complaints against you before the whole empire, and all Europe? Are not your proceedings without example? What is Germany become? What are its princes become, and our house in particular? Is it the interest of the two kings, the cause of your country, and my cause, that you pretend to support? I repeat it, brother, that this design could not have been framed by you. I again command my son to pursue his journey; and I cannot conceive you will give the least obstruction; if you should (which I pray God avert), I solemnly declare that I will not be constrained by such measures, nor shall I ever forget what I owe to myself. As to my troops, you may see what I have written on that head to the Hanoverian ministry. The Duke of Cumberland, by the convention of Closter-Seven, dismissed them, and sent them home; the said ministry gave me notice of this convention, as a treaty by which I was bound. The march of the troops was settled: and an incident happening, they halted: that obstacle being removed, they were to have continued their march. The court of Hanover will be no longer bound by the convention, while I not only accepted it on their word, but have also, in conformity with their instructions, negotiated at Versailles and at Vienna. After all these steps, they would have me contradict myself, break my word, and entirely ruin my estate, as well as my honour. Did you ever know your brother guilty of such things? True it is, I have, as you say, sacrificed my all, or rather I have been sacrificed. The only thing left me is my honour; and, in the unhappy contrast of our situations, I lament both you and myself, that it should be from you, my dear brother, I should receive the cruel advice to give up my honour. I cannot listen to it; I cannot recede from my promise. My troops, therefore, must return home, agreeably to what the Duke of Cumberland and the Hanoverian ministry stipulated with regard to me in the strongest manner. I am afraid that the true circumstances of things are concealed from you. Not to detain you express too long, I shall send you by the post copies of all I have written to the Hanoverian ministry. It will grieve your honest heart to read it. I am, with a heart almost broken, yet full of tenderness for you, your, &c.

"Blackenbourg, Nov. 27, 1757."

fond of the service, in a little time signalized himself by very extraordinary acts of bravery and conduct; and means were found to reconcile his father to measures that expressly contradicted his engagements with the courts of Vienna and Versailles.

The defeat of the French army at Rosbach, and the retreat of the Russians from Pomerania, had entirely changed the face of affairs in the empire. The French king was soon obliged to abandon his conquests on that side of the Rhine, and his threats sounded no longer terrible in the ears of the Hanoverian and Prussian allies. As little formidable were the denunciations of the emperor, who had, by a decree of the Aulic council, communicated to the diet certain mandates, issued in the month of August in the preceding year, on pain of the ban of the empire, with avocatory letters annexed, against the King of Great Britain, Elector of Hanover, and the other princes acting in concert with the King of Prussia. The French court likewise published a virulent memorial, after the convention of Closter-Seven had been violated and set aside, drawing an invidious parallel between the conduct of the French king and the proceedings of his Britannic majesty; in which the latter is taxed with breach of faith, and almost every meanness that could stain the character of a monarch. In answer to the emperor's decree and this virulent charge, Baron Gimmingen, the electoral minister of Brunswick Lunenbourg, presented to the diet, in November, a long memorial, recapitulating the important services his sovereign had done to the house of Austria, and the ungrateful returns he had reaped, in the queen's refusing to assist him, when his dominions were threatened with an invasion. He enumerated many instances in which she had assisted, encouraged, and even joined the enemies of the electorate, in contempt of her former engagements, and directly contrary to the constitution of the empire. He refuted every article of the charge which the French court had brought against him in their virulent libel, retorted the imputations of perfidy and ambition, and, with respect to France, justified every particular of his own conduct.

While the French and Hanoverian armies remained in their winter quarters, the former at Zell, and the latter at Lunenbourg, divers petty enterprises were executed by detachments with various success. The Hanoverian General

Juncheim, having taken post at Halberstadt and Quedlinbourg, from whence he made excursions even to the gates of Brunswick, and kept the French army in continual alarm, was visited by a large body of the enemy, who compelled him to retire to Achterleben, committed great excesses in the town of Halberstadt and its neighbourhood, and carried off hostages for the payment of contributions. General Hardenberg, another Hanoverian officer, having dislodged the French detachments that occupied Burgh, Vogelack, and Ritterhude, and cleared the whole territory of Bremen, in the month of January the Duke de Broglie assembled a considerable corps of troops that were cantoned at Ottersburg, Rothenburg, and the adjacent country, and advancing to Bremen, demanded admittance, threatening that, in case of a refusal, he would have recourse to extremities, and punish the inhabitants severely, should they make the least opposition. When their deputies waited upon him, to desire a short time for deliberation, he answered, "Not a moment—the Duke de Richelieu's orders are peremptory, and admit of no delay." He accordingly ordered the cannon to advance; the wall was scaled, and the gates would have been forced open, had not the magistrates, at the earnest importunity of the people, resolved to comply with his demand. A second deputation was immediately despatched to the Duke de Broglie, signifying their compliance; and the gates being opened, he marched into the city at midnight, after having promised upon his honour that no attempt should be made to the prejudice of its rights and prerogatives, and no outrage offered to the privileges of the regency, to the liberty, religion, and commerce of the inhabitants. This conquest, however, was of short duration. Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick being joined by a body of Prussian horse, under the command of Prince George of Holstein Gottorp, the whole army was put in motion, and advanced to the country of Bremen about the middle of February. The enemy were dislodged from Rothenburg, Ottersburg, and Verden, and they abandoned the city of Bremen at the approach of the Hanoverian general, who took possession of it without opposition.

By this time the court of Versailles, being dissatisfied with the conduct of the Duke de Richelieu, had recalled that general from Germany, where his place was supplied by the Count de Clermont, to the general satisfaction of the

army, as well as to the joy of the Hanoverian subjects, among
 whom Richelieu had committed many flagrant and
 inhuman acts of rapine and oppression. The new
 commander found his master's forces reduced to a
 deplorable condition, by the accidents of war, and
 distempers arising from hard duty, severe weather,
 and the want of necessaries. As he could not
 pretend, with such a wretched remnant, to oppose the
 designs of Prince Ferdinand in the field, or even maintain
 the footing which his predecessor had gained, he found him-
 self under the necessity of retiring with all possible expe-
 dition towards the Rhine. As the allies advanced, his troops
 retreated from their distant quarters with such precipitation
 as to leave behind all their sick, together with a great part of
 their baggage and artillery, besides a great number of officers
 and soldiers that fell into the hands of those parties by whom
 they were pursued. The inhabitants of Hanover, perceiving
 the French intended to abandon that city, were overwhelmed
 with the fear of being subjected to every species of violence
 and abuse, but their apprehensions were happily disappointed
 by the honour and integrity of the Duke de Randan, the
 French governor, who not only took effectual measures for
 restraining the soldiers within the bounds of the most rigid
 discipline and moderation, but likewise exhibited a noble
 proof of generosity, almost without example. Instead of
 destroying his magazine of provisions, according to the
 usual practice of war, he ordered the whole to be either
 sold at a low price, or distributed among the poor of the
 city, who had been long exposed to the horrors of famine ;
 an act of godlike humanity which ought to dignify the
 character of that worthy nobleman above all the titles that
 military fame can deserve, or arbitrary monarchs bestow.
 The regency of Hanover were so deeply impressed with a
 sense of his heroic behaviour on this occasion, that they
 gratefully acknowledged it, in a letter of thanks to him and
 the Count de Clermont; and on the day of solemn thanks-
 giving to Heaven for their being delivered from their enemies,
 the clergy, in their sermons, did not fail to celebrate and
 extol the charity and benevolence of the Duke de Randan.
 Such glorious testimonies, even from enemies, must have
 afforded the most exquisite pleasure to a mind endued with
 sensibility; and this no doubt may be termed one of the
 fairest triumphs of humanity.

The two grand divisions of the French army, quartered at Zell and Hanover, retired in good order to Hamelen, where they collected all their troops, except those that were left in Hoya, and about four thousand men placed in garrison at Minden, to retard the operations of the combined army. Towards the latter end of February, Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, having received intelligence that the Count de Chabot was posted with a considerable body of troops at Hoya, upon the Weser, detached the hereditary Prince of Brunswick, with four battalions, and some light troops and dragoons, to dislodge them from that neighbourhood. This enterprise was executed with the utmost intrepidity. The hereditary prince passed the Weser at Biemen with part of his detachment, while the rest advanced on this side of the river; and the enemy being attacked in front and rear, were in a little time forced, and thrown into confusion. The bridge being abandoned, and near seven hundred men taken prisoners, the Count de Chabot threw himself, with two battalions, into the castle, where he resolved to support himself, in hope of being relieved. The regiment of Bretagne, and some detachments of dragoons, were actually on the march to his assistance. The hereditary prince being made acquainted with this circumstance, being also destitute of heavy artillery to besiege the place in form, and taking it for granted he should not be able to maintain the post after it might be taken, he listened to the terms of the capitulation proposed by the French general, whose garrison was suffered to march out with the honours of war; but their cannon, stores, and ammunition, were surrendered to the victor. This was the first exploit of the hereditary prince, whose valour and activity, on many subsequent occasions, shone with distinguished lustre. He had no sooner reduced Hoya than he marched to the attack of Minden, which he invested on the fifth day of March, and on the fourteenth the garrison surrendered at discretion. After the reduction of this city the combined army advanced towards Hamelen; where the French general had established his head-quarters; but he abandoned them at the approach of the allies, and leaving behind all his sick and wounded, with part of his magazines, retired without halting to Paderborn, and from thence to the Rhine, recalling in his march the troops that were in Embden, Cassel, and the Landgraviate of Hesse, all

which places were now evacuated. They were terribly harassed in their retreat by the Prussian hussars, and a body of light horse, distinguished by the name of Hanoverian hunters, who took a great number of prisoners, together with many baggage-waggons and some artillery. Such was the precipitation of the enemy's retreat, that they could not find time to destroy all their magazines of provision and forage; and even forgot to call in the garrison of Vechte, a small fortress in the neighbourhood of Diepholt, who were made prisoners of war, and here was found a complete train of battering cannon and mortars. The Count de Clermont, having reached the banks of the Rhine, distributed his forces into quarters of cantonment in Wesel and the adjoining country, while Prince Ferdinand cantoned the allied army in the bishopric of Munster; here, however, he did not long remain inactive. In the latter end of May he ordered a detachment to pass the Rhine at Duysbourg, under the command of Colonel Scheither, who executed his order without loss, defeated three battalions of the enemy, and took five pieces of cannon. In the beginning of June, the whole army passed the Rhine, on a bridge constructed for the occasion, defeated a body of French cavalry, and obtained divers other advantages in their march towards Wesel. Kaisersworth was surprised, the greater part of the garrison either killed or taken, and Prince Ferdinand began to make preparations for the siege of Dusseldorp. In the mean time the Count de Clermont, being unable to stop the rapidity of his progress, was obliged to secure his troops with strong intrenchments, until he should be properly reinforced.

The court of Versailles, though equally mortified and con-
 founded at the turn of their affairs in Germany, did
 not sit tamely and behold this reverse; but exerted
 their usual spirit and expedition in retrieving the
 losses they had sustained. They assembled a body
 of troops at Hanau, under the direction of the Prince
 de Soubise, who, it was said, had received orders to pene-
 trate, by the way of Donowert, Ingoldstadt, and Arnberg,
 into Bohemia. In the mean time, reinforcements daily arrived
 in the camp of the Count de Clermont; and, as repeated
 complaints had been made of the want of discipline and
 subordination in that army, measures were taken for reform-
 ing the troops by severity and example. The Mareschal
 Duke de Belleisle, who now acted as secretary at war with

Prince
 Ferdinand
 defeats the
 French at
 Creveldt,
 and takes
 Dusseldorp.

uncommon ability, wrote a letter directed to all the colonels of infantry, threatening them, in the king's name, with the loss of their regiments, should they connive any longer at the scandalous practice of buying commissions; an abuse which had crept into the service under various pretexts, to the discouragement of merit, the relaxation of discipline, and the total extinction of laudable emulation. The Prince of Clermont having quitted his strong camp at Rhinefeldt, retired to Nuys, a little higher up the river, and detached a considerable corps, under the command of the Count de St. Germain, to take post at Creveldt, situated in a plain between his army and the camp of the allies, which fronted the town of Meurs: after several motions on both sides, Prince Ferdinand resolved to attack the enemy, and forthwith made a disposition for this purpose. He assigned the command of the whole left wing, consisting of eighteen battalions and twenty-eight squadrons, to Lieutenant-General Spörcken; the conduct of the right wing, composed of sixteen battalions and fourteen squadrons, was entrusted to the hereditary prince and Major-General Wangenheim; the squadrons, with the addition of two regiments of Prussian dragoons, were under the immediate direction of the Prince of Holstein, while the hereditary prince commanded the infantry. The light troops, consisting of five squadrons of hussars, were divided between the Prince of Holstein and Lieutenant-General Spörcken. Major Luckner's squadron, together with Scheither's corps, were ordered to observe the flank of the enemy's right, and with this view were posted in the village of Papendeick; and a battalion of the troops of Wolfenbuttel were left in the town of Hulste, to cover the rear of the army. Prince Ferdinand's design was to attack the enemy on their left flank; but the execution was rendered extremely difficult by the woods and ditches that embarrassed the route, and the numerous ditches that intersected this part of the country. On the twenty-third day of June, at four in the morning, the army began to move; the right advancing in two columns as far as St. Anthony, and the left marching up within half a league of Creveldt. The prince, having viewed the position of the enemy from the steeple of St. Anthony, procured guides, and having received all the necessary hints of information, proceeded to the right, in order to charge the enemy's left flank by the villages of Worst and Anrath; but, in order to divide their attention,

and keep them in suspense with respect to the nature of his principal attack, he directed the Generals Sporcken and Oberg to advance against them by the way of Creveldt and St. Anthony, and, in particular, to make the most of their artillery, that, being employed in three different places at once, they might be prevented from sending any reinforcement to the left, where the chief attack was intended. These precautions being taken, Prince Ferdinand, putting himself at the head of the grenadiers of the right wing, continued his march in two columns to the village of Anrath, where he fell in with an advanced party of the French, which, after a few discharges of musketry, retired to their camp and gave the alarm. In the mean time, both armies were drawn up in order of battle; the troops of the allies in the plain between the villages of Anrath and Willich, opposite to the French forces, whose left was covered with a wood. The action began about one in the afternoon, with a severe cannonading on the part of Prince Ferdinand, which, though well supported, proved ineffectual in drawing the enemy from their cover; he, therefore, determined to dislodge them from the wood by dint of small arms. The hereditary prince immediately advanced with the whole front, and a very obstinate action ensued. Meanwhile, the cavalry on the right in vain attempted to penetrate the wood on the other side, where the enemy had raised two batteries, which were sustained by forty squadrons of horse. After a terrible fire had been maintained on both sides, till five in the afternoon, the grenadiers forced the intrenchments in the wood, which were lined by the French infantry. These giving way, abandoned the wood in the utmost disorder; but the pursuit was checked by the conduct and resolution of the enemy's cavalry, which, notwithstanding a dreadful fire from the artillery of the allies, maintained their ground, and covered the foot in their retreat to Nuys. The success of the day was, in a good measure, owing to the artillery on the left and in the centre, with which the Generals Sporcken and Oberg had done great execution, and employed the attention of the enemy on that side, while Prince Ferdinand prosecuted his attack on the other quarter. It must be owned, however, that their right wing and centre retired in great order to Nuys, though the left was defeated, with the loss of some standards, colours, and pieces of cannon, and six thousand men killed, wounded, or taken

prisoners.¹ This victory, however, which cost the allies about fifteen hundred men, was not at all decisive in its consequences; and, indeed, the plan seemed only calculated to display the enterprising genius of the Hanoverian general. True it is, the French army took refuge under the cannon of Cologne, where they remained, without hazarding any step for the relief of Dusseldorp, which Prince Ferdinand immediately invested, and in a few days reduced, the garrison being allowed to march out with the honours of war, on condition that they should not, for the space of one year, carry arms against the allies.

It was at this period that Count de Clermont resigned his command, which was conferred upon M. de Contades, and the French army was considerably reinforced. He even threatened to attack Prince Ferdinand in his turn, and made some motions with that design, but was prevented by the little river Erff, behind which the prince resolved to lie quiet, until he should be joined by the body of British troops under the command of the Duke of Marlborough, the first division of which had just landed at Embden. He flattered himself that the Prince of Ysembourg, at the head of the Hessian troops, would find employment for the Prince de Soubise, who had marched from Hanau, with a design to penetrate into the Landgraviate of Hesse-Cassel; his vanguard had been already surprised and defeated by the militia of the country; and the Prince of Ysembourg was at the head of a considerable body of regular forces, assembled to oppose his further progress. Prince Ferdinand, therefore, hoped that the operations of the French general would be effectually impeded, until he himself, being joined by the British troops, should be in a condition to pass the Meuse, transfer the seat of war into the enemy's country, thus make a diversion from the Rhine, and perhaps oblige the Prince de Soubise to come to the assistance of the principal French army, commanded by M. de Contades. He had formed a plan which would have answered these purposes effectually, and in execution of it marched to Ruremond on the Maese, when his measures were totally disconcerted by a variety of incidents which he

¹ Among the French officers who lost their lives in this engagement was the Count de Gisors, only son of the Marshal Duke de Belleisle, and last hope of that illustrious family, a young nobleman of extraordinary accomplishments, who finished a short life of honour in the embrace of military glory, and fell gallantly fighting at the head of his own regiment, to the inexpressible grief of his aged father, and the universal regret of his country.

could not foresee. The Prince of Ysembourg was, on the twenty-third day of July, defeated at Sangarshausen by the Duke de Broglie, whom the Prince de Soubise had detached against him with a number of troops greatly superior to that which the Hessian general commanded. The Duke de Broglie, who commanded the corps that formed the vanguard of Soubise's army having learned at Cassel that the Hessian troops, under the Prince of Ysembourg, were retiring towards Munden, he advanced, on the twenty-third of July, with a body of eight thousand men, to the village of Sangarshausen, where he found them drawn up in order of battle, and forthwith made a disposition for the attack. At first his cavalry were repulsed by the Hessian horse, which charged the French infantry, and were broke in their turn. The Hessians, though greatly inferior in number to the enemy, made a very obstinate resistance, by favour of a rock in the Fulde that covered their right, and a wood by which their left was secured. The dispute was so obstinate, that the enemy's left was obliged to give ground; but the Duke de Broglie ordering a fresh corps to advance, changed the fortune of the day. The Hessians, overpowered by numbers, gave way; part plunged into the river, where many perished, and part threw themselves into the wood, through which they escaped from the pursuit of the hussars, who took above two hundred soldiers and fifty officers, including the Count de Canitz, who was second in command. They likewise found on the field of battle seven pieces of cannon, and eight at Munden; but the carnage was pretty considerable, and nearly equal on both sides. The number of killed and wounded, on the side of the French, exceeded two thousand; the loss of the Hessians was not so great. The Prince of Ysembourg, having collected the remains of his little army, took post at Eimbeck, where he soon was reinforced, and found himself at the head of twelve thousand men; but, in consequence of this advantage, the enemy became masters of the Weser, and opened to themselves a free passage into Westphalia.

The progress of Prince Ferdinand upon the Maese had been retarded by a long succession of heavy rains, which broke up the roads, and rendered the country impassable; and now the certain information of this unlucky check left him no alternative but a battle or a retreat across the Rhine: the first was carefully avoided by

General
Imhoff
defeats M.
de Chevert.

the enemy ; the latter resolution. therefore, he found himself under a necessity to embrace In his present position he was hampered by the French army on one wing, on the other by the fortress of Gueldres, the garrison of which had been lately reinforced, as well as by divers other posts, capable of obstructing the convoys and subsistence of the combined army : besides, he had reason to apprehend, that the Prince de Soubise would endeavour to intercept the British troops in their march from Embden. Induced by these considerations, he determined to repass the Rhine, after having offered battle to the enemy, and made several motions for that purpose. Finding them averse to an engagement, he made his dispositions for forcing the strong pass of Wachtendonck, an island surrounded by the Niers, of very difficult approach, and situated exactly in his route to the Rhine. This service was performed by the hereditary Prince of Brunswick, who, perceiving the enemy had drawn up the bridge, rushed into the river at the head of his grenadiers, who drove them away with their bayonets, and cleared the bridges for the passage of the army towards Rhinebergen. At this place Prince Ferdinand received intelligence that M. de Chevert, reputed one of the best officers in the French service, had passed the Lippe with fourteen battalions and several squadrons, to join the garrison of Wesel, and fall upon Lieutenant-General Imhoff, who commanded a detached corps of the combined army at Meer, that he might be at hand to guard the bridge which the prince had thrown over the Rhine at Rees. His serene highness was extremely desirous of sending succours to General Imhoff ; but the troops were too much fatigued to begin another march before morning ; and the Rhine had overflowed its banks in such a manner as to render the bridge at Rees impassable, so that M. Imhoff was left to the resources of his own conduct and the bravery of his troops, consisting of six battalions and four squadrons, already weakened by the absence of different detachments. This general having received advice, on the fourth of August, that the enemy intended to pass the Lippe the same evening with a considerable train of artillery, in order to burn the bridge at Rees, decamped with a view to cover this place, and join two battalions which had passed the Rhine in boats, under the command of General Zastrow, who reinforced him accordingly ; but the enemy not appearing, he concluded the information was false, and resolved to

resume his advantageous post at Meer. Of this he had no sooner repossessed himself, than his advanced guards were engaged with the enemy, who marched to the attack from Wesel, under the command of Lieutenant-General de Chevert, consisting of the whole corps intended for the siege of Dusseldorp. Imhoff's front was covered by coppices and ditches, there being a rising ground on his right, from whence he could plainly discern the whole force that advanced against him, together with the manner of their approach. Perceiving them engaged in that difficult ground, he posted one regiment in a coppice, with orders to fall upon the left flank of the enemy, which appeared quite uncovered; and as soon as their fire began, advanced with the rest of his forces to attack them in front. The bayonet was used on this occasion, and the charge given with such impetuosity and resolution, that, after a short resistance, the enemy fell into confusion, and fled towards Wesel, leaving on the spot eleven pieces of cannon, with a great number of waggons and other carriages: besides the killed and wounded, who amounted to a pretty considerable number, the victor took three hundred and fifty-four prisoners, including eleven officers; whereas, on his part, the victory was purchased at a very small expense.

Immediately after this action, General Wangenheim passed the Rhine with several squadrons and battalions, to reinforce General Imhoff, and to enable him to prosecute the advantage he had gained, while Prince Ferdinand marched with the rest of the army to Santen: from thence he proceeded to Rhineberg, where he intended to pass; but the river had overflowed to such a degree, that here, as well as at Rees, the shore was inaccessible; so that he found it necessary to march further down the river, and lay a bridge at Griethuyzen. The enemy had contrived four vessels for the destruction of this bridge; but they were all taken before they could put the design in execution, and the whole army passed on the tenth day of August, without any loss or further interruption. At the same time the prince withdrew his garrison from Dusseldorp, of which the French immediately took possession. Immediately after his passage he received a letter from the Duke of Marlborough, acquainting him that the British troops had arrived at Lingden, in their route to Coesfeldt; to which place General Imhoff was sent to receive them, with

General
Obergr
defeated by
the French
at Land-
weinhagen.

a strong detachment. Notwithstanding this junction, the two armies on the Rhine were so equally matched, that no stroke of importance was struck on either side during the remaining part of the campaign. M. de Contades, seeing no prospect of obtaining the least advantage over Prince Ferdinand, detached Prince Xaverius of Saxony with a strong reinforcement to the Prince de Soubise, who had taken possession of Gottengen, and seemed determined to attack the Prince of Ysembourg at Einbeck. That this officer might be able to give him a proper reception, Prince Ferdinand detached General Oberg with ten thousand men to Lipstadt, from whence, should occasion require, they might continue their march, and join the Hessians. The whole body, when thus reinforced, did not exceed twenty thousand men, of whom General Oberg now assumed the command: whereas the troops of Soubise were increased to the number of thirty thousand. The allies had taken post upon the river Fulde at Sandershausen, where they hoped the French would attack them; but the design of Soubise was first to dislodge them from that advantageous situation. With this view, he made a motion, as if he had intended to turn the camp of the allies by the road of Munden. In order to prevent the execution of this supposed design, General Oberg decamped on the tenth of October, and, passing by the village of Landwernhagen, advanced towards Luttenburg, where, understanding the enemy were at his heels, he forthwith formed his troops in order of battle, his right to the Fulde, and his left extending to a thicket upon an eminence, where he planted five field-pieces. The cavalry supported the wings in a third line, the village of Luttenburg was in the rear, and four pieces of cannon were mounted on a rising ground that flanked this village. The French having likewise passed Landwernhagen, posted their left towards the Fulde, their right extending far beyond the left of the allies, and their front being strengthened with above thirty pieces of cannon. At four in the afternoon the enemy began the battle with a severe cannonading, and at the same time the first line of their infantry attacked Major-General Zastrow, who was posted on the left wing of the allies. This body of the French was repulsed; but in the same moment, a considerable line of cavalry advancing, charged the allies in front and flank. These were supported by a fresh body of infantry with cannon, which, after a warm dispute, obliged

the confederates to give way; and General Oberg, in order to prevent a total defeat, made a disposition for a retreat, which was performed in tolerable order; not but that he suffered greatly, in passing through a defile, from the fire of the enemy's cannon, which was brought up and managed under the direction of the Duke de Broglio. Having marched through Munden, by midnight, the retiring army lay till morning under arms in the little plain near Grupen, on the other side of the Weser; but at daybreak prosecuted their march, after having withdrawn the garrison from Munden, until they arrived in the neighbourhood of Guntersheim, where they encamped. In this engagement General Oberg lost about fifteen hundred men, his artillery, baggage, and ammunition. He was obliged to abandon a magazine of hay and straw at Munden, and leave part of his wounded men in that place to the humanity of the victor. But, after all, the French general reaped very little advantage from his victory.

By this time, Prince Ferdinand had retired into Westphalia, and fixed his head-quarters at Munster, while M. de Contades encamped near Ham upon the Lippe: so that, although he had obliged the French army to evacuate Hanover and Hesse in the beginning of the year, when they were weakened by death and distemper, and even driven them beyond the Rhine, where they sustained a defeat; yet they were soon put in a condition to baffle all his future endeavours, and penetrate again into Westphalia, where they established their winter-quarters, extending themselves in such a manner as to command the whole course of the Rhine on both sides, while the allies were disposed in the landgraviate of Hesse-Cassel, and in the bishoprics of Munster, Paderborn, and Hildesheim. The British troops had joined them so late in the season, that they had no opportunity to signalize themselves in the field; yet the fatigues of the campaign, which they had severely felt, proved fatal to their commander, the Duke of Marlborough, who died of a dysentery at Munster, universally lamented.

Having thus particularized the operations of the allied army since the commencement of the campaign, we shall now endeavour to trace the steps of the King of Prussia, from the period at which his army was assembled for action. Having collected his force as soon as the season would permit, he undertook the

Death of
the Duke
of Marl-
borough.

Operations
of the King
of Prussia,
at the be-
ginning of
the cam-
paign.

siege of Schweidnitz in form on the twenty-first day of March; and carried on his operations with such vigour, that in thirteen days the garrison surrendered themselves prisoners of war, after having lost one half of their number in the defence of the place. While one part of his troops were engaged in this service, he himself, at the head of another, advanced to the eastern frontier of Bohemia, and sent a detachment as far as Trautenaw, garrisoned by a body of Austrians, who, after an obstinate resistance, abandoned the place, and retreated towards their grand army. By this success he opened to himself a way into Bohemia, by which he poured in detachments of light troops, to raise contributions, and harass the outposts of the enemy. At the same time the Baron de la Mothe Fouquet marched with another body against the Austrian general, Jalinus, posted in the county of Glatz, whom he obliged to abandon all the posts he occupied in that country, and pursued as far as Nachod, within twenty miles of Koningsgratz, where the grand Austrian army was encamped, under the command of Mareschal Daun, who had lately arrived from Vienna.^m Over and above these excursions, the king ordered a body of thirty thousand men to be assembled, to act under the command of his brother Prince Henry, an accomplished warrior, against the army of the empire, which the Prince de Deuxponts, with great difficulty, made a shift to form again near Bamberg, in Franconia.

The King of Prussia, whose designs were, perhaps, even greater than he cared to own, resolved to shift the theatre of the war, and penetrate into Moravia, a fertile country, which had hitherto been kept sacred from ravage and contribution. Having formed an army of fifty thousand choice troops near Niess, in Silesia, he divided them into three columns; the first commanded by Mareschal Keith, the second by himself in person, and the third conducted by Prince Maurice of Anhalt Dessau. In the latter end of April they began their march towards Moravia; and General de la Ville, who commanded a body of troops in that country, retired as they advanced, after having thrown a strong reinforcement into Olmutz, which the king was deter-

He enters
Moravia,
and invests
Olmütz.

^m At this juncture the Prussian commandant at Dresden being admitted into the Japan palace, to see the curious porcelain with which it is adorned, perceived a door built up; and ordering the passage to be opened, entered a large apartment, where he found three thousand tents, and other field utensils. These had been concealed here when the Prussians first took possession of the city: they were immediately seized by the commandant, and distributed among the troops of Prince Henry's army.

mined to besiege. Had he passed by this fortress, which was strongly fortified, and well provided for a vigorous defence, he might have advanced to the gates of Vienna, and reduced the emperor to the necessity of suing for peace on his own terms; but it seems he was unwilling to deviate so far from the common maxims of war as to leave a fortified place in the rear; and, therefore, he determined to make himself master of it before he should proceed. For this purpose it was immediately invested; orders were issued to hasten up the heavy artillery, and Mareschal Keith was appointed to superintend and direct the operations of the siege. Meanwhile, the Austrian commander, Count Daun, being informed of his Prussian majesty's motions and designs, quitted his camp at Leutomysel in Bohemia, and entered Moravia by the way of Billa. Being still too weak to encounter the Prussians in the field, he extended his troops in the neighbourhood of the king's army, between Gewitz and Littau, in a mountainous situation, where he ran little or no risk of being attacked. Here he remained for some time in quiet, with the fertile country of Bohemia in his rear, from whence he drew plentiful supplies, and received daily reinforcements. His scheme was to relieve the besieged occasionally; to harass the besiegers, and to intercept their convoys from Silesia; and this scheme succeeded to his wish. Olmutz is so extensive in its works, and so peculiarly situated on the river Morava, that it could not be completely invested without weakening the posts of the besieging army, by extending them to a prodigious circuit; so that, in some parts, they were easily forced by detachments in the night, who fell upon them suddenly, and seldom failed to introduce into the place supplies of men, provisions, and ammunition. The forage in the neighbourhood of the city having been previously destroyed, the Prussian horse were obliged to make excursions at a great distance, consequently exposed to fatigue and liable to surprise; and, in a word, the Prussians were not very expert in the art of town-taking.

Count Daun knew how to take advantage of these circumstances without hazarding a battle, to which the king provoked him in vain. While the garrison made repeated sallies to retard the operations of the besiegers, the Austrian general harassed their foraging parties, fell upon different quarters of their army in the night, and kept them in continual

He is
obliged to
raise the
siege, and
retires into
Bohemia,
where he
takes Ko-
nigsgratz.

alarm. Nevertheless, the king finished his first parallel; and proceeded with such vigour, as seemed to promise a speedy reduction of the place, when his design was entirely frustrated by an untoward incident. Marechal Daun, having received intelligence that a large convoy had set out from Silesia for the Prussian camp, resolved to seize this opportunity of compelling the king to desist from his enterprise. He sent General Jahnus, with a strong body of troops, towards Bahrn, and another detachment to Stadfoliebc, with instructions to attack the convoy on different sides; while he himself advanced towards the besiegers, as if he intended to give them battle. The King of Prussia, far from being deceived by this feint, began, from the motions of the Austrian general, to suspect his real scheme, and immediately despatched General Ziethen, with a strong reinforcement, to protect the convoy, which was escorted by eight battalions, and about four thousand men, who had been sick, and were just recovered. Before this officer joined them, the convoy had been attacked on the twenty-eighth day of June; but the assailants were repulsed with considerable loss. Marechal Daun, however, took care that they should be immediately reinforced; and next day the attack was renewed with much greater effect. Four hundred waggons, guarded by four battalions, and about one thousand troopers, had just passed the defiles of Dornstadt, when the Austrians charged them furiously on every side: the communication between the head and the rest of the convoy was cut off; and General Ziethen, after having exerted all his efforts for its preservation, being obliged to abandon the waggons, retired to Trop-pau. Thus the whole convoy fell into the hands of the enemy, who took above six hundred prisoners, together with General Putkammer; and the King of Prussia was obliged to relinquish his enterprise. This was a mortifying necessity for a prince of his high spirit, at a time when he saw himself on the eve of reducing the place, notwithstanding the gallant defence which had been made by General Marshal, the governor. Nothing now remained but to raise the siege, and retire without loss in the face of a vigilant enemy, prepared to seize every opportunity of advantage: a task which, how hard soever it may appear, he performed with equal dexterity and success. Instead of retiring into Silesia, he resolved to avert the war from his own dominions, and take the route of Bohemia, the frontiers of which were left uncovered by

Mareschal Daun's last motion, when he advanced his quarters to Posnitz, in order to succour Olmutz the more effectually. After the king had taken his measures, he carefully concealed his design from the enemy, and, notwithstanding the loss of his convoy, prosecuted the operations of the siege with redoubled vigour, till the first day of July, when he decamped in the night, and began his march to Bohemia. He himself, with one division, took the road to Konitz, and Mareschal Keith having brought away all the artillery, except four mortars and one disabled cannon, pursued his march by the way of Littau to Mugglitz and Tribau. Although his Prussian majesty had gained an entire march upon the Austrians, their light troops, commanded by the Generals Buccow and Laudohn, did not fail to attend and harass his army in their retreat; but their endeavours were in a great measure frustrated by the conduct and circumspection of the Prussian commanders. After the rear of the army had passed the defiles of Krenau, General Laszi, who was posted at Gibau with a large body of Austrian troops, occupied the village of Krenau with a detachment of grenadiers, who were soon dislodged; and the Prussians pursued their march by Zwitlau to Leutomysel, where they seized a magazine of meal and forage. In the mean time, General de Ratzow, who conducted the provisions and artillery, found the hills of Hollitz possessed by the enemy, who cannonaded him as he advanced; but Mareschal Keith coming up, ordered him to be attacked in the rear, and they fled into a wood with precipitation, with the loss of six officers and three hundred men, who were taken prisoners. While the mareschal was thus employed, the king proceeded from Leutomysel to Koningsgratz, where General Buccow, who had got the start of him, was posted with seven thousand men behind the Elbe, and in the intrenchments which they had thrown up all round the city. The Prussian troops, as they arrived, passed over the little river Adler, and as the enemy had broken down the bridges over the Elbe, the king ordered them to be repaired with all expedition, being determined to attack the Austrian intrenchments; but General Buccow did not wait for his approach. He abandoned his intrenchments, and retired with his troops to Clumetz; so that the king took possession of the most important post of Koningsgratz without further opposition. An Austrian corps having taken post between him and Hollitz, in order to obstruct the march

of the artillery, he advanced against them in person, and having driven them from the place, all his cannon, military stores, provision, with fifteen hundred sick and wounded men, arrived in safety at Koningsgratz, where the whole army encamped. His intention was to transfer the seat of war from Moravia to Bohemia, where he should be able to maintain a more easy communication with his own dominions; but a more powerful motive soon obliged him to change his resolution.

After the Russian troops under Apraxin had retreated from Pomerania in the course of the preceding year, and the czarina seemed ready to change her system, ^{Progress of} the courts of Vienna and Versailles had, by dint of ^{the} subsidies, promises, presents, and intrigues, attached her, in all appearance, more firmly than ever to the confederacy, and even induced her to augment the number of troops destined to act against the Prussian monarch. She not only signed her accession in form to the quadruple alliance with the empress-queen and the Kings of France and Sweden; but, in order to manifest her zeal to the common cause, she disgraced her chancellor, Count Bestuchef, who was supposed averse to the war: she divided her forces into separate bodies, under the command of the Generals Fermer and Browne, and ordered them to put their troops in motion in the middle of winter. Fermer accordingly began his march in the beginning of January, and on the twenty-second his light troops took possession of Koningsberg, the capital of Prussia, without opposition; for the king's forces had quitted that country, in order to prosecute the war in the western parts of Pomerania. They did not, however, maintain themselves in this part of the country; but, after having ravaged some districts, returned to the main body, which halted on the Vistula, to the no small disturbance of the city of Dantzic. The resident of the czarina actually demanded that the magistrates should receive a Russian garrison: a demand which they not only peremptorily refused, but ordered all the citizens to arms, and took every other method to provide for their defence. At length, after some negotiation with General Fermer, the affair was compromised: he desisted from the demand, and part of his troops passed the Vistula, seemingly to invade Pomerania, in the eastern part of which Count Dohna had assembled an army of Prussians to oppose their progress. But after they had pillaged the open country,

they rejoined their main body; and General Fermer, turning to the left, advanced to Silesia, in order to co-operate with the other Russian army commanded by Browne, who had taken his route through Poland, and already passed the Posna. By the first of July, both bodies had reached the frontiers of Silesia, and some of their Cossacks, penetrating into that province, had committed dreadful ravages, and overwhelmed the inhabitants with consternation. Count Dohna, with the Prussian army under his command, had attended their motions, and even passed the Oder at Frankfort, as if he had intended to give them battle; but he was too much inferior in number to hazard such a step, which became an object of his sovereign's own personal attention. Mareschal Daun had followed the king into Bohemia, and, on the twenty-second day of July, encamped on the hills of Libischau, a situation almost inaccessible, where he resolved to remain, and watch the motions of the Prussian monarch, until some opportunity should offer of acting to advantage. Nature seems to have expressly formed this commander with talents to penetrate the designs, embarrass the genius, and check the impetuosity of the Prussian monarch. He was justly compared to Fabius Maximus, distinguished by the epithet of Cunctator. He possessed all the vigilance, caution, and sagacity of that celebrated Roman. Like him, he hovered on the skirts of the enemy, harassing their parties, accustoming the soldiers to strict discipline, hard service, and the face of a formidable foe, and watching for opportunities, which he knew how to seize with equal courage and celerity.

The King of Prussia, being induced by a concurrence of motives to stop the progress of the Russians in Silesia, made his dispositions for retreating from Bohemia, and on the twenty-fifth day of July quitted the camp at Koningsgratz. He was attended in his march by three thousand Austrian light troops, who did not fail to incommode his rear; but, notwithstanding these impediments, he passed the Mittau, proceeded on his route, and on the ninth day of August arrived at Landshut. From thence he hastened with a detachment towards Frankfort on the Oder, and joined the army commanded by Lieutenant-General Dohna at Gorgas. Then the whole army passed the Oder by a bridge, thrown over it at Gatawise, and having rested one day, advanced to Dertmitzal, where he encamped. The Russians, under General Fermer,

King of
Prussia
defeats the
Russians at
Zorndorf.

were posted on the other side of the little river Mitzel, their right extending to the village of Zwicker, and their left to Quertchem. The king being determined to hazard a battle, passed the Mitzel on the twenty-fifth in the morning, and turning the flank of the enemy, drew up his army in order of battle in the plain between the little river and the town of Zorndorf. The Russians, by whom he was outnumbered, did not decline the dispute; but as the ground did not permit them to extend themselves, they appeared in four lines, forming a front on every side defended by cannon and a chevaux-de-frise, their right flank covered by the village of Zwicker. After a warm cannonade, the Prussian infantry were ordered to attack the village, and a body of grenadiers advanced to the assault; but this brigade unexpectedly giving way, occasioned a considerable opening in the line, and left the whole left flank of the infantry uncovered. Before the enemy could take advantage of this incident, the interval was filled up by the cavalry under the command of General Seydlitz; and the king, with his usual presence of mind, substituted another choice body of troops to carry on the attack. This began about noon, and continued for some time, during which both sides fought with equal courage and perseverance: at length General Seydlitz, having routed the Russian cavalry, fell upon the flank of the infantry with great fury, which being also dreadfully annoyed by the Prussian artillery, they abandoned the village, together with their military chest, and great part of their baggage. Notwithstanding this loss, which had greatly disordered their right wing, they continued to stand their ground, and terrible havoc was made among them, not only with the sword and bayonet, but also by the cannon, which were loaded with grape shot, and, being excellently served, did great execution. Towards evening the confusion among them increased to such a degree, that in all probability they would have been entirely routed, had they not been favoured by the approaching darkness, as well as by a particular operation which was very gallantly performed. One of the Russian generals perceiving the fortune of the day turned against them, rallied a select body of troops, and made a vigorous impression on the right wing of the Prussians. This effort diverted their attention so strongly to that quarter, that the right of the Russians enjoyed a respite, during which they retired in tolerable

order, and occupied a new post on the right, where the rest of their forces were the more easily assembled. In this battle they are said to have lost about fifteen thousand men, thirty-seven colours, five standards, twelve mortars, the greater part of their baggage, and above one hundred pieces of cannon. Among the prisoners that fell into the hands of the victor were several general officers, and a good number lost their lives on the field of battle. The victory cost the king above two thousand men, including some officers of distinction, particularly two aides-de-camp, who attended his own person, which he exposed without scruple to all the perils of the day. It would have redounded still more to his glory had he put a stop to the carnage; for, after all resistance was at an end, the wretched Russians were hewn down without mercy. It must be owned, indeed, that the Prussian soldiers were, in a peculiar manner, exasperated against this enemy, because they had laid waste the country, burned the villages, ruined the peasants, and committed many horrid acts of barbarity, which the practice of war could not authorize." The Prussian

"A detail of the cruelties committed by those barbarians cannot be read without horror. They not only burned a great number of villages, but they ravished, rifled, murdered, and mutilated the inhabitants, without distinction of age or sex, without any other provocation or incitement than brutal lust and wantonness of barbarity. They even violated the sepulchres of the dead, which have been held sacred among the most savage nations. At Camin and Breckholtz they forced open the graves and sepulchral vaults, and stripped the bodies of the Generals Schlagerndorf and Ruitz, which had been deposited there. But the collected force of their vengeance was discharged against Custrin, the capital of the New Marche of Brandenburg, situated at the conflux of the Warta and the Oder, about fifteen English miles from Frankfort. The particulars of the disaster that befel this city are pathetically related in the following extracts from a letter written by an inhabitant and eye-witness.

"On the thirteenth of August, about three o'clock in the afternoon, a sudden report was spread that a body of Russian hussars and Cossacks appeared in sight of the little suburb. All the people were immediately in motion, and the whole city was filled with terror, especially as we were certainly informed that the whole Russian army was advancing from Meserick and Königswalde, by the way of Landsberg. A reinforcement was immediately sent to our piquet-guard in the suburb, amounting, by this junction, to three hundred men, who were soon attacked by the enemy, and the skirmish lasted from four till seven o'clock in the evening. During this dispute, we could plainly perceive, from our ramparts and church-steeple, several persons of distinction mounted on English horses reconnoitring our fortification through perspective glasses. They retired, however, when our cannon began to fire: then our piquet took possession of their former post in the suburb: and the reinforcement we had sent from the city returned, after having broken down the bridge over the Oder. Next day Count Dohna, who commanded the army near Frankfort, sent in a reinforcement of four battalions, ten squadrons, and a small body of hussars, under the command of Lieutenant-General Scherlemmer. The hussars and a body of dragoons were added to the piquet of the little suburb; the four battalions pitched their tents on the Anger, between the suburb and fortification; and the rest of the dragoons remained in the field, to cover the long suburb. General Scherlemmer, attended by our governor, Colonel Sluck, went with a small party to observe the enemy; but were obliged to retire, and were pursued by the Cossacks to the walls of the city. Between four and five o'clock next morning the poor inhabitants were roused from their sleep by the noise of the cannon, intermingled with the dismal shrieks and hideous yellings of the Cossacks belonging to the Russian army. Alarmed at this horrid

army passed the night under arms, and next morning the cannonade was renewed against the enemy, who, nevertheless, maintained that position without flinching. On the twenty-seventh, they seemed determined to hazard another action, and even attack the conquerors: instead of advancing, however, they took the route of Landsberg; but afterwards turned off towards Vietzel, and posted themselves

noise, I ascended the church-steeple, from whence I beheld the whole plain, extending from the little suburb to the forest, covered with the enemy's troops, and our light horse, supported by the infantry, engaged in different places with their irregulars. At eight I descried a body of the enemy's infantry, whose van consisted of four or five thousand men, advancing towards the vineyard, in the neighbourhood of which they had raised occasional batteries in the preceding evening; from these they now played on our picket-guard and hussars, who were obliged to retire. They then fired, *en ricochet*, on the tents and baggage of the four battalions encamped on the Auger, who were also compelled to retreat. Having thus cleared the environs, they threw into the city such a number of bombs and red-hot bullets, that by nine in the morning it was set on fire in three different places; and, the streets being narrow, burned with such fury, that all our endeavours to extinguish it proved ineffectual. At this time the whole atmosphere appeared like a shower of fiery rain and hail; and the miserable inhabitants thought of nothing but saving their lives by running into the open fields. The whole place was filled with terror and consternation, and resounded with the shrieks of women and children, who ran about in the utmost distraction, exposed to the shot and the bomb-shells, which bursting, tore in pieces every thing that stood in their way. As I led my wife, with a young child in her arms, and drove the rest of my children and servants half naked before me, those instruments of death and devastation fell about us like hail; but, by the mercy of God, we all escaped unhurt. Nothing could be more melancholy and afflicting than a sight of the wretched people, flying in crowds, and leaving their all behind, while they rent the sky with their lamentations. Many women of distinction I saw without shoes and stockings, and almost without clothes, who had been roused from their beds, and ran out naked into the streets. When my family had reached the open plain I endeavoured to return, and save some of my effects; but I could not force my way through a multitude of people, thronging out at the gate; some sick and bedridden persons being carried on horseback and in carriages, and others conveyed on the backs of their friends through a most dreadful scene of horror and desolation. A great number of families from the open country and defenceless towns in Prussia and Pomerania had come hither for shelter with their most valuable effects, when the Russians first entered the king's territories. These, as well as the inhabitants, are all ruined; and many, who a few days ago possessed considerable wealth, are now reduced to the utmost indigence. The neighbouring towns and villages were soon crowded with the people of Custring; the roads were filled with objects of misery, and nothing was seen but nakedness and despair; nothing heard but the cries of hunger, fear, and distraction. For my own part, I stayed all night at Goltz, and then proceeded for Berlin. Custring is now in a heap of ruins. The great magazine, the governor's house, the church, the palace, the store and artillery houses, in a word, the old and new towns, the suburbs, and all the bridges, were reduced to ashes; nay, after the arches were destroyed, the piles and starlings were burned to the water's edge. The writings of all the colleges, together with the archives of the country, were totally consumed, together with a prodigious magazine of corn and flour, valued at four millions of crowns. The cannon in the arsenal were all melted; and the loaded bombs and cartridges, with a large quantity of gunpowder, went off at once with a most horrible explosion. A great number of the inhabitants are missing, supposed to have perished in the flames, or under the ruins of the houses, or to have been suffocated in subterraneous vaults and caverns, to which they had fled for safety."

Nothing could be more inhuman, or contrary to the practice of a generous enemy, than such vengeance wreaked upon the innocent inhabitants; for the Russians did not begin to batter the fortifications until all the rest of the place was destroyed. In the course of this campaign, the Russian Cossacks are said to have plundered and burned fourteen large towns and two hundred villages, and wantonly butchered above two thousand defenceless women and children. Such monsters of barbarity ought to be excluded from all the privileges of human nature, and hunted down as wild beasts without pity or cessation. What infamy ought those powers to incur who employ and encourage such ruthless barbarians!

between the rivers Warta and that village. Immediately after the battle, General Fermer,* who had received a slight wound in the action, sent a trumpet, with a letter to Lieutenant-General Dolna, desiring a suspension of arms for two or three days to bury the dead, and take care of the wounded; and presenting to his Prussian majesty the humble request of General Browne, who was much weakened with the loss of blood, that he might have a passport, by virtue of which he could be removed to a place where he should find such accommodation as his situation required. In answer to this message, Count Dolna gave the Russian general to understand, that as his Prussian majesty remained master of the field, he would give the necessary orders for interring the dead, and taking care of the wounded on both sides: he refused a suspension of arms, but granted the request of General Browne; and concluded his letter by complaining of the outrages which the Russian troops still continued to commit, in pillaging and burning the king's villages.

The King of Prussia had no sooner repulsed the enemy in one quarter, than his presence was required in another. When he quitted Bohemia, Mareschal Daun, at the head of the Austrian army, and the Prince de Deuxpouts, who commanded the forces of the empire, advanced to the Elbe, in order to surround the king's brother Prince Henry, who, without immediate succour, would not have been able to preserve his footing in Saxony. The Prussian monarch, therefore, determined to support him with all possible expedition. In a few days after the battle, he began his march from Custrin with a reinforcement of twenty-four battalions and a great part of his cavalry, and pursued his route with such unwearied diligence, that by the fifth day of September he reached Torgau, and on the eleventh joined his brother. Mareschal Daun had posted himself at Stolpen, to the eastward of the Elbe, in order to preserve an easy communication with the army of the empire encamped in the neighbourhood of Koningstein, to favour the operations of General Laudohn, who had advanced through the Lower Lusatia to the frontiers of Brandenburg; to make a diversion from the southern parts of Silesia, where a body of Austrian troops acted under the command of the Generals Harache

And is defeated by the Austrians at Hochkirchen.

* General Fermer was of Scottish extract, and General Browne actually a native of North Britain.

and De Ville; and to interrupt the communication between Prince Henry and the capital of Saxony. On the fifth day of September, the garrison in the strong fortress of Koningstein surrendered themselves prisoners of war, after a very feeble resistance, to the Prince de Deuxponts, who forthwith took possession of the strong camp at Pirna. When the King of Prussia, therefore, arrived at Dresden, he found the army of the empire in this position, and Marechal Daun in a still stronger situation at Stolpen, with bridges of communication thrown over the Elbe, so that he could not attack them with any prospect of advantage. He had no other resolution to take but that of endeavouring to cut them off from supplies of provision, and with this view he marched to Bautzen, which he occupied. This motion obliged the Austrian general to quit his camp at Stolpen, but he chose another of equal strength at Libau: yet he afterwards advanced to Rittlitz, that he might be at hand to seize the first favourable occasion of executing the resolution he had formed to attack the Prussians. The king having detached General Ratzow on his left, to take possession of Weissenberg, marched forwards with the body of his army, and posted himself in the neighbourhood of Hochkirchen, after having dislodged the Austrians from that village. Matters were now brought to such a delicate crisis, that a battle seemed inevitable, and equally desired by both parties, as an event that would determine whether the Austrians should be obliged to retreat for winter quarters into Bohemia, or be enabled to maintain their ground in Saxony. In this situation Mareschal Daun resolved to act offensively; and formed a scheme for attacking the right flank of the Prussians by surprise. This measure was suggested to him by an oversight of the Prussians, who had neglected to occupy the heights that commanded the village of Hochkirchen, which was only guarded by a few free companies. He determined to take the advantage of a very dark night, and to employ the flower of the whole army on this important service, well knowing, that should they penetrate through the flank of the enemy, the whole Prussian army would be disconcerted, and in all probability entirely ruined. Having taken his measures with wonderful secrecy and circumspection, the troops began to move in the night between the thirteenth and fourteenth of October, favoured by a thick fog, which greatly increased the dark-

ness of the night. Their first care was to take possession of the hill that commanded Hochkirchen, from whence they poured down upon the village, of which they took possession, after having cut in pieces the free companies posted there. The action began in this quarter about four in the morning, and continued several hours with great fury; for notwithstanding the impetuous efforts of the Austrian troops and the confusion occasioned among the Prussians by the surprise, a vigorous stand was made by some general officers who, with admirable expedition and presence of mind, assembled and arranged the troops as they could take to their arms, and led them up to the attack without distinction of regiment, place, or precedence. While the action was obstinately and desperately maintained in this place, amidst all the horrors of darkness, carnage, and confusion, the king being alarmed, exerted all his personal activity, address, and recollection, in drawing regularity from disorder, arranging the different corps, altering positions, reinforcing weak posts, encouraging the soldiery, and opposing the efforts of the enemy; for although they made their chief impression upon the right, by the village of Hochkirchen Mareschal Daun, in order to divide the attention of the king made another attack upon the left, which was with difficulty sustained, and effectually prevented him from sending reinforcements to the right, where Mareschal Keith, under the greatest disadvantages, bore the brunt of the enemy's chief endeavours. Thus the battle raged till nine in the morning, when this gallant officer was shot through the heart. Prince Francis of Brunswick had met with the same fate: Prince Maurice of Anhalt was wounded and taken prisoner, and many others were either slain or disabled. As the right wing had been surprised, the tents continued standing, and greatly embarrassed them in their defence. The soldiers had never been properly drawn up in order the enemy still persevered in their attack with successive reinforcements and redoubled resolution; and a considerable slaughter was made by their artillery, which they had brought up to the heights of Hochkirchen. All these circumstances concurring could not fail to increase the confusion and disaster of the Prussians: so that about ten the king was obliged to retire to Dobreschutz, with the loss of seven thousand men, of all his tents, and part of his baggage. Nor had the Austrian general much cause

to boast of his victory. His loss of men was pretty nearly equal to that of the Prussian monarch; and whatever reputation he might have acquired in foiling that enterprising prince, certainly his design did not take effect in its full extent, for the Prussians were next day in a condition to hazard another engagement. The King of Prussia had sustained no damage which he could not easily repair, except the death of Mareschal Keith, which was doubtless an irreparable misfortune.^p

^p As very little notice was taken in the detail, published by authority, of any part which this great man acted in the battle of Hochkirchen, and a report was industriously circulated in this kingdom, that he was surprised in his tent, naked, and half asleep, we think it the duty of a candid historian to vindicate his memory and reputation from the foul aspersion thrown by the perfidious and illiberal hand of envious malice, or else contrived to screen some other character from the imputation of misconduct. This task we are enabled to perform by a gentleman of candour and undoubted credit, who learned the following particulars at Berlin, from a person that was eye-witness of the whole transaction. Field-Mareschal Keith, who arrived in the camp the very day that preceded the battle, disapproved of the situation of the Prussian army, and remonstrated to the king on that subject. In consequence of his advice, a certain general was sent with a detachment to take possession of the heights that commanded the village of Hochkirchen; but by some fatality he miscarried. Mareschal Keith was not in any tent, but lodged with Prince Francis of Brunswick, in a house belonging to a Saxon major. When the first alarm was given in the night, he instantly mounted his horse, assembled a body of the nearest troops, and marched directly to the place that was attacked. The Austrians had taken possession of the hill which the Prussian officer was sent to occupy, and thither they fortified with cannon; then they made themselves masters of the village in which the free companies of Anginelli had been posted. Mareschal Keith immediately conceived the design of the Austrian general, and knowing the importance of this place, thither directed all his efforts. He in person led on the troops to the attack of the village, from whence he drove the enemy; but being overpowered by numbers continually pouring down from the hills, he was obliged to retire in his turn. He rallied his men, returned to the charge, and regained possession of the place: being again repulsed by fresh reinforcements of the enemy, he made another effort, entered the village a third time, and finding it untenable, ordered it to be set on fire. Thus he kept the Austrians at bay, and maintained a desperate conflict against the flower of the Austrian army, from four in the morning till nine, when the Prussians were formed, and began to file off in their retreat. During the whole dispute he rallied his troops in person, charged at their head, and exposed his life in the hottest of the dreadful fire, like a private captain of grenadiers. He found it necessary to exert himself in this manner, the better to remove the bad effects of the confusion that prevailed, and in order to inspire the troops to their utmost exertion by his voice, presence, and example. Even when dangerously wounded, at eight in the morning, he refused to quit the field; but continued to signalize himself in the midst of the carnage until nine, when he received a second shot in his breast, and fell speechless into the arms of Mr. Tibay, an English volunteer, who had attended him during the whole campaign. This gentleman, who was likewise wounded, applied to a Prussian officer for a file of men to remove the mareschal, being uncertain whether he was entirely deprived of life. His request was granted, but the soldiers, in advancing to the spot, were countermanded by another officer. He afterwards spoke on the same subject to one of the Prussian generals, a German prince, as he chanced to pass on horseback; when Mr. Tibay told him the field-mareschal was lying wounded on the field: he asked if his wounds were mortal; and the other answering he was afraid they were, the prince shrugged up his shoulders, and rode off without further question. The body of this great officer, being thus shamefully abandoned, was soon stripped by the Austrian stragglers, and lay exposed and undistinguished on the field of battle. In this situation it was perceived by Count Laszi, son to the general of that name, with whom Mareschal Keith had served in Russia. This young count had been the mareschal's pupil, and revered him as his military father, though employed in the Austrian service. He recognised the body by the large scar of a dangerous wound, which General Keith had received in his thigh at the siege of Oczakow, and could not help bursting into tears to see his honoured master thus extended at his feet, a naked, lifeless, and deserted corpse. He forthwith caused the

His Prussian majesty remained with his army ten days at Heintzsch Dobreschutz, during which he endeavoured to bring the Austrians to a second engagement; but Count Daun declined the invitation, and kept his forces advantageously posted on eminences planted with artillery. His aim having been frustrated at Hochkirchen, where he fought with many advantages on his side, he would not hazard another battle, upon equal terms, with such an enterprising enemy, rendered more vigilant by the check he had received, already reinforced from the army of Prince Henry, and eager for an opportunity to retrieve the laurel which had been snatched from him by the wiles of stratagem, rather than by the hand of valour. Count Daun, having nothing more to hope from the active operations of his own army, contented himself with amusing the Prussian monarch in Lusatia, while the Austrian generals, Harsche and De Ville, should prosecute the reduction of Neiss and Cosel in Silesia, which they now actually invested. As the Prussian monarch could not spare detachments to oppose every different corps of his enemies that acted against him in different parts of his dominions, he resolved to make up in activity what he wanted in number, and, if possible, to raise the siege of Neiss in person. With this view he decamped from Dobreschutz, and, in sight of the enemy, marched to Gorlitz, without the least interruption. From thence he proceeded towards Silesia with his usual expedition, notwithstanding all the endeavours and activity of General Laudohn, who harassed the rear of the Prussians, and gained some petty advantages over them. Count Daun not only sent his detached corps to retard them in their march; but at the same time, by another route, detached a strong reinforcement to the army of the besiegers. In the mean time, having received intelligence that the army of Prince Henry in Saxony was considerably weakened, he himself marched thither, in hopes of expelling the prince from that country, and reducing the capital in the king's absence. Indeed, his designs were still more extensive, for he proposed to reduce Dresden, Leipsic, and Torgau at the same time; the first

body to be covered and interred. It was afterwards taken up and decently buried by the curate of Hochkirchen; and finally removed to Berlin by order of the King of Prussia, who bestowed upon it those funeral honours that were due to the dignified rank and transcendent merit of the deceased, merit so universally acknowledged, that even the Saxons lamented him as their best friend and patron, who protected them from violence and outrage, even while he acted a principal part in subjecting them to the dominion of his sovereign.

with the main body under his own direction, the second by the army of the empire under the Prince de Deuxponts, and the third by a corps under General Haddick, while the forces directed by Laudohn should exclude the king from Lusatia. In execution of this plan he marched directly to the Elbe, which he passed at Pirna, and advanced to Dresden, which he hoped would surrender without putting him to the trouble of a formal siege. The army of Prince Henry had already retired to the westward of this capital before the Prince de Deuxponts, who had found means to cut off his communication with Leipsic, and even invested that city. During these transactions, General Haddick advanced against Torgau.

The Field-Mareschal Count Daun appearing on the sixth day of November within sight of Dresden, at the head of sixty thousand men, encamped the next day at Lockowitz, and on the eighth his advanced troops attacked the Prussian hussars and independent battalions, which were posted at Striessen and Gruene-
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wiese. Count Schmettau, who commanded the garrison, amounting to ten thousand men, apprehensive that, in the course of skirmishing, the Austrian troops might enter the suburbs pellmell, posted Colonel Itzenplitz, with seven hundred men, in the redoubts that surrounded the suburbs, that in case of emergency they might support the irregulars: at the same time, as the houses that constituted the suburbs were generally so high as to overlook the ramparts, and command the city, he prepared combustibles, and gave notice to the magistrates that they would be set on fire as soon as an Austrian should appear within the place. This must have been a dreadful declaration to the inhabitants of these suburbs, which compose one of the most elegant towns in Europe. In these houses, which were generally lofty and magnificent, the fashionable and wealthy class of people resided, and here a number of artists carried on a variety of curious manufactures. In vain the magistrates implored the mercy and forbearance of the Prussian governor, and represented, in the most submissive strain, that as they were unconcerned in the war, they hoped they should be exempted from the horrors of devastation. In vain the royal family, who remained at Dresden, conjured him to spare that last refuge of distressed royalty, and allow them at least a secure residence, since they were deprived of every other comfort.

He continued inflexible, or rather determined to execute the orders of his master, which indeed he could not disobey with any regard to his own safety. On the ninth day of November, about noon, the Austrian vanguard attacked the advanced post of the garrison, repelled the hussars, drove the independent battalions into the suburbs, and forced three of the redoubts, while their cannon played upon the town. The governor, expecting a vigorous attack the next day, recalled his troops within the city, after they had set fire to the suburbs. At three in the morning, the signal was made for this terrible conflagration, which in a little time reduced to ashes the beautiful suburbs of Pirna, which had so lately flourished as the seat of gaiety, pleasure, and the ingenious arts. Every bosom warmed with benevolence must be affected at the recital of such calamities. It excites not only our compassion for the unhappy sufferers, but also our resentment against the perpetrators of such enormity. Next day Mareschal Daun sent an officer to Count Schmettau, with a message, expressing his surprise at the destruction of the suburbs in a royal residence, an act of inhumanity unheard of among Christians. He desired to know if it was by the governor's order this measure was taken; and assured him, that he should be responsible in his person for whatever outrages had been or might be committed against a place in which a royal family resided. Schmettau gave him to understand that he had orders to defend the town to the last extremity, and that the preservation of what remained depended entirely on the conduct of his excellency; for, should he think proper to attack the place, he (the governor) would defend himself from house to house, and from street to street, and even make his last effort in the royal palace, rather than abandon the city. He excused the destruction of the suburbs as a necessary measure, authorised by the practice of war; but he would have found it a difficult task to reconcile this step to the laws of eternal justice, and far less to the dictates of common humanity. Indeed, if the scene had happened in an enemy's country, or if no other step could have saved the lives and liberties of himself and his garrison, such a desperate remedy might have stood excused by the law of nature and of nations: but on this occasion he occupied a neutral city, over which he could exercise no other power and authority but that which he derived from illegal force and violence; nor was he at all reduced to the necessity of

sacrificing the place to his own safety, inasmuch as he might have retired un molested, by virtue of an honourable capitulation, which however he did not demand. Whether the peremptory order of a superior will, *in foro conscientia*, justify an officer who hath committed an illegal or inhuman action, is a question that an English reader will scarce leave to the determination of a German casuist, with one hundred and fifty thousand armed men in his retinue. Be this as it will, Mr. Ponickau, the Saxon minister, immediately after this tragedy was acted, without waiting for his master's orders, presented a memorial to the diet of the empire, complaining of it as an action reserved for the history of the war which the King of Prussia had kindled in Germany, to be transmitted to future ages. He affirmed that, in execution of Schmettau's orders, the soldiers had dispersed themselves in the streets of the Pirna and Witten suburbs, broke open the houses and shops, set fire to the combustibles, added fresh fuel, and then shut the doors; that the violence of the flames was kept up by red-hot balls fired into the houses, and along the streets; that the wretched inhabitants, who forsook their burning houses, were slain by the fire of the cannon and small arms; that those who endeavoured to save their persons and effects were pushed down and destroyed by the bayonets of the Prussian soldiers posted in the streets for that purpose: he enumerated particular instances of inhuman barbarity, and declared that a great number of people perished, either amidst the flames, or under the ruins of the houses. The destruction of two hundred and fifty elegant houses, and the total ruin of the inhabitants, were circumstances in themselves so deplorable as to need no aggravation; but the account of the Saxon minister was shamefully exaggerated, and all the particular instances of cruelty false in every circumstance. Baron Plotho, the minister of Brandenburg, did not fail to answer every article of the Saxon memorial, and refute the particulars therein alleged, in a fair detail, authenticated by certificates under the hands of the magistrates, judges, and principal inhabitants of Dresden. The most extraordinary part of this defence or vindication was the conclusion, in which the baron solemnly assured the diet, that the King of Prussia, from his great love to mankind, always felt the greatest emotion of soul, and the most exquisite concern, at the effusion of blood, the devastation of cities and countries, and the

horrors of war, by which so many thousand fellow-creatures were overwhelmed; and that if his sincere and honest inclination to procure peace to Germany, his dear country, had met with the least regard, the present war, attended with such bloodshed and desolation, would have been prevented and avoided. He therefore declared, that those who excited the present troubles, who, instead of extinguishing, threw oil upon the flames, must answer to God for the seas of blood that had been and would be shed, for the devastation of so many countries, and the entire ruin of so many innocent individuals. Such declarations cost nothing to those hardened politicians, who, feeling no internal check, are determined to sacrifice every consideration to the motives of rapacity and ambition. It would be happy, however, for mankind, were princes taught to believe, that there is really an omnipotent and all-judging Power, that will exact a severe account of their conduct, and punish them for their guilt, without any respect to their persons; that pillaging a whole people is more cruel than robbing a single person; and that the massacre of thousands is, at least, as criminal as a private murder.

While Count Daun was employed in making a fruitless attempt upon the capital of Saxony, the King of Prussia proceeded in his march to Neiss, which was completely invested on the third day of October. The operations of the siege were carried on with great vigour by the Austrian general, De Harsche, and the place was as vigorously defended by the Prussian governor Theskau, till the first day of November, when the Prussian monarch approached, and obliged the besiegers to abandon their enterprise. M. de Harsche having raised the siege, the king detached General Fouquet with a body of troops across the river Neiss, and immediately the blockade of Cosel was likewise abandoned. De Harsche retired to Bohemia, and De Ville hovered about Jagernsdorf. The fortress of Neiss was no sooner relieved, than the King of Prussia began his march on his return to Saxony, where his immediate presence was required. At the same time, the two bodies under the Generals Dohna and Wedel penetrated by different routes into that country. The former had been left at Custrin, to watch the motions of the Russians, who had by this time retreated to the Vistula, and even crossed that river at Thorn; and the other had, during the cam-

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paign, observed the Swedes, who had now entirely evacuated the Prussian territories, so that Wedel was at liberty to co-operate with the king in Saxony. He accordingly marched to Torgau, the siege of which had been undertaken by the Austrian general Haddick, who was repulsed by Wedel, and even pursued to the neighbourhood of Eukenburg. Wedel, being afterwards joined by Dohna, drove him from thence with considerable loss, and then raised the siege of Leipsic. Meanwhile, the king prosecuted his march towards the capital of Saxony, driving before him the body of Austrian troops under Laudohn, who retreated to Zittau. On the tenth day of November, Count Daun retired from Dresden, and with the army of the empire fell back towards Bohemia; and on the twentieth the king arrived in that city, where he approved of the governor's conduct. The Russian general, foreseeing that he should not be able to maintain his ground during the winter in Pomerania, unless he could secure some sea-port on the Baltic, by which he might be supplied with provisions, detached General Palmbach, with fifteen thousand men, to besiege the town of Colberg, an inconsiderable place, very meanly fortified. It was accordingly invested on the third day of October; but the besiegers were either so ill provided with proper implements, or so little acquainted with operations of this nature, that the garrison, though feeble, maintained the place against all their attacks for six-and-twenty days; at the expiration of which they abandoned their enterprise, and cruelly ravaged the open country in their retreat. Thus, by the activity and valour of the Prussian monarch, his generals and officers, six sieges were raised almost at the same period, namely, those of Colberg, Neiss, Cosel, Torgau, Leipsic, and Dresden.

The variety of fortune which the King of Prussia experienced in the course of this campaign was very remarkable; but the spirit of his conduct and the rapidity of his motions were altogether without example. In the former campaign we were dazzled with the lustre of his victories; in this we admire his fortitude and skill in stemming the different torrents of adversity, and rising superior to his evil fortune. One can hardly without astonishment recollect, that in the course of a few months he invaded Moravia, invested Olnutz, and was obliged to relinquish that design; that he marched through an enemy's country, in the face of a great army, which, though it

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of Saxony
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harassed him in his retreat, could not, in a route of a hundred miles, obtain any advantage over him; that in spite of his disaster at Olmutz, and the difficulties of such a march, he penetrated into Bohemia, drove the enemy from Koningsgratz, executed another dangerous and fatiguing march to the Oder, defeated a great army of Russians, and returned by the way of Saxony, from whence he drove the Austrian and imperial armies; that after his defeat at Hochkirchen, where he lost two of his best generals, and was obliged to leave his tents standing, he baffled the vigilance and superior number of the victorious army, rushed like a whirlwind to the relief of Silesia, invaded by an Austrian army, which he compelled to retire with precipitation from that province; that, with the same rapidity of motion, he wheeled about to Saxony, and once more rescued it from the hands of his adversaries; that in one campaign he made twice the circuit of his dominions, relieved them all in their turns, and kept all his possessions entire against the united efforts of numerous armies, conducted by generals of consummate skill and undaunted resolution. His character would have been still more complete, if his moderation had been equal to his courage; but in this particular we cannot applaud his conduct. Incensed by the persecuting spirit of his enemies, he wreaked his vengeance on those who had done him no injury; and the cruelties which the Russians had committed in his dominions were retaliated upon the unfortunate inhabitants of Saxony. In the latter end of September the president of the Prussian military directory sent a letter to the magistrates of Leipsic, requiring them, in the king's name, to pay a new contribution of six hundred thousand crowns, and to begin immediately with the payment of one third part, on pain of military execution. In answer to this demand, the magistrates represented that the city having been exhausted by the enormous contributions already raised, was absolutely incapable of furnishing further supplies; that the trade was stagnated and ruined, and the inhabitants so impoverished, that they could no longer pay the ordinary taxes. This remonstrance made no impression. At five in the morning the Prussian soldiers assembled, and were posted in all the streets, squares, market-places, cemeteries, towers, and steeples; then the gates being shut, in order to exclude the populace of the suburbs from the city, the senators were brought into the town-hall,

and accosted by General Hauss, who told them, the king his master would have money; and if they refused to part with it, the city should be plundered. To this peremptory address they replied to this effect:—"We have no more money; we have nothing left but life; and we recommend ourselves to the king's mercy." In consequence of this declaration, dispositions were made for giving up the city to be plundered. Cannon were planted in all the streets, the inhabitants were ordered to remain within doors, and every house resounded with dismal cries and lamentations. The dreadful pillage, however, was converted into a regular exaction. A party of soldiers, commanded by a subaltern, went from house to house, signifying to every bawler that he should produce all his specie, on pain of immediate pillage and massacre; and every inhabitant delivered up his all without further hesitation. About six in the evening, the soldiers returned to their quarters; but the magistrates were detained in confinement, and all the citizens were overwhelmed with grief and consternation. Happy Britain, who knowest such grievances only by report! When the King of Prussia first entered Saxony, at the beginning of the war, he declared he had no design to make a conquest of that electorate, but only to keep it as a depositum for the security of his own dominions, until he could oblige his enemies to acquiesce in reasonable terms of peace; but upon his last arrival at Dresden, he adopted a new resolution. In the beginning of December, the Prussian directory of war issued a decree to the deputies of the states of the electorate, demanding a certain quantity of flour and forage, according to the convention formerly settled; at the same time signifying, that though the King of Prussia had hitherto treated the electorate as a country taken under his special protection, the face of affairs was now changed in such a manner, that for the future he would consider it in no other light than that of a conquered country. The Russians had seized in Prussia all the estates and effects belonging to the king's officers: a retaliation was now made upon the effects of the Saxon officers, who served in the Russian army. Seals were put on all the cabinets containing papers belonging to the privy-councillors of his Polish majesty, and they themselves ordered to depart for Warsaw at a very short warning. Though the city had been impoverished by former exactions, and very lately subjected to military execution, the King of

Prussia demanded fresh contributions, and even extorted them by dint of severities that shock humanity. He surrounded the exchange with soldiers, and confining the merchants to straw-beds and naked apartments, obliged them to draw bills for very large sums on their foreign correspondents: a method of proceeding much more suitable to the despotism of a Persian sophi towards a conquered people who professed a different faith, than reconcilable to the character of a Protestant prince towards a peaceable nation of brethren, with whom he was connected by the common ties of neighbourhood and religion. Even if they had acted as declared enemies, and been subdued with arms in their hands, the excesses of war on the side of the conqueror ought to have ceased with the hostilities of the conquered, who, by submitting to his sway, would have become his subjects, and in that capacity had a claim to his protection. To retaliate upon the Saxons, who had espoused no quarrel, the barbarities committed by the Russians, with whom he was actually at war; and to treat as a conquered province a neutral country, which his enemies had entered by violence, and been obliged to evacuate by force of arms, was a species of conduct founded on pretences which overturn all right, and confound all reason.

Having recorded all the transactions of the campaign, except those in which the Swedes were concerned, it now remains that we should particularize the progress which was made in Pomerania by the troops of that nation, under the command of Count Hamilton. We have already observed, that in the beginning of the year the Prussian general, Lehwald, had compelled them to evacuate the whole province, except Stralsund, which was likewise invested. This, in all probability, would have been besieged in form, had not Lehwald resigned the command of the Prussians, on account of his great age and infirmities, and his successor Count Dolna been obliged to withdraw his troops, in order to oppose the Russian army on the other side of Pomerania. The blockade of Stralsund being consequently raised, and that part of the country entirely evacuated by the Prussians, the Swedish troops advanced again from the isle of Rugen, to which they had retired; but the supplies and reinforcements they expected from Stockholm were delayed in such a manner, either from a deficiency in the subsidies promised by France, or from the management

Progress of
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of those who were averse to the war, that great part of the season was elapsed before they undertook any important enterprise. Indeed, while they lay encamped under the cannon of Stralsund, waiting for these supplies, their operations were retarded by the explosion of a whole ship-load of gunpowder intended for their use; an event imputed to the practices of the Prussian party in Sweden, which at this period seemed to gain ground, and even threatened a change in the ministry. At length the reinforcement arrived about the latter end of June, and their general seemed determined to act with vigour. In the beginning of July, his army being put in motion, he sent a detachment to dislodge the few Prussian troops that were left at Anclam, Demmin, and other places, to guard that frontier; and they retreated accordingly. Count Hamilton having nothing further to oppose him in the field, in a very little time recovered all Swedish Pomerania, and even made hot incursions into the Prussian territories. Meanwhile, a combined fleet of thirty-three Russian and seven Swedish ships of war appeared in the Baltic, and anchored between the islands of Dragoe and Amagh; but they neither landed troops, nor committed hostilities. The Swedish general advanced as far as Fehrbellin, sent out parties that raised contributions within five-and-twenty miles of Berlin, and threw the inhabitants of that capital into the utmost consternation. The King of Prussia, alarmed at their progress, despatched General Wedel from Dresden, with a body of troops that were augmented on their march; so that, on the twentieth of September, he found himself at Berlin with eleven thousand effective men, at the head of whom he proceeded against Count Hamilton, while the Prince of Bevern, with five thousand, advanced on the other side from Stetin. At their approach, the Swedish commander retired, after having left a garrison of fourteen hundred men at Fehrbellin, in order to retard the Prussians, and secure the retreat of his army. The place was immediately attacked by General Wedel; and though the Swedes disputed the ground from house to house with uncommon obstinacy, he at last drove them out of the town, with the loss of one half of their number either killed or taken prisoners. The body of the Swedish army, without hazarding any other action, immediately evacuated the Prussian territories, and returned to the neighbourhood of Stralsund, intending to take winter quarters in the isle of Rugen. Count

Hamilton, either disgusted at the restrictions he had been laid under, or finding himself unable to act in such a manner as might redound to the advantage of his reputation, threw up his command, retired from the army, and resigned all his other employments.

The King of Prussia was not only favoured by a considerable party in Sweden, but he had also raised a strong interest in Poland, among such Palatines as had always opposed the measures of the reigning family. These were now reinforced by many patriots, who dreaded the vicinity, and suspected the designs, of the Russian army. The diet of the republic was opened on the second day of November; and, after warm debates, M. Malachowski was unanimously elected mareschal: but no sooner had the chambers of nuncios begun their deliberations, than a number of voices were raised against the encroachments of the Russian troops, who had taken up their residence in Poland; and heavy complaints were made of the damages sustained from their cruelty and rapine. Great pains were taken to appease these clamours; and many were prevailed upon to prefer these grievances to the king in senate; but when this difficulty seemed almost surmounted, Padhorski, the nuncio of Volhinia, stood up and declared that he would not permit any other point to be discussed in the diet, while the Russians maintained the least footing within the territories of the republic. Vain were all the attempts of the courtiers to persuade and mollify this inflexible patriot; he solemnly protested against their proceedings, and hastily withdrew; so that the mareschal was obliged to dissolve the assembly, and recourse was had to a *senatus consilium*, to concert proper measures to be taken in the present conjuncture. The King of Poland was, on this occasion, likewise disappointed in his views of providing for his son, Prince Charles, in the duchy of Courland. He had been recommended by the court of Russia, and even approved by the states of that country; but two difficulties occurred. The states declared, they could not proceed to a new election during the life of their former duke, Count Biron, who was still alive, though a prisoner in Siberia, unless their duchy should be declared vacant by the king and republic of Poland; and, according to the laws of that country, no prince could be elected until he should have declared himself of the Augsburg con-

Prince
Charles of
Sweden
elected
Duke of
Courland.

fession. His Polish majesty, however, being determined to surmount all obstacles to his son's interest, ordered Count Malachowski, high chancellor of Poland, to deliver to Prince Charles a diploma, by which the king granted permission to the states of Courland to elect that prince for their duke, and appointed the day for his election and instalment; which accordingly took place in the month of January, notwithstanding the clamour of many Polish grandees, who persisted in affirming that the king had no power to grant such permission without the consent of the diet. The vicissitudes of the campaign had produced no revolutions in the several systems adopted by the different powers in Europe. The czarina, who in the month of June had signified her sentiments and designs against the King of Prussia, in a declaration delivered to all the foreign ministers at Petersburg, seemed now, more than ever, determined to act vigorously in behalf of the Empress-Queen of Hungary and the unfortunate King of Poland, who still resided at Warsaw. The court of Vienna distributed among the imperial ministers at the several courts of the empire copies of a rescript, explaining the conduct of her generals since the beginning of the campaign, and concluding with expressions of self-approbation to this effect: "Though the issue of the campaign be not as yet entirely satisfactory, and such as might be desired, the imperial court enjoys, at least, the sincere satisfaction of reflecting, that, according to the change of circumstances, it instantly took the most vigorous resolutions; that it was never deficient in any thing that might contribute to the good of the common cause, and is now employed in making preparations, from which the most happy consequences may be expected."

We have already hinted at a decree of the Aulic council of the empire, published in the month of August, enjoining all directors of circles, all imperial towns, and the noblesse of the empire, to transmit to Vienna an exact list of all those who had disobeyed the avocatoria of the empire, and adhered to the rebellion raised by the Elector of Brandenburg; that their revenues might be sequestered, and themselves punished in their honours, persons, and effects. As the Elector of Hanover was plainly pointed out, and, indeed, expressly mentioned in this decree, the King of Great Britain, by the hands of Baron Gemmegen, his electoral minister, presented a memorial to the diet of

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the diet of
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the empire in the month of November, enumerating the instances in which he had exerted himself, and even exposed his life, for the preservation and aggrandisement of the house of Austria. In return for these important services, he observed, that the empress-queen had refused him the assistance stipulated in treaties against an invasion planned by France, whose hatred he had drawn upon himself by his friendship to that princess; and his imperial majesty even denied him the dictatorial letters which he solicited: that the court of Vienna had signed a treaty with the crown of France, in which it was stipulated that the French troops should pass the Weser, and invade the electorate of Hanover, where they were joined by the troops of the empress-queen, who ravaged his Britannic majesty's dominions with greater cruelty than even the French had practised; and the same Duke of Cumberland, who had been wounded at Dettingen, in the defence of her imperial majesty, was obliged to fight at Hastenbeck against the troops of that very princess, in defence of his father's dominions; that she sent commissaries to Hanover, who shared with the crown of France the contributions extorted from that electorate; rejected all proposals of peace, and dismissed from her court the minister of Brunswick-Lunenbourg: that his imperial majesty, who had sworn to protect the empire, and oppose the entrance of foreign troops destined to oppress any of the states of Germany, afterwards required the King of England to withdraw his troops from the countries which they occupied, that the French army might again have free passage into his German dominions: that the emperor had recalled these troops, released them from their allegiance to their sovereign, enjoined them to abandon their posts, their colours, and the service in which they were embarked, on pain of being punished in body, honour, and estate; and that the King of England himself was threatened with the ban of the empire. He took notice that, in quality of elector, he had been accused of refusing to concur with the resolutions of the diet taken in the preceding year, of entering into alliance with the King of Prussia, joining his troops to the armies of that prince, employing auxiliaries belonging to the states of the empire, sending English forces into Germany, where they had taken possession of Embden, and exacting contributions in different parts of Germany. In answer to these imputations, he alleged that he could not, consistent with his own safety, or the dic-

tates of common sense, concur with a majority in joining his troops, which were immediately necessary for his own defence, to those which, from the arbitrary views of the court of Vienna, were led against his friend and ally, the King of Prussia, by a prince who did not belong to the generality of the empire, and on whom the command had been conferred, without a previous consensum of the Germanic body; that, with respect to his alliance with the King of Prussia, he had a right, when deserted by his former allies, to seek assistance wheresoever it could be procured: and surely no just ground of complaint could be offered against that which his Prussian majesty lent, to deliver the electoral states of Brunswick, as well as those of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, Hesse, and Buckebourg, from the oppressions of their common enemy. Posterity, he said, would hardly believe, that at a time when the troops of Austria, the Palatinate, and Wirtemberg, were engaged to invade the countries of the empire, other members of the Germanic body, who employed auxiliaries in their defence, should be threatened with outlawry and sequestration. He owned that, in quality of king, he had sent over English troops to Germany, and taken possession of Embden: steps for which he was accountable to no power upon earth, although the constitutions of the empire permit the co-estates to make use of foreign troops, not, indeed, for the purpose of invasion or conquest in Germany, but for their defence and preservation. He also acknowledged that he had resented the conduct, and chastised the injustice, of those co-estates who had assisted his enemies, and helped to ravage his dominions: inferring, that if the crown of France was free to pillage the estates of the Duke of Brunswick, and the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, because they had supplied the King of England with auxiliaries; if the empress-queen had a right to appropriate to herself half of the contributions raised by the French king in these countries; surely his Britannic majesty had an equal right to make those feel the burden of the war who had favoured the unjust enterprises of his enemies. He expressed his hope, that the diet, after having duly considered these circumstances, would, by way of advice, propose to his imperial majesty that he should annul his most inconsistent mandates, and not only take effectual measures to protect the electorate and its allies, but also give orders for commencing against the empress-queen, as Archduchess of Austria, the Elector

Palatine, and the Duke of Wirtemberg, such proceedings as she wanted to enforce against his Britannic majesty, Elector of Brunswick-Lunenbourg. For this purpose the minister now requested their excellencies to ask immediately the necessary instructions from their principals. The rest of this long memorial contained a justification of his Britannic majesty's conduct in deviating from the capitulation of Closter-Seven: with a refutation of the arguments adduced, and a retort of the reproaches levelled against the King of England, in the paper or manifesto composed and published under the direction of the French ministry, and entitled "A Parallel of the Conduct of the King of France with that of the King of England, relative to the Breach of the Capitulation of Closter-Seven by the Hanoverians." But to this invective a more circumstantial answer was published; in which, among other curious particulars, the letter of expostulation, said to have been written by the Prussian monarch to the King of Great Britain after the defeat at Colin, is treated as an infamous piece of forgery, produced by some venal pen employed to impose upon the public. The author also, in his endeavours to demonstrate his Britannic majesty's aversion to a continental war, very justly observes, that "none but such as are unacquainted with the maritime force of England can believe that, without a diversion on the continent, to employ part of the enemy's force, she is not in a condition to hope for success, and maintain her superiority at sea. England, therefore, had no interest to foment quarrels or wars in Europe; but, for the same reason, there was room to fear that France would embrace a different system: accordingly, she took no pains to conceal her views, and her envoys declared publicly, that a war upon the continent was inevitable; and that the king's dominions in Germany would be its principal object." He afterwards, in the course of his argumentation, adds, "that they must be very ignorant, indeed, who imagine that the forces of England are not able to resist those of France, unless the latter be hindered from turning all her efforts to the sea. In case of a war upon the continent the two powers must pay subsidies; only with this difference, that France can employ her own land-forces, and aspire at conquests." Such were the professed sentiments of the British ministry, founded upon eternal truth and demonstration, and openly avowed, when the business was to prove that it was not the interest of Great Britain to maintain a

war upon the continent; but, afterwards, when this continental war was eagerly espoused, fostered, and cherished by the blood and treasure of the English nation, then the partisans of that very ministry, which had thus declared that England, without any diversion on the continent of Europe, was an overmatch for France by sea, which may be termed the British element; then their partisans, their champions, declaimers, and dependents, were taught to rise in rebellion against their former doctrine, and, in defiance of common sense and reflection, affirm that a diversion in Germany was absolutely necessary to the successful issue of England's operations in Asia, Africa, and America. Notwithstanding all the facts and arguments assembled in this elaborate memorial, to expose the ingratitude of the empress-queen, and demonstrate the oppressive measures adopted by the imperial power, it remains to be proved, that the member of a community is not obliged to yield obedience to the resolutions taken, and the decrees published, by the majority of those who compose this community; especially when reinforced with the authority of the supreme magistrate, and not repugnant to the fundamental constitution on which that community was established.

If the empress-queen was not gratified to the extent of her wishes in the fortune of the campaign, at least her self-importance was flattered in another point, Death of
Pope
Benedict. which could not fail of being interesting to a princess famed for a glowing zeal and inviolable attachment to the religion of Rome. In the month of August the pope conferred upon her the title of Apostolic Queen of Hungary, conveyed by a brief, in which he extolled her piety, and launched out into retrospective eulogiums of her predecessors, the princes of Hungary, who had been always accustomed to fight and overcome for the Catholic faith under his holy banner. This compliment, however, she did not derive from the regard of Prosper Lambertini, who exercised the papal sway under the assumed name of Benedict XIV. That pontiff, universally esteemed for his good sense, moderation, and humanity, had breathed his last in the month of April, in the eighty-fourth year of his age; and in July was succeeded in the papacy by Cardinal Charles Rezzonico, Bishop of Padua, by birth a Venetian. He was formerly auditor of the rota; afterwards promoted to the purple by Pope Clement XII. at the nomination of the republic of Venice; was dis-

tinguished by the title of St. Maria d'Ara Coeli, the principal convent of the Cordeliers, and nominated Protector of the Pandours, or Illyrians. When he ascended the papal chair, he assumed the name of Clement XIII. in gratitude to the last of that name, who was his benefactor. Though of a disagreeable person, and even deformed in his body, he enjoyed good health, and a vigorous constitution. As an ecclesiastic, his life was exemplary; his morals were pure and unimpeached: in his character he is said to have been learned, diligent, steady, devout, and, in every respect, worthy to succeed such a predecessor as Benedict.

The King of Spain wisely persisted in reaping the advantages of a neutrality, notwithstanding the intrigues of the French partisans at the court of Madrid, who endeavoured to alarm his jealousy by the conquests which the English had projected in America. The King of Sardinia sagaciously kept aloof, resolving, in imitation of his predecessors, to maintain his power on a respectable footing, and be ready to seize all opportunities to extend and promote the interest of his crown, and the advantage of his country. As for the King of Portugal, he had prudently embraced the same system of forbearance; but, in the latter end of the season, his attention was engrossed by a domestic incident of a very extraordinary nature. Whether he had, by particular instances of severity, exasperated the minds of certain individuals, and exercised his dominion in such acts of arbitrary power as excited a general spirit of disaffection among his nobility; or, lastly, by the vigorous measures pursued against the encroaching Jesuits in Paraguay, and their correspondents in Portugal, had incurred the resentment of that society, we shall not pretend to determine: perhaps all these motives concurred in giving birth to a conspiracy against his life, which was actually executed at this juncture with the most desperate resolution. On the third day of September, the king, according to custom, going out in a carriage to take the air, accompanied by one domestic, was, in the night, at a solitary place near Belcm, attacked by three men on horseback, armed with muskets, one of whom fired his piece at the coachman without effect. The man, however, terrified both on his own account and that of his sovereign's, drove the mules at full speed; a circumstance which, in some measure, disconcerted the other two conspirators, who pursued him at full gallop, and having no leisure to take aim, dis-

King of
Portugal
assassin-
ated.

charged their pieces at random through the back of the carriage. The slugs with which they were loaded happened to pass between the king's right arm and his breast, dilacerating the parts from the shoulder to the elbow, but without damaging the bone, or penetrating into the cavity of the body. Finding himself grievously wounded, and the blood flowing apace, he, with such presence of mind as cannot be sufficiently admired, instead of proceeding to the palace, which was at some distance, ordered the coachman to return to Junqueria, where his principal surgeon resided, and there his wounds were immediately dressed. By this resolution, he not only prevented the irreparable mischief that might have arisen from an excessive effusion of blood; but, without all doubt, saved his life from the hands of other assassins, posted on the road to accomplish the regicide, in case he should escape alive from the first attack. This instance of the king's recollection was magnified into a miracle, on a supposition that it must have been the effect of divine inspiration; and, indeed, among a people addicted to superstition, might well pass for a favourable interposition of Providence. The king, being thus disabled in his right arm, issued a decree, investing the queen with the absolute power of government. In the mean time, no person had access to his presence but herself, the first minister, the Cardinal de Saldanha, the physicians, and surgeons. An embargo was immediately laid on all the shipping in the port of Lisbon. Rewards were publicly offered, together with the promise of pardon to the accomplices, for detecting any of the assassins; and such other measures used, that in a little time the whole conspiracy was discovered: a conspiracy the more dangerous, as it appeared to have been formed by persons of the first quality and influence. The Duke de Aveiro, of the family of Mascarenhas; the Marquis de Tavora, who had been viceroy of Goa, and now actually enjoyed the commission of general of the horse; the Count de Attougui, the Marquis de Alloria, together with their wives, children, and whole families, were arrested immediately after the assassination, as principals in the design; and many other accomplices, including some Jesuits, were apprehended in the sequel. The further proceedings on this mysterious affair, with the fate of the conspirators, will be particularized among the transactions of the following year. At present it will be sufficient to observe that the king's wounds were attended with no bad

consequences; nor did the imprisonment of those noblemen produce any disturbance in the kingdom.

The domestic occurrences of France were tissue^d with a continuation of the disputes between the Parliaments and clergy, touching the bull Unigenitus. In vain the king had interposed his authority: first proposing an accommodation; then commanding the Parliament to forbear taking cognizance of a religious contest, which did not fall under their jurisdiction; and, thirdly, banishing their persons, and abrogating their power. He afterwards found it necessary to the peace of his dominions to recall and reinstate those venerable patriots; and being convinced of the intolerable insolence and turbulent spirit of the Archbishop of Paris, had exiled that prelate in his turn. He was no sooner re-admitted to his function, than he resumed his former conduct, touching the denial of the sacraments to those who refused to acknowledge the bull Unigenitus: he even acted with redoubled zeal; intrigued with the other prelates; caballed among the inferior clergy; and not only revived, but augmented, the troubles throughout the whole kingdom. Bishops, curates, and monks presumed to withhold spiritual consolation from persons in extremity, and were punished by the civil power. Other Parliaments of the kingdom followed the example exhibited by that of Paris, in asserting their authority and privileges. The king commanded them to desist, on pain of incurring his indignation; they remonstrated, and persevered; while the archbishop repeated his injunctions and censures, and continued to inflame the dispute to such a dangerous degree, that he was given to understand he should be again obliged to quit the capital, if he did not proceed with more moderation. But the chief care of the French ministry was employed in regulating the finances, and establishing funds of credit for raising money to pay subsidies, and maintain the war in Europe and America. In the course of this year they had not only considerably reinforced their armies in Germany, but made surprising efforts to supply the colony of Canada with troops, artillery, stores, and ammunition, for its defence against the operations of the British forces, which greatly outnumbered the French upon the continent. The court of Versailles practised every stratagem to elude the vigilance of the English cruisers. The ships destined for America they detached, both single and in convoys, sometimes from

the Mediterranean, sometimes from their harbours in the channel. They assembled transports in one port, in order to withdraw the attention of their enemies from another, where their convoys lay ready for sailing; and in boisterous weather, when the English could no longer block up their harbours, their store-ships came forth, and hazarded the voyage, for the relief of their American settlements. Those that had the good fortune to arrive on the coast of that continent were obliged to have recourse to different expedients for escaping the British squadrons stationed at Halifax, or cruising in the bay of St. Lawrence. They either ventured to navigate the river before it was clear of the ice, so early in the spring, that the enemy had not yet quitted the harbour of Nova Scotia; or they waited on the coast of Newfoundland for such thick fogs as might screen them from the notice of the English cruisers, in sailing up the gulf; or, lastly, they penetrated through the Straits of Belleisle, a dangerous passage, which, however, led them directly into the river St. Lawrence, at a considerable distance above the station of the British squadron. Though the French navy was by this time so reduced, that it could neither face the English at sea, nor furnish proper convoys for commerce, her ministry nevertheless attempted to alarm the subjects of Great Britain with the project of an invasion. Flat-bottomed boats were built, transports collected, large ships of the line equipped, and troops ordered to assemble on the coast for embarkation; but this was no more than a feint to arouse the apprehension of the English, disconcert the administration, prejudice the national credit, and deter the government from sending forces to keep alive the war in Germany. A much more effectual method they took to distress the trade of England, by laying up their useless ships of war, and encouraging the equipment of stout privateers, which did considerable damage to the commerce of Great Britain and Ireland, by cruising in the seas of Europe and America. Some of them lay close in the harbours of the channel, fronting the coast of England, and darted out occasionally on the trading ships of this nation, as they received intelligence from boats employed for that purpose. Some chose their station in the North Sea, where a great number of captures were made upon the coast of Scotland; others cruised in the chops of the channel, and even to the westward of Ireland; but the far greater number scoured

the seas in the neighbourhood of the Leeward Islands in the West Indies, where they took a prodigious number of British ships, sailing to and from the sugar colonies, and conveyed them to their own settlements in Martinique, Guadaloupe, or St. Domingo.

With respect to the war that raged in Germany, the King of Denmark wisely pursued that course, which happily preserved him from being involved in those troubles by which great part of Europe was agitated, and terminated in that point of national advantage which a king ought ever to have in view for the benefit of his people. By observing a scrupulous neutrality, he enhanced his importance among his neighbours: he saw himself courted by all the belligerent powers: he saved the blood and treasure of his subjects: he received large subsidies, in consideration of his forbearance; and enjoyed, unmolested, a much more considerable share of commerce than he could expect to carry on, even in times of universal tranquillity. He could not perceive that the Protestant religion had any thing to apprehend from the confederacy which was formed against the Prussian monarch; nor was he misled into all the expense, the perils, and disquiets of a sanguinary war, by that *ignis fatuus* which hath seduced and impoverished other opulent nations, under the specious title of the balance of power in Germany. Howsoever he might be swayed by private inclination, he did not think it was a point of consequence to his kingdom, whether Pomerania was possessed by Sweden or Prussia; whether the French army was driven back beyond the Rhine, or penetrated once more into the electorate of Hanover; whether the empress-queen was stripped of her remaining possessions in Silesia, or the King of Prussia circumscribed within the original bound of his dominion. He took it for granted that France, for her own sake, would prevent the ruin of that enterprising monarch; and that the house of Austria would not be so impolitic, and blind to its own interest, as to permit the Empress of Russia to make and retain conquests in the empire; but even if these powers should be weak enough to sacrifice all the maxims of sound policy to caprice or resentment, he did not think himself so deeply concerned in the event, as, for the distant prospect of what might possibly happen, to plunge headlong into a war that must be attended with certain and immediate disadvantages. True it is, he had no hereditary electorate in

Condition of
the King of
Denmark.

Germany that was threatened with invasion; nor, if he had, is it to be supposed that a prince of his sagacity and patriotism would have impoverished his kingdom of Denmark for the precarious defence of a distant territory. It was reserved for another nation to adopt the pernicious absurdity of wasting its blood and treasure, exhausting its revenues, loading its own back with the most grievous impositions, incurring an enormous debt, big with bankruptcy and ruin; in a word, of expending above a hundred and fifty millions sterling in fruitless efforts to defend a distant country, the entire property of which was never valued at one twentieth part of that sum; a country with which it had no natural connexion, but a common alliance arising from accident. The King of Denmark, though himself a prince of the empire, and possessed of dominions in Germany, almost contiguous to the scenes of the present war, did not think himself so nearly concerned in the issue as to declare himself either principal or auxiliary in the quarrel; yet he took care to maintain his forces by sea and land upon a respectable footing; and by this conduct, he not only provided for the security of his own country, but overawed the belligerent powers, who considered him as a prince capable of making either scale preponderate, just as he might choose to trim the balance. Thus he preserved his wealth, commerce, and consequence undiminished; and, instead of being harassed as a party, was honoured as an umpire.

The United Provinces, though as adverse as his Danish majesty to any participation in the war, did not, however, so scrupulously observe the neutrality they professed: at least, the traders of that republic, either from an inordinate thirst of lucre, or a secret bias in favour of the enemies of Great Britain, assisted the French commerce with all the appearance of the most flagrant partiality. We have, in the beginning of this year's transactions, observed, that a great number of their ships were taken by the English cruisers, and condemned as legal prizes, for having French property on board: that the Dutch merchants, exasperated by their losses, exclaimed against the English as pirates and robbers, petitioned the states for redress in very high terms, and even loudly clamoured for a war against Great Britain. The charge of violence and injustice, which they brought against the English, for taking and confiscating the ships that transported to Europe the

Answers to
the charges
brought by
the Dutch
against the
English
cruisers.

produce of the French islands in the West Indies, they founded on the tenth article of the treaty of commerce between Great Britain and the States-General of the United Provinces, concluded in the year one thousand six hundred and sixty-eight, stipulating, that whatever shall be found on board the ships of the subjects of the United Provinces, though the lading, or part thereof, may belong to the enemies of Great Britain, shall be free and unmolested, except these be prohibited goods, which are to be served in the manner prescribed by the foregoing articles. From this article the Dutch merchants argued, that, if there be no prohibited goods on board, the English had no right to stop or molest any of their ships, or make the least inquiry to whom the merchandise belonged, whence it was brought, or whither bound. This plea the English casuist would by no means admit, for the following reasons: A general and perpetual licence to carry on the whole trade of their enemy would be such a glaring absurdity, as no convention could authorize: common sense has dictated, and Grotius declared, that no man can be supposed to have consented to an absurdity; therefore the interpretation given by the Dutch to this article could not be supposed to be its true and genuine meaning; which, indeed, relates to nothing more than the common course of trade, as it was usually carried on in time of peace. But even should this interpretation be accepted, the article and the treaty itself would be superseded and annulled by a subsequent treaty, concluded between the two nations in the year one thousand six hundred and seventy-five, and often confirmed since that period, stipulating, in a secret article, that neither of the contracting parties should give, nor consent that any of their subjects or inhabitants should give, any aid, favour, or counsel, directly or indirectly, by land or sea, or on the fresh waters; nor should furnish, or permit the subjects or inhabitants of their respective territories to furnish, any ships, soldiers, seamen, victuals, moneys, instruments of war, gunpowder, or any necessaries for making war, to the enemies of either party, of any rank or condition soever. Now, the Dutch have infringed this article in many instances during the present war, both in Europe and America; and as they have so openly contravened one treaty, the English are not obliged to observe any other. They, moreover, forfeited all right to the observance of the treaty in question, by refusing the

succours with which they were bound, in the most solemn manner, to furnish the King of Great Britain, in case any of his territories in Europe should be attacked; for nothing could be more weak and frivolous than the allegation upon which this refusal was founded, namely, that the hostilities in Europe were commenced by the English, when they seized and confiscated the vessels of France; and they, being the aggressors, had no right to insist upon the succours stipulated in a treaty which was purely defensive. If this argument has any weight, the treaty itself can have no signification. The French, as in the present case, will always commence the war in America; and when their ships, containing reinforcements and stores for the maintenance of that war, shall be taken on the European seas, perhaps in consequence of their being exposed for that purpose, they will exclaim that the English were the aggressors in Europe, consequently deprived of all benefit accruing from the defensive treaty subsisting between them and the States-General of the United Provinces. It being impossible for the English to terminate the war, while their enemies derive the sinews of it from their commerce carried on in neutral bottoms, they are obliged to suppress such collusions, by that necessity which Grotius himself hath allowed to be a sufficient excuse for deviating from the letter of any treaty whatsoever. In time of peace no Dutch ships were permitted to carry the produce of any French sugar island, or even to trade in any of the French ports in America or the West Indies; consequently the treaty which they quote can never justify them in carrying on a commerce, which, as it did not exist, and was not foreseen, could not possibly be guarded against when that convention was ratified. Grotius, whose authority is held in such veneration among the Dutch, has determined that every nation has a right to seize and confiscate the goods of any neutral power, which shall attempt to carry them into any place which is blocked up by that nation, either by land or sea. The French islands in the West Indies were so blocked up by the English cruisers that they could receive no relief from their own government, consequently no neutral power could attempt to supply them without falling under this predicament.^a It

^a In the reign of King William, when the English and Dutch were engaged in a war against France, the northern powers of Sweden and Denmark attempted to carry on the French commerce, under the shade of neutrality; but the Dutch and English joined in seizing the vessels that were thus employed. Complaints of these captures were made at

was for these reasons that the King of England declared, by the mouth of Mr. Yorke, his minister plenipotentiary at the Hague, in a conference held in the month of August with the deputies of the States-General, that though he was ready to concur in every measure that should be proposed for giving satisfaction to their high mightinesses, with whom he had always studied to live in the most perfect union, he was nevertheless determined not to suffer the trade of the French colonies in America to be carried on by the subjects of other powers, under the specious pretext of neutrality; nor to permit words to be interpreted as a licence to drive a trade with his enemies, which, though not particularly specified in the articles of contraband, was nevertheless rendered such in all respects, and in every sense, by the nature of the circumstances. It is not at all more surprising that the Dutch merchants should complain, than that the English government should persist in confiscating the ships that were found to contain the merchandize of their enemies. The individual traders of every mercantile nation will run considerable risks in extending their particular commerce, even when they know it must be detrimental to the general interest of their country. In the war maintained by the confederates against Louis XIV. of France, the merchant-ships of the Dutch carried on an uninterrupted trade to the French ports; and, notwithstanding the repeated solicitations of England, the States-General could never be prevailed upon to prohibit this commerce, which undoubtedly enabled France to protract the war. The truth is, they gave the British ministry to understand, that unless they connived at this traffic, their subjects could not possibly defray their proportion of the expense at which the war was maintained. It is well known through all Europe, that the subjects of the United Provinces reaped considerable advantage, not only from this branch of illicit trade, but also by providing for both armies in Flanders, and by the practice of stock-jobbing in England; consequently it was not the interest, either of the States-General, or the English general, between whom there was a very good understanding, to bring that war to a speedy

London and the Hague; and the complainants were given to understand, at both places, that these should not be allowed to carry on any trade with France, but what was usual in time of peace. In consequence of this declaration, M. Groning formed the design of writing a treatise on the freedom of navigation, and communicated the plan of his work to the celebrated Puffendorff, who signified his sentiments in a letter, which is preserved by the learned Barbeyrac in his notes upon that author's treatise on the Law of Nature and Nations.

conclusion; nor, indeed, ought we to fix the imputation of partiality upon a whole nation, for the private conduct of individuals influenced by motives of self-interest, which co-operate with the same energy in Holland, and among the subjects of Great Britain. In the course of the former war, such a scandalous appetite for gain prevailed in different parts of the British dominions, that the French islands were actually supplied with provisions, slaves, and lumber, from Ireland and the British colonies in North America; and Martinique, in particular, must have surrendered to the command of the English squadron stationed in those seas, had it not been thus supported by English subjects. Certain it is, the Dutch had some reason to complain that they were decoyed into this species of traffic by the article of a treaty, which, in their opinion, admitted of no limitation; and that the government of Great Britain, without any previous warning, or explaining its sentiments on this subject, swept the sea at once of all their vessels employed in this commerce, and condemned them without mitigation, to the entire ruin of many thousand families. Considering the intimate connexion of mutual interest subsisting between Great Britain and the states of the United Provinces, they seem to have had some right to an intimation of this nature, which, in all probability, would have induced them to resign all prospect of advantage from the prosecution of such traffic.

Besides the universal clamour excited in Holland, and the famous memorial presented to the States-General, which we have already mentioned in another place, a deputation of merchants waited four times successively on the princess-regent, to explain their grievances, and demand her concurrence in augmenting the navy for the preservation of their commerce. She promised to interpose her best offices with the court of Great Britain; and these co-operating with representations made by the States-General, the English minister was empowered to open conferences at the Hague, in order to bring all matters in dispute to an amicable accommodation. These endeavours, however, proved ineffectual. The British cruisers continued to take, and the British courts to condemn, all Dutch vessels containing the produce of the French sugar islands. The merchants of Holland and Zealand renewed their complaints with redoubled clamour, and all the trading part of the

Confereuces
between the
British am-
bassador
and the
States-
General.

nation, reinforced by the whole party that opposed the house of Orange, cried aloud for an immediate augmentation of the marine, and reprisals upon the pirates of England. The princess, in order to avoid extremities, was obliged not only to employ all her personal influence with the States-General, but also to play off one faction against another, in the way of remonstrance and exclamation. As far back as the month of June, she presented a memorial to the States-General, reminding them, that in the beginning of the war between France and England, she had advised an augmentation should be made in their land-forces, to strengthen the garrisons of the frontier-towns, and cover the territories of the republic from invasion. She gave them to understand, that the provinces of Gueldres and Overysse, intimidated by the proximity of two formidable armies, had resolved to demand that the augmentation of their land-forces should be taken into consideration by the other provinces; and requested her to reinforce their solicitations that this measure might immediately take place. This request, she said, she the more readily granted, as she could not but be sensible of the imminent danger that threatened the republic, especially since the Hanoverian army had passed the Rhine; and as it behoved the state to put itself in a condition to hinder either army from retiring into the territories of the republic, if it should be defeated; for, in that case, the conqueror being authorized to pursue his enemy wherever he can find him, would bring the war into the heart of their country. This representation had no other effect than that of suspending the measure which each party proposed. The princess, in her answer to the fourth deputation of the merchants, declared that she beheld the present state of their trade with the most anxious concern; that its want of protection was not her fault, but that of the towns of Dort, Haerlem, Amsterdam, Torgau, Rotterdam, and the Brille, to whose conduct it was owing, that the forces of the state, by sea and land, were not now on a better footing. The deputies were afterwards referred to her minister, M. de la Larrey, to whom they represented, that the augmentation of the land-forces, and the equipment of a fleet, were matters as distinct from each other as light from darkness; that there was no pressing motive for an augmentation of the army, whereas innumerable reasons rendered the equipment of a fleet a matter of the most urgent necessity. In a few days after this representation

was made, the princess, in an assembly of the States-General, requested their high mightinesses, that seeing their earnest and repeated efforts to induce the provinces of Holland, Zealand, Friesland, and West Friesland, to acquiesce in the proposed augmentation of forces by sea and land, had not hitherto met with success, they would now consider and deliberate upon some expedient for terminating this affair, and the sooner the better, in order, on one hand, to satisfy the strong and well-grounded instances made by the provinces of Gueldres, Utrecht, Overysse, and Groningen: and, on the other, to comply with the ardent and just desires expressed by the commercial inhabitants of the country. She told them, that the deputation which waited on her consisted of forty merchants, a number that merited attention no less than the speech they pronounced, of which a great number of printed copies were distributed through all parts of the country. Without making any particular remarks on the harangue, she only observed, that the drift of it did not tend to facilitate the negotiation begun with Great Britain, nor to induce the nation to prefer a convention to a rupture with that crown. From this circumstance she inferred, it was more than time to finish the deliberations on the proposal for augmenting the forces both by sea and land; a measure, without which she was convinced in her conscience the state was, and would always remain, exposed to all sorts of misfortune and danger, both now and hereafter.

In consequence of this interposition, the States-General that same day sent a letter to the states of Holland and ^{further} West Friesland, communicating the sentiments of ^{prudence} the princess-regent, and insisting upon the necessity of complying with her proposal of the double augmentation. They observed that an augmentation of the land-forces for the defence of the frontiers was unavoidable, as well as an equipment by sea for the security of commerce; that the states of the provinces of Gueldres, Utrecht, Overysse, and Groningen, joined with them in the same opinion; and accordingly had insisted, by divers letters and propositions, on those two points so essential to the public interest. They represented the danger of delay, and the fatal effects of discord: they proposed, that by a reciprocal indulgence one party should comply with the sentiments of the other, in order to avoid a schism and dangerous division among the confederates, the consequences of which would be very deplorable; while

the republic, in the mean time, would remain in a defenceless condition, both by sea and land, and depend upon the arbitrary power of its neighbours. They conjured them, therefore, as they valued the safety of their country, and all that was dear to them, as they regarded the protection of the good inhabitants, the concord and harmony which at all times, but especially at the present critical juncture, was of the last necessity, that they would seriously reflect upon the exhortations of her royal highness, as well as on the repeated instances of the majority of the confederates, and take a wise and salutary resolution with regard to the proposed augmentation of the land forces, so that this addition, together with an equipment at sea, might, the sooner the better, be unanimously brought to a conclusion. It was undoubtedly the duty of all who wished well to their country, to moderate the heat and precipitation of those, who, provoked by their losses, and stimulated by resentment, endeavoured at this period to involve their nation in a war with Great Britain. Had matters been pushed to this extremity, in a few months the republic would, in all probability, have been brought to the brink of ruin. The Dutch were distracted by internal divisions; they were altogether unprovided for hostilities by sea; the ocean was covered with their trading vessels; and the naval armaments of Great Britain were so numerous and powerful as to render all resistance on that element equally vain and pernicious. The English could not only have scoured the seas, and made prize of their shipping, but were also in a condition to reduce or demolish all their towns in Zealand, where they would hardly have met with any opposition.

CHAPTER XXX.

DOMESTIC OCCURRENCES IN GREAT BRITAIN. — TRIALS OF DRS. HENSLY AND SHARPARE. — INSTITUTION OF THE MAGDALEN AND ASYLUM — SOUTHS FOR THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF ARTS. — SESSION OPENED — NEW TREATY WITH THE KING OF PRUSSIA — SUPPLIES GRANTED. — THE KING'S MESSAGE TO THE COMMONS. — BILLS RELATING TO THE DISTILLERY AND THE EXPORTATION OF COIN. — PETITION FROM THE JUSTICES OF NOBILITY. — BILL FOR THE IMPORTATION OF SALTED BUTTER FROM IRELAND CONTINUED. — REGULATIONS WITH RESPECT TO PRIVATEERS. — NEW MILITIA LAWS. — ACT FOR THE RELIEF OF DEBTORS REVIVED. — BILL FOR THE IMPORTATION OF IRISH BEEF AND TALLOW. — ACT RELATIVE TO MILFORD HAVEN. — BILL RELATIVE TO THE DUTY ON PENSION. — ACT RELATIVE TO THE DUTY ON PLATE. — CAMBRIDGE ACT. — UNSUCCESSFUL BILLS. — CASE OF THE INSOLVENT DEBTORS — CASE OF CAPTAIN WALKER. — REMARKS ON THE BANKRUPT LAWS. — INQUIRY INTO THE STATE OF THE POOR. — REGULATIONS OF WEIGHTS AND MEASURES — RESOLUTIONS CONCERNING THE FOUNDLING HOSPITAL. — MESSAGES FROM THE KING TO THE PARLIAMENT. — SESSION CLOSED. — PREPARATIONS FOR WAR. — DEATH OF THE PRINCESS OF ORANGE AND PRINCESS ELIZABETH CAROLINE. — EXAMPLES MADE OF PIRATES. — ACCOUNT OF SOME REMARKABLE MURDERS. — MURDER OF DANIEL CLARK. — MURDER OF THE PRINCE OF WALES. — RESOLUTIONS CONCERNING A NEW BRIDGE AT BLACKHEATH. — FIRE IN CORNHILL. — METHOD CONTRIVED TO FIND OUT THE LONGITUDE. — INSTALLATION AT OXFORD. — DEPLORABLE INCIDENT AT SEA. — CAPTURES MADE BY SEPARATE VESSELS. — CAPTAIN HOOD TAKES THE BELLONA — AND CAPTAIN BARRINGTON THE COMTE DE St. FLORENTIN. — CAPTAIN FALKNER TAKES A FRENCH EAST INDIAMAN. — PRIZES TAKEN IN THE WEST INDIES. — ENGAGEMENT BETWEEN THE HERCULES AND THE FLORENTIN. — HAVRE-DE-GRACE BOMBARDED BY ADMIRAL RODNEY. — ADMIRAL BOSCAWEN DEFEATS M. DE LA CLUVE. — PREPARATIONS MADE BY THE FRENCH FOR INVADING ENGLAND. — ACCOUNT OF THYROT. — FRENCH FLEET SAILS FROM BREST. — ADMIRAL HAWKE DEFEATS M. DE CONFLANS. — PROCEEDINGS OF THE IRISH PARLIAMENT. — LOYALTY OF THE IRISH CATHOLICS. — DANGEROUS INSURRECTION IN DUBLIN. — ALARM OF A DISSENT IN SCOTLAND.

WHILE the operations of the war were prosecuted through the four quarters of the globe, the island of Great Britain, which may be termed the centre that gave motion to this vast machine, enjoyed all the tranquillity of the most profound peace, and saw nothing of war but the preparations and trophies, which served only to animate the nation to a desire of further conquest; for the dejection occasioned by the misfortune at St. Cas soon vanished before the prospect of victory and success. Considering the agitation naturally produced among the common people, by the practice of pressing men into the service of the navy, which, in the beginning of the year, had been carried on with unusual violence, the levy of so many new corps of soldiers, and the endeavours used in forming the national

1758.
Domestic
occurrences
in Great
Britain.

militia, very few disturbances happened to interrupt the internal repose of the nation. From private acts of malice, fraud, violence. and rapine, no community whatsoever is exempted. In the month of April, the temporary wooden bridge over the Thames, built for the conveniency of carriages and passengers, while the workmen should be employed in widening and repairing London bridge, was maliciously set on fire in the night, and continued burning till noon next day, when the ruins of it fell into the river. The destruction of this conveniency proved very detrimental to the commerce of the city, notwithstanding the vigilancy and discretion of the magistrates in applying remedies for this misfortune. A promise of the king's pardon was offered in a public advertisement, by the secretary of state, and a reward of two hundred pounds by the city of London, to any person who should discover the perpetrator of such wicked outrage; but nevertheless he escaped detection. No individual, nor any society of men, could have the least interest in the execution of such a scheme, except the body of London watermen; but as no discovery was made to the prejudice of any person belonging to that society, the deed was imputed to the malice of some secret enemy to the public. Even after a new temporary bridge was erected, another attempt was made (in all probability by the same incendiary) to reduce the whole to ashes, but happily miscarried, and a guard was appointed, to prevent any such atrocious efforts in the sequel. Dangerous tumults were raised in and about Manchester by a prodigious number of manufacturers, who had left off working, and entered into a combination to raise, by force, the price of their labour. They had formed a regular plan, and collected large sums for the maintenance of the poorer sort while they refused to work for their families. They insulted and abused all those who would not join in this defection; dispersed incendiary letters, and denounced terrible threats against all such as should presume to oppose their proceedings. But these menaces had no effect upon the magistrates and justices, who did their duty with such discretion and courage, that the ringleaders being singled out, and punished by law, the rest were soon reduced to order.

In the month of June, Florence Hensey, an obscure physician, and native of Ireland, who had been apprehended for treasonable practices, was tried in the court of King's

Bench, on an indictment for high treason. In the course of the trial it appeared that he had been employed ^{in 1757} as a spy for the French ministry; to which, in ¹⁷⁵⁸ consideration of a paltry pension, he sent intelligence of every material occurrence in Great Britain. The correspondence was managed by his brother, a Jesuit, who acted as chaplain and secretary to the Spanish ambassador at the Hague. The British resident at that court having learned from the Spanish minister some secrets relating to England, even before they were communicated to him from the English ministry, was induced to set on foot an inquiry touching the source of this information, and soon received an assurance that the secretary of the Spanish ambassador had a brother, a physician in London. The suspicion naturally arising from this circumstance being imputed to the ministry of England, Henscy was narrowly watched, and twenty-nine of his letters were intercepted. From the contents of these he was convicted of having given the French court the first notice of the expedition to North America, the capture of the two ships, the *Aleide* and *Lys*, the sailing and destination of every squadron and armament, and the difficulties that occurred in raising money for the service of the public. He had even informed them that the secret expedition of the foregoing year was intended against Rochefort, and advised a descent upon Great Britain, at a certain time and place, as the most effectual method of distressing the government, and affecting the public credit. After a long trial he was found guilty of treason, and received the sentence of death usually pronounced on such occasions; but whether he earned forgiveness by some material discovery, or the minister found him so insensible and insignificant that he was ashamed to take his life, he escaped execution, and was pardoned, on condition of going into perpetual exile. The severity of the government was much about the same period exercised on Dr. Shebbeare, a public writer, who, in a series of printed letters to the people of England, had animadverted on the conduct of the ministry in the most acrimonious terms, stigmatized some great names with all the virulence of censure, and even assaulted the throne itself with oblique insinuation and ironical satire. The ministry, incensed at the boldness, and still more enraged at the success of this author, whose writings were bought with avidity by the public,

determined to punish him severely for his arrogance and abuse, and he was apprehended by a warrant from the secretary's office. His sixth letter to the people of England was pitched upon as the foundation of a prosecution. After a short trial in the court of King's Bench, he was found guilty of having written the sixth letter to the people of England, adjudged a libellous pamphlet, sentenced to stand in the pillory, to pay a small fine, to be imprisoned three years, and give security for his future good behaviour; so that, in effect, this good man suffered more for having given vent to the unguarded effusions of mistaken zeal, couched in the language of passion and scurrility, than was inflicted upon Hensey, a convicted traitor, who had acted as a spy for France, and betrayed his own country for hire.

Amidst a variety of crimes and disorders, arising from impetuosity of temper, unreined passion, luxury, extravagance, and an almost total want of police and subordination, the virtues of benevolence are always springing up to an extraordinary growth in the British soil; and here charities are often established by the humanity of individuals, which in any other country would be honoured as national institutions: witness the great number of hospitals and infirmaries in London and Westminster, erected and maintained by voluntary contributions, or raised by the princely donations of private founders. In the course of this year the public began to enjoy the benefit of several admirable institutions. Mr. Henry Raine, a private gentleman of Middlesex, had, in his lifetime, built and endowed an hospital for the maintenance of forty poor maidens. By his will he bequeathed a certain sum of money to accumulate at interest, under the management of trustees, until the yearly produce should amount to two hundred and ten pounds, to be given in marriage portions to two of the maidens educated in his hospital, at the age of twenty-two, who should be the best recommended for piety and industry by the masters or mistresses whom they had served. In the month of March the sum destined for this laudable purpose was completed; when the trustees, by public advertisement, summoned the maidens educated in the hospital to appear on a certain day, with proper certificates of their behaviour and circumstances, that six of the most deserving might be selected to draw lots for the prize of one hundred pounds, to be paid as her marriage portion,

Institution
of the Mag-
dalen and
Asylum.

provided she married a man of an unblemished character, a member of the Church of England, residing within certain specified parishes, and approved by the trustees. Accordingly, on the first of May, the candidates appeared, and the prize being gained by one young woman, in presence of a numerous assembly of all ranks, attracted by curiosity, the other five maidens, with a sixth, added in lieu of her who had been successful, were marked for a second chance on the same day of the following year, when a second prize of the same value would be presented: thus a new candidate will be added every year, that every maiden who has been educated in this hospital, and preserved her character without reproach, may have a chance for the noble donation, which is also accompanied with the sum of five pounds, to defray the expense of the wedding entertainment. One scarce knows whether most to admire the plan, or commend the humanity of this excellent institution. Of equal and perhaps superior merit was another charitable establishment, which also took effect about this period. A small number of humane individuals, chiefly citizens of London, deeply affected with the situation of common prostitutes, who are certainly the most forlorn of all human creatures, formed a generous resolution in their favour, such as even the best men of the kingdom had never before the courage to avow. They considered that many of these unhappy creatures, so wretched in themselves, and so productive of mischief to society, had been seduced to vice in their tender years by the perfidious artifice of the other sex, or the violence of unruly passion, before they had acquired experience to guard against the one, or foresight to perceive the fatal consequences of the other: that the jewel reputation being thus irretrievably lost, perhaps in one unguarded moment, they were covered with shame and disgrace, abandoned by their families, excluded from all pity, regard, and assistance: that, stung by self-conviction, insulted with reproach, denied the privilege of penitence and contrition, cut off from all hope, impelled by indigence, and maddened with despair, they had plunged into a life of infamy, in which they were exposed to deplorable vicissitudes of misery, and the most excruciating pangs of reflection that any human being could sustain: that, whatever remorse they might feel, howsoever they might detest their own vice, or long for an opportunity of amendment, they were entirely destitute of all means of

reformation: they were not only deprived of all possibility of profiting by those precious moments of repentance, and becoming again useful members of society; but, in order to earn a miserable subsistence, were obliged to persevere in the paths of prostitution, and act as the instruments of Heaven's vengeance in propagating distemper and profligacy, in ruining the bodies and debauching the minds of their fellow-creatures. Moved to sympathy and compassion by these considerations, this virtuous band of associates determined to provide a comfortable asylum for female penitents, to which they might fly for shelter from the receptacles of vice, the miseries of life, and the scorn of mankind; where they might indulge the salutary sentiments of remorse, make their peace with Heaven, accustom themselves to industry and temperance, and be profitably reunited to society, from which they had been so unhappily dissevered. The plan of this excellent institution being formed, was put in execution by means of voluntary subscription, and the house opened in Goodman's-fields, under the name of the Magdalen-hospital, in the month of August; when fifty petitions were presented by penitent prostitutes, soliciting admittance. Another asylum was also opened by the hand of private charity, on the Surrey side of Westminster bridge, for the reception and education of female orphans, and children abandoned by their parents.

Nor was encouragement refused to those who distinguished themselves by extraordinary talents in any branch of the liberal and useful arts and sciences, though no *Mæcenas* appeared among the ministers, and not the least ray of patronage glimmered from the throne. The protection, countenance, and gratification secured in other countries by the institution of academies, and the liberalities of princes, the ingenious in England derived from the generosity of a public, endued with taste and sensibility, eager for improvement, and proud of patronizing extraordinary merit. Several years had already elapsed since a society of private persons was instituted at London for the encouragement of arts, manufactures, and commerce. It consisted of a president, vice-president, secretary, register, collector, and other officers, elected from a very considerable number of members, who pay a certain yearly contribution for the purposes of the institution. In the course of every year they held eight general meetings in a large assembly-room,

Society for
the encour-
agement of
arts.

built and furnished at the common expense ; besides the ordinary meetings of the society, held every week, from the second Wednesday in November to the last Wednesday in May ; and, in the intermediate time, on the first and third Wednesday of every month. At these ordinary meetings, provided the number then present exceeded ten, the members had a right to proceed on business, and power to appoint such committees as they should think necessary. The money contributed by this association, after the necessary expense of the society had been debated, was expended in premiums for planting and husbandry ; for discoveries and improvements in chemistry, dyeing, and mineralogy ; for promoting the ingenious arts of drawing, engraving, casting, painting, statuary, and sculpture ; for the improvement of manufactures and machines in the various articles of hats, crapes, druggets, mills, marbled paper, ship-blocks, spinning-wheels, toys, yarn, knitting, and weaving. They likewise allotted sums for the advantage of the British colonies in America, and bestowed premiums on those settlers who should excel in curing cochineal, planting logwood-trees, cultivating olive-trees, producing myrtle-wax, making pot-ash, preserving raisins, curing safflower, making silk and wines, importing sturgeon, preparing isinglass, planting hemp and cinnamon, extracting opium and the gum of the persimon-tree, collecting stones of the mango, which should be found to vegetate in the West Indies ; raising silk-grass, and laying out provincial gardens. They moreover allowed a gold medal, in honour of him who should compose the best treatise on the arts of peace, containing an historical account of the progressive improvements of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce in the kingdom of England, with the effects of those improvements on the morals and manners of the people, and pointing out the most proper means for their future advancement. In a word, the society is so numerous, the contributions so considerable, the plan so judiciously laid, and executed with such discretion and spirit, as to promise much more effectual and extensive advantage to the public than ever accrued from all the boasted academies of Christendom. The artists of London had long maintained a private academy for improvement in the art of drawing from living figures ; but in order to extend this advantage, which was not attained without difficulty and expense, the Duke of Richmond, a

young nobleman of the most amiable character, provided a large apartment at Whitehall, for the use of those who studied the arts of painting, sculpture, and engraving; and furnished it with a collection of original plaster casts from the best antique statues and busts at Rome and Florence. Here any learner had liberty to draw, or make models, under the eye and instructions of two eminent artists; and twice a year the munificent founder bestowed premiums of silver medals on the four pupils who excelled the rest in drawing from a certain figure, and making the best model of it in basso-relievo.*

* Among other transactions that distinguish the history of Great Britain, scarce a year glides away without producing some incident that strongly marks the singular character of the English nation. A very extraordinary instance of this nature, relating to the late Duke of Marlborough, we shall record among the events of this year, although it derived its origin from the latter end of the last, and cannot be properly enumerated among those occurrences that appertain to general history. Towards the end of November, in the preceding year, the above-mentioned nobleman received, by the post, a letter directed "To his Grace the Duke of Marlborough, with care and speed," and containing this address:

"MY LORD,

"As ceremony is an idle thing upon most occasions, more especially to persons in my state of mind, I shall proceed immediately to acquaint you with the motive and end of addressing this epistle to you, which is equally interesting to us both. You are to know, then, that my present situation in life is such, that I should prefer annihilation to a continuance in it. Desperate diseases require desperate remedies; and you are the man I have pitched upon, either to make me or unmake myself. As I never had the honour to live among the great, the tenor of my proposals will not be very courtly; but let that be an argument to enforce a belief of what I am now going to write. It has employed my invention for some time, to find out a method of destroying another without exposing my own life; that I have accomplished, and defy the law. Now for the application of it. I am desperate, and must be provided for. You have it in your power; it is my business to make it your inclination to serve me, which you must determine to comply with, by procuring me a genteel support for my life, or your own will be at a period before this session of parliament is over. I have more motives than one for singling you out upon this occasion; and I give you this fair warning, because the means I should make use of are too fatal to be eluded by the power of physic. If you think this of any consequence, you will not fail to meet the author on Sunday next, at ten in the morning, or on Monday (if the weather should be rainy on Sunday, near the first tree beyond the stile in Hyde-Park, in the foot-walk to Kensington. Secrecy and compliance may preserve you from a double danger of this sort, as there is a certain part of the world where your death has more than been wished for upon other motives. I know the world too well to trust this secret in any breast but my own. A few days determine me your friend or enemy.

"FELTON.

"You will apprehend that I mean you should be alone; and depend upon it, that a discovery of any artifice in this affair will be fatal to you. My safety is insured by my silence, for confession only can condemn me."

The duke, in compliance with this strange remonstrance, appeared at the time and place appointed, on horseback and alone, with pistols before him, and the star of his order displayed, that he might be the more easily known. He had likewise taken the precaution of engaging a friend to attend in the Park, at such a distance, however, as scarce to be observable. He continued some time on the spot without seeing any person he could suspect of having wrote the letter, and then rode away; but chancing to turn his head when he reached Hyde-Park-Corner, he perceived a man standing at the bridge, and looking at the water, within twenty yards of the tree which was described in the letter. He forthwith rode back at a gentle pace, and passing by the person, expected to be addressed; but as no advance of this kind was made, he, in repassing, bowed to the stranger, and asked if he had not something to communicate? The man replying, "No, I don't know you;" the duke told him his name, adding, "Now you know me, I imagine you have something to say to me." But he still answered in the negative, and the duke

On the twenty-third day of November both Houses of Parliament met at Westminster, when his majesty, ^{session} being indisposed, the session was opened by com- ^{opened.} mission, and the lord-keeper harangued them to this effect.

rode home. In a day or two after this transaction, another letter was brought to him, couched in the following terms :

"MY LORD,

"You receive this as an acknowledgment of your punctuality as to the time and place of meeting on Sunday last, though it was owing to you it answered no purpose. The pageantry of being armed, and the ensign of your order, were useless, and too conspicuous. You needed no attendant; the place was not calculated for such display, nor was any intended. If you walk in the west aisle of Westminster Abbey, towards eleven o'clock on Sunday next, your sagacity will point out the person whom you will address, by asking his company to take a turn or two with you. You will not fail, on my part, to be acquainted with the name and place of abode. According to which direction you will please to send two or three hundred pound bank-notes the next day by the penny-post. Exert not your curiosity too early: it is in your power to make me grateful on certain terms. I have friends who are faithful, but they do not look before they hit."

"I am, &c. F."

The duke, determining, if possible, to unveil this mystery, repaired to the Abbey at the time prescribed; and after having walked up and down for five or six minutes, saw the very same person to whom he had spoken in Hyde-Park enter the Abbey, with another man of creditable appearance. This last, after they had viewed some of the monuments, went into the choir, and the other turning back, advanced towards the duke, who, accosting him, asked him if he had anything to say to him, or any commands for him. He replied, "No, my lord, I have not." "Sure you have," said the duke; but he persisted in his denial. Then the duke leaving him took several turns in the aisle, while the stranger walked on the other side. But nothing further passed between them, and although the duke had provided several persons in disguise to apprehend the delinquent, he forbore giving the signal, that, notwithstanding appearances, he might run no risk of injuring an innocent person. Not long after this second disappointment, he received a third letter to the following effect:

"MY LORD,

"I am fully convinced you had a companion on Sunday: I interpret it as owing to the weakness of human nature; but such proceeding is far from being ingenious, and may produce bad effects, whilst it is impossible to answer the end proposed. You will see me again soon, as it were by accident, and may easily find where I go to; in consequence of which, by being sent to, I shall wait on your grace, but expect to be quite alone, and to converse in whispers; you will likewise give your honour, upon meeting, that no part of the conversation shall transpire. These and the former terms complied with insure your safety; my revenge in case of non-compliance (or any scheme to expose me) will be slower, but not the less sure; and strong suspicion the utmost that can possibly ensue upon it, while the chances would be tenfold against you. You will possibly be in doubt after the meeting, but it is quite necessary the outside should be a mask to the in. The family of the Bloods is not extinct, though they are not in my scheme."

The expression, "you will see me again soon, as it were by accident," plainly pointed at the person to whom he had spoken in the Park, and in the Abbey; nevertheless, he saw him not again, nor did he hear any thing further of the affair for two months, at the expiration of which the post brought him the following letter:

"May it please your Grace,

"I have reason to believe that the son of one Barnard, a surveyor, in Abingdon-buildings, Westminster, is acquainted with some secrets that nearly concern your safety: his father is now out of town, which will give you an opportunity of questioning him more privately; it would be useless to your grace, as well as dangerous to me, to appear more publicly in this affair.

"Your sincere friend, ANONYMOUS.

"He frequently goes to Story's-gate coffee-house."

In about a week after this intimation was received, the duke sent a person to the coffee-house, to inquire for Mr. Barnard, and tell him he would be glad to speak to him. The message was delivered, and Barnard declared he would wait upon his grace next Thursday, at half an hour after ten in the morning. He was punctual to his appointment, and no

He told them, his majesty had directed the lords of the commission to assure his Parliament that he always received the highest satisfaction in being able to lay before them any event that might promote the honour and interest of his kingdoms; that in consequence of their advice, and enabled by the assistance which they unanimously gave, his majesty had exerted his endeavours to carry on the war in the most

sooner appeared than the duke recognised him to be the person to whom he had spoken in the Park and the Abbey. Having conducted him into an apartment, and shut the door, he asked, as before, if he had any thing to communicate, and was answered, as formerly, in the negative. Then the duke repeated every circumstance of this strange transaction: to which Barnard listened with attention and surprise, yet without exhibiting any marks of conscious guilt or confusion. The duke observing that it was matter of astonishment to see letters of such import written with the correctness of a scholar, the other replied, that a man might be very poor and very learned at the same time. When he saw the fourth letter, in which his name was mentioned, with the circumstance of his father's absence, he said, "It is very odd, my father was then out of town." An expression the more remarkable, as the letter was without date, and he could not, as an innocent man, be supposed to know at what time it was written. The duke having made him acquainted with the particulars, told him that if he was innocent, he ought to use his endeavours to detect the writer of the letters, especially of the last, in which he was expressly named. To this admonition he returned no other answer but a smile, and then withdrew.—He was afterwards taken into custody, and tried at the Old Bailey, for sending a threatening letter, contrary to the statute: but no evidence could be found to prove the letters were of his handwriting: nor did any presumption appear against him, except his being in Hyde-Park, and in Westminster Abbey, at the time and place appointed in the first two letters. On the other hand, Mr. Barnard proved that on the Sunday, when he saw the duke in Hyde-Park, he was on his way to Kensington, on particular business, by his father's order, signified to him that very morning; that he accordingly went thither, and dined with his uncle, in company with several other persons, to whom he related what had passed between the Duke of Marlborough and him in the Park; that his being afterwards in Westminster Abbey was the effect of mere accident; that Mr. James Greenwood, his kinsman, who had lain the preceding night at his father's house, desired him to dress himself, that they might walk together in the Park; and he did not comply with his request till after much solicitation; that he proposed to enter the Park without passing through the Abbey, but was prevailed upon by Mr. Greenwood, who expressed a desire of seeing the newly-erected monument of General Hargrave; that as he had formerly communicated to his friend the strange circumstance of the duke's speaking to him in Hyde-Park, Mr. Greenwood no sooner saw that nobleman in the Abbey, than he gave notice to Mr. Barnard, who was very short-sighted; and that from his passing them several times, concluded he wanted to speak with Mr. Barnard alone; he quitted him, and retired into the choir, that they might converse together without interruption. It likewise appeared, from undoubted evidence, that Barnard had often mentioned openly, to his friends and acquaintance, the circumstances of what passed between him and the duke, in the Park and in the Abbey: that his father was a man of unblemished reputation, and in affluent circumstances; that he himself was never reduced to any want, or such exigence as might impel him to any desperate methods of obtaining money; that his fidelity had been often tried, and his life always irreproachable. For these reasons he was acquitted of the crime laid to his charge, and the mystery remains to this day undiscovered.

After all, the author of the letters does not seem to have had any real design to extort money, because the scheme was very ill calculated for that purpose, and indeed could not possibly take effect, without the most imminent risk of detection. Perhaps his aim was nothing more than to gratify a petulance and peculiarity of humour, by alarming the duke, exciting the curiosity of the public, puzzling the multitude, and giving rise to a thousand ridiculous conjectures. If any thing more was intended, and the duke earnestly desired to know the extent of the scheme, he might, when he closeted the person suspected, have encouraged him to a declaration, by promising inviolable secrecy on his word and honour, in which any man would have confided as a sacred obligation. On the whole, it is surprising that the death of the duke, which happened in the course of this year, was never attributed to the secret practices of this incendiary correspondent, who had given him to understand, that his vengeance, though slow, would not be the less certain.

vigorous manner, in order to attain that desirable end, always to be wished, a safe and honourable peace; that it had pleased the Divine Providence to bless his measures and arms with success in several parts, and to make the enemies of the nation feel, that the strength of Great Britain is not to be provoked with impunity; that the conquest of the strong fortress of Louisbourg, with the islands of Cape Breton and St. John, the demolition of Frontenac, of the highest importance to his operations in America, and the reduction of Senegal, could not fail to bring great distress on the French commerce and colonies, and, in proportion, to procure great advantage to those of Great Britain. He observed, that France had also been made sensible, that whilst her forces are sent forth to invade and ravage the dominions of her neighbours, her own coasts are not inaccessible to his majesty's fleets and armies; a truth which she had experienced in the demolition of the works at Cherbourg, erected at a great expense, with a particular view to annoy England, as well as in the loss of a great number of ships and vessels; but no treatment, however injurious to his majesty, could tempt him to make retaliation on the innocent subjects of that crown. He told them, that in Germany his majesty's good brother the King of Prussia, and Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, had found full employment for the enemies of France and her confederates, from which the English operations, both by sea and in America, had derived the most evident advantage; their successes, owing, under God, to their able conduct, and the bravery of his majesty's troops, and those of his allies, having been signal and glorious. The king, moreover, commanded them to declare, that the common cause of liberty and independency was still making noble and glorious efforts against the unnatural union formed to oppress it: that the commerce of his subjects, the source of national riches, had, by the vigilant protection received from his majesty's fleet, flourished in a manner not to be paralleled during such troubles. In this state of things, he said, the king, in his wisdom, thought it unnecessary to use many words to persuade them to bear up against all difficulties, effectually to stand by, and defend his majesty, vigorously to support the King of Prussia, and the rest

^b In the month of August, the king, in quality of Elector of Hanover, having occasion for two hundred thousand pounds, a loan by subscription for that sum was opened at the bank, and filled immediately by seven or eight money-dealers of London.

of his majesty's allies, and to exert themselves to reduce their enemies to equitable terms of accommodation. He observed to the House of Commons, that the uncommon extent of this war, in different parts, occasioned it to be uncommonly expensive: that the king had ordered them to declare to the Commons, that he sincerely lamented, and deeply felt for the burdens of his people: that the several estimates were ordered to be laid before them, and that he desired only such supplies as should be requisite to push the war with advantage, and be adequate to the necessary services. In the last place, he assured them, the king took so much satisfaction in that good harmony which subsisted among his faithful subjects, that it was more proper for him now to thank them for it, than to repeat his exhortation to it: that this union, necessary at all times, was more especially so in such critical conjunctures; and his majesty doubted not but the good effects the nation had found from it would be the strongest motives to them to pursue it.—The reader will, no doubt, be surprised to find this harangue abound with harshness of period and inelegancy of expression; he will wonder that, in particularizing the successes of the year in America, no mention is made of the reduction of Fort du Quesne, on the river Ohio; a place of great importance, both from its strength and situation, the erection of which had been one great motive to the war between the two nations: but he will be still more surprised to hear it declared from the throne, that the operations, both by sea and in America, had derived the most evident advantage from the war in Germany. An assertion the more extraordinary, as the British ministry, in their answer to the Parallel, which we have already mentioned, had expressly affirmed, that “none but such as are unacquainted with the maritime force of England can believe, that without a diversion on the continent, to employ part of the enemy's force, she is not in a condition to hope for success, and maintain her superiority at sea. That they must be very ignorant indeed, who imagine that the forces of England are not able to resist those of France, unless the latter be hindered from turning all her efforts to the sea.” It is very remarkable that the British ministry should declare that the war in Germany was favourable to the English operations by sea and in America, and almost in the same breath accuse the French king of having fomented that war. Let us suppose that France had no war to maintain in Eu-

rope; and ask in what manner she, in that case, would have opposed the progress of the British arms by sea and in America? Her navy was reduced to such a condition that it durst not quit her harbours: her merchant-ships were all taken, her mariners confined in England, and the sea was covered with British cruisers: in these circumstances, what expedients could she have contrived for sending supplies and reinforcements to America, or for opposing the naval armaments of Great Britain in any other part of the world? —None. Without ships and mariners, her troops, ammunition, and stores were, in this respect, as useless as money to a man shipwrecked on a desolate island. But granting that the war in Germany had, in some measure, diverted the attention of the French ministry from the prosecution of their operations in America, (and this is granting more than ought to be allowed,) the question is not, whether the hostilities upon the continent of Europe prevented France from sending a great number of troops to Canada; but whether the war in Germany was either necessary or expedient for distressing the French more effectually in other parts of the world? Surely every intelligent man of candour must answer in the negative. The expense incurred by England for subsidies and armies in the empire exceeded three millions sterling annually; and this enormous expense, without being able to protect Hanover, only served to keep the war alive in different parts of Germany. Had one half of this sum been employed in augmenting and extending the naval armaments of Great Britain, and in reinforcing her troops in America and the West Indies, France would have been, at this day, deprived of all her sugar colonies, as well as of her settlements on the continent of America; and being absolutely cut off from these sources of wealth, would have found it impracticable either to gratify her subsidiaries, or to maintain such formidable armies to annoy her neighbours. These are truths which will appear to the conviction of the public, when the illusive spells of unsubstantial victory are dissolved, and time shall have dispersed the thick mists of prejudice which now seem to darken and perplex the understanding of the people.

The conduct of the administration was so agreeable to both Houses of Parliament, that in their address to the throne they expressed their unshaken zeal and loyalty to his majesty's person, congratulating

New treaty
with the
King of
Prussia.

him on the success of his arms, and promised to support his measures and allies with steadiness and alacrity.^c It was probably in consequence of this assurance that a new treaty between Great Britain and Prussia was concluded at London on the seventh day of December, importing, that as the burdensome war, in which the King of Prussia is engaged, lays him under the necessity of making fresh efforts to defend himself against the multitude of enemies who attack his dominions, he is obliged to take new measures with the King of England, for their reciprocal defence and safety; and his Britannic majesty had at the same time signified his earnest desire to strengthen the friendship subsisting between the two courts, and in consequence thereof, to conclude a formal convention, for granting to his Prussian majesty speedy and powerful assistance, their majesties have nominated and authorized their ministers to concert and settle the following articles:—All former treaties between the two crowns, particularly that signed at Westminster on the sixteenth day of January, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-six, and the convention of the eleventh of April in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-eight, are confirmed by the present convention of the eleventh of April, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-eight, in their whole tenor, as if they were herein inserted word for word. The King of Great Britain shall cause to be paid at London, to such person or persons as shall be authorized by the King of Prussia for that end, the sum of four millions of six dollars, making six hundred and seventy thousand pounds sterling, at one payment, immediately on the exchange of the ratification, if the King of Prussia shall so require. His Prussian majesty shall employ the said sum in supporting and augmenting his forces, which shall act in such manner as shall be of the greatest service to the common cause, and contribute most to the mutual defence and safety of their said majesties.

^c That the charge of disaffection to the king's person, which was so loudly trumpeted by former ministers and their adherents against those who had honesty and courage to oppose the measures of a weak and corrupt administration, was entirely false and without foundation, appeared at this juncture, when in the midst of a cruel, oppressive, and continental war, maintained by the blood and treasure of Great Britain, all opposition ceased in both Houses of Parliament. The addresses of thanks to his majesty, which are always dictated by the immediate servants of the crown, were unanimously adopted in both Houses, and not only couched in terms of applause, but even inflated with expressions of rapture and admiration. They declared themselves sensible that the operations of Great Britain, both by sea and in America, had received the most evident and important advantages from the maintenance of the war in Germany, and seemed eager to espouse any measure that might gratify the inclination of the sovereign.

The King of Great Britain, both as king and elector, and the King of Prussia, reciprocally bind themselves not to conclude with the powers that have taken part in the present war any treaty of peace, truce, or other such like convention, but by common advice and consent, each expressly including therein the other. The ratification of the present convention shall be exchanged within six weeks, or sooner, if possible. In effect, this treaty was no other than a renewal of the subsidy from year to year, because it was not thought proper to stipulate in the first subsidiary convention an annual supply of such importance, until the war should be terminated, lest the people of England should be alarmed at the prospect of such successive burdens, and the complaisance of the Commons be in some future session exhausted. On the whole, this was perhaps the most extraordinary treaty that ever was concluded; for it contains no specification of articles, except the payment of the subsidy: every other article was left to the interpretation of his Prussian majesty.

The Parliament, having performed the ceremony of addresses to the throne, immediately proceeded to the great work of the supply. The two committees in the House of Commons were immediately established, and continued by adjournments to the month of May, by the twenty-third day of which all their resolutions were taken. They voted sixty thousand men, including fourteen thousand eight hundred and forty-five marines, for the service of the ensuing year; and for the operations by land, a body of troops amounting to fifty-two thousand five hundred and fifty-three effective men, besides the auxiliaries of Hanover, Hesse, Brunswick, Saxe-Gotha, and Buckebourg, to the number of fifty-thousand, and five battalions on the Irish establishment in actual service in America and Africa. For the maintenance of the sixty thousand men employed in the sea service, they granted three millions one hundred and twenty thousand pounds; for the land-forces, one million two hundred fifty-six thousand one hundred and thirty pounds, fifteen shillings, and two pence; for the charge of the additional five battalions, forty thousand eight hundred and seventy-nine pounds, thirteen shillings, and nine pence; for the pay of the general and staff-officers, and hospitals of the land-forces, fifty-two thousand four hundred and eighty-four pounds, one shilling, and eight pence; for

maintaining the garrisons in the plantations, Gibraltar, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, Providence, Cape Breton, and Senegal, the sum of seven hundred and forty-two thousand five hundred and thirty-one pounds, five shillings, and seven pence; for the charge of ordnance for land-service, two hundred and twenty thousand seven hundred and eighty-nine pounds, eleven shillings, and nine pence; for extraordinary service performed by the same office, and not provided for by Parliament in the course of the preceding year, three hundred twenty-three thousand nine hundred and eighty-seven pounds, thirteen shillings, and three pence; for the ordinary of the navy, including half-pay to sea-officers, two hundred thirty-eight thousand four hundred and ninety-one pounds, nine shillings, and eight pence; towards the support of Greenwich hospital, and for the out-pensioners of Chelsea college, the sum of thirty-six thousand pounds. They allotted for one year's expense, incurred by the foreign troops in the pay of Great Britain, one million two hundred thirty-eight thousand one hundred and seventy-seven pounds, nineteen shillings, and ten pence, over and above sixty thousand pounds for enabling his majesty to fulfil his engagements with the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, pursuant to the separate article of a new treaty concluded between them in the month of January of this current year, stipulating that this sum should be paid to his serene highness in order to facilitate the means by which he might again fix his residence in his own dominions, and by his presence give fresh courage to his faithful subjects. Eighty thousand pounds were granted for enabling his majesty to discharge the like sum raised in pursuance of an act passed in the preceding session, and charged upon the first aids or supplies to be granted in this session of Parliament. The sum of two hundred thousand pounds was voted towards the building and repairing ships of war for the ensuing year. Fifteen thousand pounds were allowed for improving London bridge; and forty thousand on account for the Foundling hospital. For the charge of transports to be employed in the course of the year they assigned six hundred sixty-seven thousand seven hundred and twenty-one pounds, nineteen shillings, and seven pence; for maintaining the colonies of Nova Scotia and Georgia they bestowed twenty-five thousand two hundred and thirty-eight pounds, thirteen shillings, and five pence. To replace sums taken

from the sinking-fund, thirty-three thousand two hundred and fifty-two pounds, eighteen shillings, and ten pence halfpenny; for maintaining the British forts and settlements on the coast of Africa, ten thousand pounds; and for paying off the mortgage on an estate devised for the endowment of a professorship in the University of Cambridge, the sum of twelve hundred and eighty pounds. For the expense of the militia they voted ninety thousand pounds; for extraordinary expenses relating to the land-forces, incurred in the course of last year, and unprovided for by Parliament, the sum of four hundred and fifty-six thousand seven hundred and eighty-five pounds, ten shillings and five pence three farthings. For the purchase of certain lands and hereditaments, in order to secure the king's docks at Portsmouth, Chatham, and Plymouth, they granted thirty-six thousand nine hundred and sixty-six pounds, two shillings, and ten pence. They voted two hundred thousand pounds for enabling his majesty to give proper compensation to the respective provinces in North America, for the expenses that had been incurred in levying and maintaining troops for the service of the public. They granted twenty thousand pounds to the East India Company, towards enabling them to defray the expense of a military force in their settlements; and the same sum was granted for carrying on the fortification to secure the harbour of Milford. To make good several sums issued by his majesty, for indemnifying the inn-holders and victuallers of Hampshire for the expenses they had incurred in quartering the Hessian auxiliaries in England; for an addition to the salaries of judges, and other less considerable purposes, they allowed the sum of twenty-six thousand one hundred and seventy-eight pounds, sixteen shillings, and sixpence. Finally, they voted one million, upon account, for enabling the king to defray any extraordinary expenses of the war, incurred, or to be incurred, for the service of the current year; and to take all such measures as might be necessary to disappoint or defeat any enterprises or designs of his enemies, as the exigency of affairs should require. The sum of all the grants voted by the committee of supply amounted to twelve millions seven hundred sixty-one thousand three hundred and ten pounds, nineteen shillings, and five pence.

The Commons were still employed in deliberations on ways and means on the twenty-second day of May, when

Mr. Secretary Pitt communicated to them a message from the king, couched in these terms: "His majesty, relying on the experienced zeal and affection of his faithful Commons, and considering that, in this critical conjuncture, emergencies may arise, which may be of the utmost importance, and be attended with the most pernicious consequences, if proper means should not immediately be applied to prevent or defeat them, is desirous that this House would enable him to defray any extraordinary expenses of the war, incurred, or to be incurred, for the service of the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine, and to take all such measures as may be necessary to disappoint or defeat any enterprises or designs of his enemies, and as the exigencies of affairs may require." This message being read, a motion was made, and agreed to *un. con.*, that it should be referred to the committee, who forthwith formed upon it the resolution, whereby one million was granted, to be raised by loans or exchequer-bills, chargeable on the first aids that should be given in the next session. This produced a bill enabling his majesty to raise the sum of one million, for the uses and purposes therein mentioned, comprehending a clause, allowing the bank of England to advance, on the credit of the loan therein mentioned, any sum not exceeding a million, notwithstanding the act of the fifth and sixth years in the reign of William and Mary, by which the bank was established.

The bills relating solely to the supply being discussed and expedited, the House proceeded, as usual, to enact other laws for the advantage of the community. Petitions having been presented by the cities of Bristol and New Sarum, alleging, that since the laws prohibiting the making of low wines and spirits from grain, meal, and flour had been in force, the commonalty appeared more sober, healthy, and industrious; representing the ill consequences which they apprehended would attend the repeal of these laws, and therefore praying their continuance: a committee of the whole House resolved that the prohibition to export corn should be continued to the twenty-fourth day of December, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine; subject nevertheless to such provisions for shortening the said term of its continuance as should therefore be made by any act of that session, or by his majesty with the advice of his privy-council during

Bills relating to the distillery, and the exportation of coin.

the recess of Parliament; that the act for discontinuing the duties upon corn and flour imported or brought in as prize, was not proper to be further continued; and that the prohibition to make low wines or spirits from any sort of grain, meal, or flour, should be continued to the twenty-fourth day of December, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine. Before the bill was formed on these resolutions, petitions arrived from Liverpool and Bath, to the same purport as those of Bristol and Sarum; while on the other hand a remonstrance was presented by a great number of the malt-distillers of the city and suburbs of London, alleging that, it having been deemed expedient to prohibit the distilling of spirits from any sort of grain to the twenty-fourth day of December then instant, some of the petitioners had entirely ceased to carry on the business of distilling, while others, merely with a view to preserve their customers, the compound distillers, and employ some of their servants, horses, and utensils, had submitted to carry on the distillation of spirits from molasses and sugars under great disadvantages, in full hope that the restraint would cease at the expiration of the limited time, or at least when the necessity which occasioned that restraint should be removed; that it was with great concern they observed a bill would be brought in for protracting the said prohibition, at a time when the price of all manner of grain, and particularly of wheat and barley, was considerably reduced, and, as they humbly conceived, at a reasonable medium. They expatiated on the great loss they, as well as many traders and artificers, dependants upon them, must sustain in case the said bill should be passed into a law. They prayed the House to take these circumstances into consideration, and either permit them to carry on the distillation from wheat, malt, and other grain, under such restrictions as should be judged necessary; or to grant them such other relief, in respect of their several losses and incumbrances, as to the House should seem reasonable and expedient. This petition, though strenuously urged by a powerful and clamorous body without doors, did not meet great encouragement within. It was ordered to lie upon the table, and an instruction was given to the committee, empowering them to receive a clause or clauses to allow the transportation of certain quantities of meal, flour, bread, and biscuit, to the islands of Guernsey and Jersey, for the sole use of the inhabitants; and another to

prohibit the making of low wines and spirits from bran. Much more attention was paid to a petition of several farmers in the county of Norfolk, representing that their farms consisted chiefly of arable land, which produced much greater quantities of corn than could be consumed within that county; that in the last harvest there was a great and plentiful crop of all sorts of grain, the greatest part of which had, by unfavourable weather, been rendered unfit for sale at London, or other markets for home consumption; that large quantities of malt were then lying at London, arising chiefly from the crops of barley growing in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-seven, the sale of which was stagnated; that the petitioners being informed the House had ordered in a bill to continue the prohibition of corn exported, they begged leave to observe, that, should it pass into a law, it would be extremely prejudicial to all, and ruin many farmers of that county, as they had offered their corn for sale at divers ports and markets of the said county; but the merchants refused to buy it at any price, alleging its being unfit for the London market, the great quantity of corn with which that market was already overstocked, and their not being allowed either to export it, or make it into malt for exportation: they therefore prayed this prohibition might be removed, or they, the petitioners, indulged with some other kind of relief. Although this remonstrance was duly considered, the bill passed with the amendments, because of the proviso, by which his majesty in council was empowered to shorten the date of the prohibition with respect to the exportation of corn during the recess of Parliament; but the temporary restraint laid upon distillation was made absolute, without any such condition, to the no small disappointment and mortification of the distillers, who had spared no pains and expense, by private solicitation and strenuous dispute in the public papers, to recommend their cause to the favour of the community. They urged that malt-spirits, when used in moderation, far from being prejudicial to the health of individuals, were in many damp and marshy parts of the kingdom absolutely necessary for preserving the field-labourers from agues and other distempers produced by the cold and moisture of the climate; that if they were debarred the use of malt-spirits, they would have recourse to French brandy, with which, as they generally resided near the sea-coast, the smugglers would provide them almost as cheap as

the malt-spirits could be afforded; thus the increased consumption of French spirit would drain the nation of ready money to a considerable amount, and prejudice the king's revenue in the same proportion. They observed, that many distillers had already quitted that branch of trade, and disposed of their materials; that all of them would probably take the same resolution should the bill pass into a law, as no man could foresee when the prohibition would cease, should it be continued at a time when all sorts of grain abounded in such plenty; that the very waste of materials by disuse, over and above the lying out of the money, would be of great prejudice to the proprietor: thus the business of distilling, by which so many families were supported, would be banished from the kingdom entirely; especially as the expense of establishing a large distillery was so great that no man would choose to employ his money for this purpose, judging from experience that some future accidental scarcity of corn might induce the legislature to interpose a ruinous delay in this branch of business. They affirmed, that from the excessive use of malt-spirits no good argument could be drawn against this branch of traffic, no more than against any other conveniency of life; that the excessive use of common beer and ale was prejudicial to the health and morals of the people, yet no person ever thought of putting an end to the practice of brewing, in order to prevent the abuse of brewed liquors. They urged, that in all parts of Great Britain there are some parcels of land that produce nothing to advantage but a coarse kind of barley, called big, which, though neither fit for brewing nor for baking, may nevertheless be used in the distillery, and is accordingly purchased by those concerned in this branch at such an encouraging price, as enables many farmers to pay a higher rent to their landlords than they could otherwise afford; that there are every year some parcels of all sorts of grain so damaged by unseasonable weather, or other accidents, as to be rendered altogether unfit for bread or brewery, and would prove a very great misfortune to the farmer if there was no distillery, for the use of which he could sell his damaged commodity. They asserted, that malt-spirits were absolutely necessary for prosecuting some branches of foreign commerce, particularly the trade to the coast of Africa, for which traffic no assortment could be made up without a large quantity of geneva, of which the

natives are so fond, that they will not traffic with any merchant who has not a considerable quantity, not only for sale, but also for presents to their chiefs and rulers; that the merchants of Great Britain must either have this commodity of their own produce, or import it at a great national expense from Holland; that the charge of this importation, together with the duties payable upon it, some part of which is not to be drawn back on exportation, will render it impossible for the traders to sell it so cheap on the coast of Africa as it might be sold by the Dutch, who are the great rivals of Great Britain in this branch of commerce. To these arguments, all of which were plausible, and some of them unanswerable, it was replied, that malt-spirits might be considered as a fatal and bewitching poison, which had actually debauched the minds, and enervated the bodies of the common people to a very deplorable degree; that, without entering further into a comparison between the use and abuse of the two liquors, beer and geneva, it would be sufficient to observe, that the use of beer and ale had produced none of those dreadful effects which were the consequences of drinking geneva; and since the prohibition of the distillery of malt-spirits had taken place, the common people were become apparently more sober, decent, healthy, and industrious; a circumstance sufficient to induce the legislature not only to intermit, but even totally to abolish, the practice of distillation, which has ever been productive of such intoxication, riot, disorder, and distemper, among the lower class of the people, as might be deemed the greatest evils incident to a well-regulated commonwealth. Their assertion with respect to the coarse kind of barley, called big, was contradicted as a deviation from truth, inasmuch as it was used in making malt, as well as in making bread; and with respect to damaged corn, those who understood the nature of grain affirmed, that if it was spoiled to such a degree as to be altogether unfit for either of these purposes, the distillers would not purchase it at such a price as would indemnify the farmer for the charge of threshing and carriage; for the distillers are very sensible, that their greatest profit is derived from their distilling the malt made from the best barley, so that the increase of the produce far exceeded in proportion the advance of the price. It was not, however, an easy matter, to prove that the distillation of malt-spirits was not necessary to an advantageous prosecution of the commerce

on the coast of Guinea, as well as among the Indians in some parts of North America. Certain it is, that in these branches of traffic, the want of geneva may be supplied by spirits distilled from sugars and molasses. After all, it must be owned that the good and salutary effects of the prohibition were visible in every part of the kingdom, and no evil consequences ensued, except a diminution of the revenue in this article; a consideration which, at all times, ought to be sacrificed to the health and morals of the people; nor will this consideration be found of any great weight, when we reflect that the less the malt-spirit is drunk, the greater quantity of beer and ale will be consumed, and the produce of the duties and excise upon the brewery be augmented accordingly.

In the mean time, all sorts of grain continuing to fall in price, and great plenty appearing in every part of the kingdom, the justices of the peace and the grand ^{Petition from the} juries, assembled at the general quarter sessions of ^{justices of} Norfolk. the peace held for the county of Norfolk, composed and presented to the House of Commons, in the beginning of February, a petition, presenting, that the weather proving unfavourable in the harvest, great part of the barley raised in that county was much damaged, and rendered unfit for any other use than that of being made into malt for exportation; that unless it should be speedily manufactured for that purpose, it would be entirely spoiled, and perish in the hands of the growers; a loss that must be very sensibly felt by the land-holders: they, therefore, entreated that leave might be given for the exportation of malt; and that they might be favoured with such further relief as to the House should seem just and reasonable. In consequence of this petition, the House resolved itself into a committee, to deliberate upon the subject; and as it appeared, upon examination, that the price of grain was reduced very low, and great abundance diffused through the kingdom, they resolved, that the continuance of that part of the act prohibiting the importation of grain ought to be abridged and shortened, and the exportation of these commodities allowed, under proper regulations, with respect to the time of such exportation, and the allowance of bounties thereupon. A bill being founded on these resolutions was discussed, and underwent several amendments; at length it was sent with a new title to the Lords, who passed it without further alteration, and then it obtained the royal sanction.

While this affair was under the deliberation of the committee, the Commons unanimously issued an order for leave to bring in a bill to continue, for a limited time, the act of last session, permitting the importation of salted beef from Ireland into Great Britain, with an instruction to receive a clause extending this permission to all sorts of salted pork, or hog-meat, as the officers of the custom-house had refused to admit hams from Ireland to an entry. The bill likewise received another considerable alteration, importing that, instead of the duty of one shilling and three pence, charged by the former act on every hundredweight of salted beef or pork imported from Ireland, which was found not adequate to the duty payable for such a quantity of salt as is requisite to be used in curing and salting thereof; and to prevent as well the expense to the revenue, as the detriment and loss which would accrue to the owner and importer, from opening the casks in which the provision is generally deposited, with the pickle or brine proper for preserving the same, in order to ascertain the net weight of the provision liable to the said duties; for these reasons it was enacted, that from and after the twenty-fourth day of last December, and during the continuance of this act, a duty of three shillings and fourpence should be paid upon importation for every barrel or cask of salted beef or pork containing thirty-two gallons; and one shilling and threepence for every hundredweight of salted beef, called dried beef, dried neats' tongues, or dried hog-meat, and so in proportion for any greater or lesser quantity.

Repeated complaints having been made to the government by neutral nations, especially the Dutch, that their ships had been plundered, and their crews maltreated, by some of the English privateers, the legislature resolved to provide effectually against any such outrageous practices for the future; and with this view the Commons ordered a bill to be brought in for amending and explaining an act of the twenty-ninth year of his late majesty's reign, entitled "An act for the encouragement of seamen, and more speedy and effectual manning of his majesty's navy." While the committee was employed in perusing commissions and papers relating to private ships of war, that they might be fully acquainted with the nature of the subject, a considerable number of merchants and

Bill for the
importation
of salted
beef from
Ireland con-
tinued.

Regulations
with re-
spect to
privateers.

others, inhabiting the islands of Guernsey and Jersey, presented a petition to the House, alleging, that the inhabitants of those islands which lie in the British channel, within sight of the French coast, had now, as well as in former wars, embarked their fortunes in equipping small privateers, which used to run in close with the French shore, and being disguised like fishing-boats, had not only taken a considerable number of prizes, to the great annoyance of the enemy, but also obtained material intelligence of their designs, on many important occasions; that these services could not be performed by large vessels, which durst not approach so near the coast, and indeed could not appear without giving the alarm, which was communicated from place to place by appointed signals. Being informed that a bill was depending, in order to prohibit privateers of small burden, they declared that such a law, if extended to privateers equipped in those islands, would ruin such as had invested their fortunes in small privateers, and not only deprive the kingdom of the before-mentioned advantages, but expose Great Britain to infinite prejudice from the small armed vessels of France, which the enemy, in that case, would pour abroad over the whole channel, to the great annoyance of navigation and commerce. They prayed, therefore, that such privateers as belonged to the islands of Guernsey and Jersey might be wholly excepted from the penalties contained in the bill, or that they (the petitioners) might be heard by their counsel, and be indulged with such relief as the House should judge expedient. This representation being referred to the consideration of the committee, produced divers amendments to the bill, which, at length, obtained the royal assent, and contained these regulations: that after the first day of January in the present year, no commission should be granted to a privateer in Europe under the burden of one hundred tons, the force of ten carriage guns, being three-pounders or above, with forty men at the least, unless the lords of the Admiralty, or persons authorized by them, should think fit to grant the same to any ship of inferior force or burden, the owners thereof giving such bail or security as should be prescribed; that the lords of the Admiralty might at any time revoke, by an order in writing under their hands any commission granted to a privateer; this revocation being subject to an appeal to his majesty in council, whose determination should be final; that, previous to the granting any

commission, the persons proposing to be bound, and give security, should severally make oath of their being respectively worth more money than the sum for which they were then to be bound, over and above the payment of all their just debts; that persons applying for such commissions should make application in writing, and therein set forth a particular and exact description of the vessel, specifying the burden, and the number and nature of the guns on board, to what place belonging, as well as the name or names of the principal owner or owners, and the number of men: these particulars to be inserted in the commission: and every commander to produce such commission to the custom-house officer, who should examine the vessel, and, finding her answer the description, give a certificate thereof gratis, to be deemed a necessary clearance, without which the commander should not depart; that if, after the first day of June, any captain of a privateer should agree for the ransom of any neutral vessel, or the cargo, or any part thereof, after it should have been taken as a prize, and in pursuance of such agreement should actually discharge such prize, he should be deemed guilty of piracy; but that, with respect to contraband merchandize, he might take it on board his own ship, with the consent of the commander of the neutral vessel, and then set her at liberty; and that no person should purloin or embezzle the said merchandize before condemnation; that no judge, or other person belonging to any court of Admiralty, should be concerned in any privateer: that owners of vessels not being under fifty or above one hundred tons, whose commissions are declared void, should be indemnified for their loss by the public: that a court of oyer and terminer, and good delivery, for the trial of offences committed within the jurisdiction of the Admiralty, should be held twice a year in the Old Bailey at London, or in such other place within England as the board of Admiralty should appoint: that the judge of any court of Admiralty, after an appeal interposed, as well as before, should, at the request of the captor or claimant, issue an order for appraisal of the capture when the parties do not agree upon the value, and an inventory to be taken; then exact security for the full value, and cause the capture to be delivered to the person giving such security; but, should objection be made to the taking such security, the judge should, at the request of either party, order such merchandize to be entered, landed,

and sold at public auction, and the produce to be deposited at the Bank, or in some public securities; and in case of security being given, the judge should grant a pass in favour of the capture. Finally, the force of this act was limited to the duration of the then war with France only. This regulation very clearly demonstrated, that whatever violences might have been committed on the ships of the neutral nations, they were by no means countenanced by the legislature, or the body of the people.

Every circumstance relating to the reformation of the marine must be an important object to a nation ^{New militia} whose wealth and power depend upon navigation ^{laws.} and commerce; but a consideration of equal weight was the establishment of the militia, which, notwithstanding the repeated endeavours of the Parliament was found still incomplete, and in want of further assistance from the legislature. His majesty having, by the chancellor of the exchequer, recommended to the House the making suitable provision for defraying the charges of the militia during the current year, the accounts of the expense already incurred by this establishment were referred to the committee of supply, who, after having duly perused them, resolved that ninety thousand pounds should be granted on account, towards defraying the charges of pay and clothing for the militia, from the last day of the last year to the twenty-fifth day of March, in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty, and for repaying a sum advanced by the king for this service. Leave was given to bring in one bill pursuant to this resolution, and another to enforce the execution of the laws relating to the militia, remove certain difficulties, and prevent the inconveniences by which it might be attended. So intent were the majority on both sides upon this national measure, that they not only carried both bills to the throne, where they received the royal assent, but they presented an address to the king, desiring his majesty would give directions to his lieutenants of the several counties, ridings, and places in England, to use their utmost diligence and attention for carrying into execution the several acts of Parliament relating to the militia. By this time all the individuals that constituted the representatives of the people, except such as actually served in the army, were become very well disposed towards this institution. Those who really wished well to their country had always exerted themselves in its

favour; and it was now likewise espoused by those who foresaw that the establishment of a national militia would enable the administration to send the greater number of regular troops to fight the battles of Germany. Yet how zealous soever the legislature might be in promoting this institution, and notwithstanding the success with which many patriots exerted their endeavours through different parts of the kingdom, in raising and disciplining the militia, it was found not only difficult, but almost impracticable, to execute the intention of the Parliament, in some particular counties, where the gentlemen were indolent and enervated, or in those places where they looked upon their commander with contempt. Even Middlesex itself, where the king resides, was one of the last counties in which the militia could be arrayed. In allusion to this backwardness, the preamble, or first clause in one of the present acts imported, that certain counties, ridings, and places in England had made some progress in establishing the militia, without completing the same, and that, in certain other counties, little progress had been made therein; his majesty's lieutenants and the deputy-lieutenants, and all others within such counties or districts, were therefore strictly required speedily and diligently to put these acts in execution. The truth is, some of these unwarlike commanders failed through ignorance and inactivity; others gave or offered commissions to such people as threw a ridicule and contempt upon the whole establishment, and consequently hindered many gentlemen of worth, spirit, and capacity, from engaging in the service. The mutiny-bill, and that for the regulation of the marine forces while on shore, passed through the usual forms, as annual measures, without any dispute or alteration.^d

^d The next bill that fell under the cognizance of the House related to a law transaction, and was suggested by a petition presented in the name of the sheriffs and grantees of post-fines under the crown of England. They enumerated and explained the difficulties under which they laboured, in raising and collecting these fines within the respective counties; particularly when the estate conveyed by fine was no more than a right of reversion, in which case they could not possibly levy the post-fine, unless the purchaser should obtain possession within the term of their sheriffalty, or pay it of his own free-will, as they could not disclaim while the lands were in possession of the donee. They, therefore, proposed a method for raising these post-fines by a proper officer, to be appointed for that purpose; and prayed that leave might be given to bring in a bill accordingly. This petition was seconded by a message from the king, importing, that his majesty, as far as his interest was concerned, gave his consent that the House might act in this affair as they should think proper.

The Commons, in a committee of the whole House, having taken into consideration the merits of the petition, formed several resolutions; upon which a bill was founded for the more regular and easy collecting, accounting for, and paying of post-fines, which should be due to the crown, or to the grantees thereof under the crown, and for the ease of sheriffs in respect to the same. Before it passed into a law, however, it was opposed

A committee having been appointed to inquire what laws were expired, or near expiring, and to report their opinion to the House touching the revival or continuation of these laws, they agreed to several resolutions; in consequence of which the following bills were brought in, and enacted into laws; namely, an act for regulating the lastage and ballastage of the river Thames; an act for continuing the law relating to the punishment of persons going armed or disguised; an act for continuing several laws near expiring; an act concerning the admeasurement of coals; an act for the relief of debtors, with respect to the imprisonment of their persons. This last was almost totally metamorphosed by alterations, amendments, and additions, among which the most remarkable were these: that where more creditors than one shall charge any prisoner in execution, and desire to have him detained in prison, they shall only respectively pay him each such weekly sum, not exceeding one shilling and sixpence per week, as the court, at the time of his being remanded, shall direct: that if any prisoner, described by the act, shall remain in prison three months after being committed, any creditor may compel him to give into court, upon oath, an account of his real and personal estate, to be disposed of for the benefit of his creditors, they consenting to his being discharged. Why the humanity of this law was confined to those prisoners only who are not charged in execution with any debt exceeding one hundred pounds, cannot easily be conceived. A man who, through unavoidable misfortunes, hath sunk from affluence to misery and indigence, is generally a greater object of compassion than he who never knew the delicacies of life, nor ever enjoyed credit sufficient to contract debts to any considerable amount; yet the latter is by this law entitled to his discharge, or at least to a maintenance in prison; while the former is left to starve in gaol, or undergo perpetual imprisonment, amidst all the

by a petition in favour of one William Daw, a lunatic, clerk to the king's silver-office, alleging, that should the bill pass, it would deprive the said Daw and his successors of an ancient fee belonging to his office, on searches made for post-fines by the under sheriffs of the several counties; therefore, praying that such provision might be made for the said lunatic as to the House should seem just and reasonable. This and divers other petitions respecting the bill being discussed in the committee, it underwent several amendments, and was enacted into a law; the particulars of which cannot be properly understood without a previous explanation of this method of conveying estates; a subject obscure in itself, founded upon a seeming subterfuge of law, scarce reconcilable with the dictates of common sense, and consequently improper for the pen of an historian.

horrors of misery, if he owes above one hundred pounds to a revengeful and unrelenting creditor. Wherefore, in a country, the people of which justly pique themselves upon charity and benevolence, an unhappy fellow-citizen, reduced to a state of bankruptcy by unforeseen losses in trade, should be subjected to a punishment, which, of all others, must be the most grievous to a free-born Briton, namely, the entire loss of liberty; a punishment which the most flagrant crime can hardly deserve, in a nation that disclaims the torture; for, doubtless, perpetual imprisonment must be a torture infinitely more severe than death, because protracted through a series of years spent in misery and despair, without one glimmering ray of hope, without the most distant prospect of deliverance? wherefore the legislature should extend its humanity to those only who are the least sensible of the benefit, because the most able to struggle under misfortune? and wherefore many valuable individuals should, for no guilt of their own, be not only ruined themselves, but lost to the community? are questions which we cannot resolve to the satisfaction of the reader. Of all imprisoned debtors, those who are confined for large sums may be deemed the most wretched and forlorn, because they have generally fallen from a sphere of life where they had little acquaintance with necessity, and were altogether ignorant of the arts by which the severities of indigence are alleviated. On the other hand, those of the lower class of mankind, whose debts are small in proportion to the narrowness of their former credit, have not the same delicate feelings of calamity. They are inured to hardship, and accustomed to the labour of their hands, by which, even in a prison, they can earn a subsistence. Their reverse of fortune is not so great, nor the transition so affecting. Their sensations are not delicate; nor are they, like their betters in misfortune, cut off from hope, which is the wretch's last comfort. It is the man of sentiment and sensibility, who, in this situation, is overwhelmed with a complication of misery and ineffable distress. The mortification of his pride, his ambition blasted, his family undone, himself deprived of liberty, reduced from opulence to extreme want, from the elegancies of life to the most squalid and frightful scenes of poverty and affliction; divested of comfort, destitute of hope, and doomed to linger out a wretched being in the midst of insult, violence, riot, and uproar: these are reflections so

replete with horror, as to render him, in all respects, the most miserable object on the face of the earth. He, alas! though possessed of talents that might have essentially served and even adorned society, while thus restrained in prison, and affected in mind, can exert no faculty, nor stoop to any condescension, by which the horrors of his fate might be assuaged. He scorns to execute the lowest offices of menial services, particularly in attending those who are the objects of contempt or abhorrence: he is incapable of exercising any mechanic art, which might afford a happy though a scanty independence. Shrunk within his dismal cell, surrounded by haggard poverty, and her gaunt attendants, hollow-eyed famine, shivering cold, and wan disease, he wildly casts his eyes around: he sees the tender partner of his heart weeping in silent woe; he hears his helpless babes clamorous for sustenance; he feels himself the importunate cravings of human nature, which he cannot satisfy; and groans with all the complicated pangs of internal anguish, horror, and despair. These are not the fictions of idle fancy, but real pictures, drawn from nature, of which almost every prison in England will afford but too many originals.

Among other new measures, a successful attempt was made in favour of Ireland, by a bill, permitting the free importation of catle from that kingdom for a limited time. This, however, was not carried through both Houses without considerable opposition, arising from the particular interests of certain counties and districts in several parts of Great Britain, from whence petitions against the bill were transmitted to the Commons. Divers artifices were also used within doors to saddle the bill with such clauses as might overcharge the scheme, and render it odious or alarming to the public; but the promoters of it being aware of the design, conducted it in such a manner as to frustrate all their views, and convey it safely to the throne, where it was enacted into a law. The like success attended another effort on behalf of our fellow-subjects in Ireland. The bill for the importation of Irish cattle was no sooner ordered to be brought in, than the House proceeded to take into consideration the duties then payable on the importation of tallow from the same kingdom; and several witnesses being examined, the committee agreed to a resolution, that these duties should cease and determine

Bills for the
importation
of Irish
beef and
tallow.

for a limited time. A bill being formed accordingly, passed through both Houses without opposition, though in the preceding session a bill to the same purpose had miscarried among the peers; a miscarriage probably owing to their being unacquainted with the sentiments of his majesty, as some of the duties upon tallow constituted part of one of the branches appropriated for the civil list revenue. This objection, however, was obviated in the case of the present bill, by the king's message to the House of Commons, signifying his majesty's consent, as far as his interest was concerned in the affair. By this new act the free importation of Irish tallow was permitted for the term of five years.

In the month of February the Commons presented an address to his majesty, requesting that he would give directions for laying before the House an account of what had been done, since the beginning of last year, towards securing the harbour of Milford, in pursuance of any directions from his majesty. These accounts being perused, and the king having, by the chancellor of the exchequer, exhorted them to make provision for fortifying the said harbour, a bill was brought in to explain, amend, and render more effectual, the act of the last session relating to this subject; and, passing through both Houses, received the royal assent without opposition. By this act, several engineers were added to the commissioners formerly appointed; and it was ordained that fortifications should be erected at Peterchurch-point, Westlanyon-point, and Neyland-point, as being the most proper and best situated places for fortifying the interior parts of the harbour. It was also enacted, that the commissioners should appoint proper secretaries, clerks, assistants, and other officers, for carrying the two acts into execution, and that an account of the application of the money should be laid before Parliament, within twenty days of the opening of every session. What next attracted the attention of the House, was an affair of the utmost importance to the commerce of the kingdom, which equally affected the interest of the nation and the character of the natives. In the latter end of February complaint was made to the House that since the commencement of the war, an infamous traffic had been set on foot by some merchants of London, of importing French cloths into several ports of the Levant, on account of British subjects. Five persons were summoned to attend the House, and the fact was fully

Act relative
to Milford-
haven.

proved, not only by their evidence, but also by some papers submitted to the House by the Turkey company. A bill was immediately contrived for putting a stop to this scandalous practice, reciting in the preamble, that such traffic was not only a manifest discouragement and prejudice to the woollen manufacturers of Great Britain, but also a relief to the enemy, in consequence of which they were enabled to maintain the war against these kingdoms.

The next object that employed the attention of the Commons, was to explain and amend a law made in the last session, for granting to his majesty several rates Bill relative to the duty on pensions. and duties upon offices and pensions. The directions specified in the former act for levying this imposition having been found inconvenient in many respects, new regulations were now established, importing that those deductions should be paid into the hands of receivers appointed by the king for that purpose: that all sums deducted under this act should be accounted for to such receivers, and the accounts audited and passed by them, and not by the auditors of the imprests, or of the exchequer: that all disputes relating to the collection of this duty should be finally, and in a summary way, determined by the barons of the exchequer in England and Scotland respectively: that the commissioners of the land-tax should fix and ascertain the sum total or amount of the perquisites of every office and employment within their respective districts, distinct from the salary thereunto belonging, to be deducted under the said act, independently of any former valuation or assessment of the same to the land-tax; and should rate or assess all offices and employments, the perquisites whereof should be found to exceed the sum of one hundred pounds per annum, at one shilling for every twenty thence arising; that the receivers should transmit to the commissioners in every district where any office or employment is to be assessed, an account of such offices and employments, that upon being certified of the truth of their amount they might be rated and assessed accordingly; that in all future assessments of the land-tax the said offices and employments should not be valued at higher rates than those at which they were assessed towards the land-tax of the thirty-first year of the present reign; that the word perquisite should be understood to mean such profits of offices and employments as arise from fees established by custom or authority, and pay-

able either by the crown or the subjects, in consideration of business done in the course of executing such offices and employments; and that a commissioner possessed of any office or employment might not interfere in the execution of the said act, except in what might relate to his own employment. By the last four clauses several salaries were exempted from the payment of this duty. The objections made without doors to this new law were the accession of pecuniary influence to the crown, by the creation of a new office and officers, whereas this duty might have been easily collected and received by the commissioners of the land-tax already appointed, and the inconsistency that appeared between the fifth and seventh clauses: in the former of these, the commissioners of the land-tax were vested with the power of assessing the perquisites of every office within their respective districts, independent of any former valuation or assessment of the same to the land-tax; and by the latter, they are restricted from assessing any office at a higher rate than that of the thirty-first year of the reign of George II.

In the beginning of March petitions were offered to the House by the merchants of Birmingham, in Warwickshire, and Sheffield, in Yorkshire, specifying, that the toy trade of these and many other towns consisted generally of articles in which gold and silver might be said to be manufactured, though in small proportion, inasmuch as the sale of them depended upon slight ornaments of gold and silver: that by a clause passed in the last session of Parliament, obliging every person who should sell goods or wares in which any gold or silver was manufactured to take out an annual licence of forty shillings, they the petitioners were laid under great difficulties and disadvantages; that not only the first seller, but every person through whose hands the goods or wares passed to the consumer, was required to take out the said licence; they, therefore, requested that the House would take these hardships and inequalities into consideration, and indulge them with reasonable relief. The committee, to which this affair was referred, having resolved that this imposition was found detrimental to the toy and cutlery trade of the kingdom, the House agreed to the resolution, and a bill being prepared, under the title of "An act to amend the act made in the last session, for repealing the duty granted by an act of the sixth

Act relative
to the duty
on plate.

year of the reign of his late majesty, on silver plate, and for granting a duty on licences to be taken out by all persons dealing in gold and silver plate," was enacted into a law by the royal sanction. By this new regulation, small quantities of gold and silver plate were allowed to be sold without licence. Instead of the duty before payable upon licences, another was granted to be taken out by certain dealers in gold and silver plate, pawnbrokers, and refiners. This affair being discussed, the House took into consideration the claims of the proprietors of lands purchased for the better securing of his majesty's docks, ships, and stores at Chatham, Portsmouth, and Plymouth; and for better fortifying the town of Portsmouth and citadel of Plymouth, in pursuance of an act passed in the last session. We have already specified the sum granted for this purpose, in consequence of a resolution of the House, upon which a bill being founded, soon passed into a law without opposition.*

In the month of April a bill was brought in for the more effectual preventing the fraudulent importation of ^{Cambric} cambrics; and while it was under deliberation, ^{act.} several merchants and wholesale drapers of the city of London presented a petition, representing the grievances to which they, and many thousands of other traders, would be subjected, should the bill, as it then stood, be passed into a law. According to their request, they were heard by their counsel on the merits of this remonstrance, and some amendments were made to the bill in their favour. At length it received the royal assent, and became a law to the following effect: it enacted, that no cambrics, French lawns, or linens of this kind, usually entered under the denomination of cambrics, should be imported after the first day of next August, but in bales, cases, or boxes, covered with sackcloth or canvass, containing each one hundred whole pieces, or two hundred half pieces, on penalty of forfeiting the whole; that cambrics and French lawns should be imported for exportation

* The next bill which was brought into the House related to the summons issued by the commissioners of the excise, and justices of the peace, for the appearance of persons offending against, or for forfeitures incurred by, the laws of excise. As some doubts had arisen with respect to the method of summoning in such cases, this bill, which obtained the royal assent in due course, enacted that a summons left at the house, or usual place of residence, or with the wife, child, or menial servants of the person so summoned, should be held as legal notice, as well as the leaving such notice at the house, work-house, warehouse, shop, cellar, vault, or usual place of residence, of such person, directed to him by his right or assumed name; and all dealers in coffee, tea, or chocolate, were subjected to the penalty of twenty pounds, as often as they should neglect to attend the commissioners of excise when summoned in this manner.

only, lodged in the king's warehouses, and delivered out under like security and restrictions as prohibited East India merchandize ; and, on importation, pay only the half subsidy : that all cambrics and French lawns in the custody of any person should be deposited, by the first of August, in the king's warehouses, the bonds thereupon be delivered up, and the drawback on exportation paid ; yet the goods should not be delivered out again but for exportation : that canbrics and French lawns exposed to sale, or found in the possession of private persons, after the said day, should be forfeited, and liable to be searched for, and seized, in like manner as other prohibited and uncustomed goods are ; and the offender should forfeit two hundred pounds over and above all other penalties and forfeitures inflicted by any former act : that if any doubt should arise concerning the species or quality of the goods, or the place where they were manufactured, the proof should lie on the owner : finally, that the penalty of five pounds, inflicted by a former act, and payable to the informer, on any person that should wear any cambric or French lawns, should still remain in force, and be recoverable, on conviction, by oath of one witness, before one justice of the peace. The last successful bill which this session produced was that relating to the augmentation of the salaries of the judges in his majesty's superior courts of justice. A motion having been made for an instruction to the committee of supply, to consider of the said augmentation, the chancellor of the exchequer acquainted the House that this augmentation was recommended to them by his majesty. Nevertheless, the motion was opposed, and a warm debate ensued. At length, however, being carried in the affirmative, the committee agreed to certain resolutions, on which a bill was founded. While it remained under discussion, a motion was made for an instruction to the committee, that they should have power to receive a clause or clauses for restraining the judges, comprehended within the provisions of the bill, from receiving any fee, gift, present, or entertainment from any city, town, borough, or corporation, or from any sheriff, gaoler, or other officer, upon their several respective circuits, and from taking any gratuity from any office or officer of any of the courts of law. Another motion was made for a clause restraining such judges, barons, and justices, as were comprehended within the provisions of the bill, from interfering, otherwise than by giving their own

votes, in any election of members to serve in Parliament; but both these proposals being put to the vote, were carried in the negative. These two motions being overruled by the majority, the bill underwent some amendments; and having passed through both Houses in the ordinary course, was enacted into a law by the royal sanction. With respect to the import of this act, it is no other than the establishment of the several stamp-duties, applied to the augmentation; and the appropriation of their produce in such a manner, that the crown cannot alter the application of the sums thus granted in Parliament. But on this occasion, no attempt was made in favour of the independency of the judges, which seems to have been invaded by a late interpretation of, or rather by a deviation from, the act of settlement; in which it is expressly ordained, that the commissions of the judges should continue in force *quamdiu se bene gesserint*; that their salaries should be fixed, and none of them removeable but by an address of both Houses of Parliament. It was then, without all doubt, the intention of the legislature, that every judge should enjoy his office during life, unless convicted by legal trial of some misbehaviour, or unless both Houses of Parliament should concur in desiring his removal: but the doctrine now adopted imports, that no commission can continue in force longer than the life of the king by whom it was granted; that therefore the commissions of the judges must be renewed by a new king at his accession, who should have it in his power to employ either those whom he finds acting as judges at his accession, or confer their offices on others, with no other restraint than that the condition of the new commissions should be *quamdiu se bene gesserint*. Thus the office of judge is rendered more precarious, and the influence of the crown receives a considerable reinforcement.

Among the bills that miscarried in the course of this session, we may number a second attempt to carry into execution the scheme which was offered last year for the more effectual manning the navy, preventing desertion, and relieving and encouraging the seamen of Great Britain. A bill was accordingly brought in, couched in nearly the same terms that had been rejected in the last session; and it was supported by a considerable number of members, animated with a true spirit of patriotism; but to the trading part of the nation it appeared one of those plausible projects, which, though agreeable in speculation, can

never be reduced into practice, without a concomitancy of greater evils than those they were intended to remove. While the bill remained under the consideration of the House, petitions were presented against it by the merchants of Bristol, Scarborough, Whitby, Kingston-upon-Hull, and Lancaster, representing, that, by such a law, the trade of the kingdom, which is the nursery and support of seamen at all times, and that spirit of equipping private ships of war, which had been of distinguished service to the nation, would be laid under such difficulties as might cause a great stagnation in the former, and a total suppression of the latter; the bill, therefore, would be highly prejudicial to the marine of the kingdom, and altogether ineffectual for the purposes intended. A great number of books and papers relating to trading ships and vessels, as well as to seamen, and other persons protected or pressed into the navy, and to expenses occasioned by pressing men into the navy, were examined in a committee of the whole House, and the bill was improved with many amendments; nay, after it was printed and engrossed, several clauses were added by way of rider; yet still the experiment seemed dangerous. The motion for its being passed was violently opposed; warm debates ensued; they were adjourned, and resumed; and the arguments against the bill appeared at length in such a striking light, that, when the question was put, the majority declared for the negative. The regulations which had been made in Parliament during the twenty-sixth, the twenty-eighth, and thirtieth years of the present reign, for the preservation of the public roads, being attended with some inconveniences in certain parts of the kingdom, petitions were brought from some counties in Wales, as well as from the freeholders of Herefordshire, the farmers of Middlesex, and others, enumerating the difficulties attending the use of broad wheels in one case, and the limitation of horses used in drawing carriages with narrow wheels in the other. The matter of these remonstrances was considered in a committee of the whole House, which resolved, that the weight to be carried by all waggons and carts, travelling on the turnpike roads, should be limited. On this resolution a bill was framed, for amending and reducing into one act of Parliament the three acts before mentioned for the preservation of the public highways; but some objections being started, and a petition interposed by the landholders of Suffolk and Norfolk, alleging that the bill, if

passed into a law, would render it impossible to bring fresh provisions from those counties to London, as the supply depended absolutely upon the quickness of conveyance, the further consideration of it was postponed to a longer day, and never resumed in the sequel; so that the attempt miscarried.

Of all the subjects which, in the course of this session, fell under the cognizance of Parliament, there was none that more interested the humanity, or challenged the redress, of the legislature, than did the case of the poor insolvent debtors, who languished under all the miseries of indigence and imprisonment. In the month of February a petition was offered to the Commons in behalf of bankrupts, who represented, that having scrupulously conformed to the laws made concerning bankruptcy, by surrendering their all upon oath, for the benefit of their creditors, they had nevertheless been refused their certificates, without any probability of relief; that by this cruel refusal, many bankrupts have been obliged to abscond, while others were immured in prison, and these unhappy sufferers groaned under the particular hardship of being excluded from the benefit of laws occasionally made for the relief of insolvent debtors; that the power vested in creditors of refusing certificates to their bankrupts was, as the petitioners conceived, founded upon a presumption that such power would be tenderly exercised, and never but in notorious cases; but the great increase in the number of bankrupts within two years past, and the small proportion of those who had been able to obtain their certificates, seemed to demonstrate that the power had been used for cruel and unjust purposes, contrary to the intention of the legislature; that as the greater part of the petitioners, and their fellow-sufferers, must inevitably and speedily perish, with their distressed families, unless seasonably relieved by the interposition of Parliament, they implored the compassion of the House, from which they hoped immediate favour and relief. This petition was accompanied with a printed case, explaining the nature of the laws relating to bankrupts, and pointing out their defects in point of policy as well as humanity; but little regard was seemingly paid to either remonstrance. Other petitions, however, being presented by insolvent debtors, imprisoned in different gaols within the kingdom, leave was given to bring in a bill for their relief, and a committee appointed to examine the laws relating to bankruptcy.

Among other petitionary remonstrances on this subject, the members were separately presented with the printed case of Captain George Walker, a prisoner in the gaol of the King's Bench, who had been declared a bankrupt, and complained, that he had been subjected to some flagrant acts of injustice and oppression. The case contained such extraordinary allegations, and the captain's character was so remarkably fair and interesting, that the committee, which were empowered to send for persons, papers, and records, resolved to inquire into the particulars of his misfortune. A motion was made and agreed to, that the marshal of the prison should bring the captain before the committee; and the speaker's warrant was issued accordingly. The prisoner was produced, and examined at several sittings; and some of the members expressed a laudable eagerness to do him justice: but his antagonists were very powerful, and left no stone unturned to frustrate the purpose of the inquiry, which was dropped of course at the end of the session. Thus the unfortunate Captain Walker, who had, in the late war, remarkably distinguished himself at sea by his courage and conduct, repeatedly signalized himself against the enemies of his country, was sent back, without redress, to the gloomy mansions of a gaol, where he had already pined for several years, useless to himself, and lost to the community, while he might have been profitably employed in retrieving his own fortune, and exerting his talents for the general advantage of the nation. While this affair was in agitation, the bill for the relief of insolvent debtors was prepared, printed, and read a second time; but, when the motion was made for its being committed, a debate arose, and this was adjourned from time to time till the end of the session. In the mean time, the committee continued to deliberate upon the laws relating to bankruptcy; and in the beginning of June reported their resolution to the House, that in their opinion, some amendments might be made to the laws concerning bankruptcy, to the advantage of creditors, and relief of insolvents. Such was the notice vouchsafed to the cries of many British subjects, deprived of liberty, and destitute of the common necessities of life.

It would engage us in a long digressive discussion were we to inquire how the spirit of the laws in England, so famed for lenity, has been exasperated into such severity against insolvent debtors; and why, among

Case of
Captain
Walker.

Remarks on
the bank-
rupt laws.

a people so distinguished for generosity and compassion, the gaols should be more filled with prisoners than they are in any other part of Christendom. Perhaps both these deviations from a general character are violent efforts of a wary legislature made in behalf of trade, which cannot be too much cherished in a nation that principally depends upon commerce. The question is, whether this laudable aim may not be more effectually accomplished without subjecting individuals to oppression, arising from the cruelty and revenge of one another. As the laws are modelled at present, it cannot be denied that the debtor, in some cases, lies, in a peculiar manner, at the mercy of his creditor. By the original and common law of England, no man could be imprisoned for debt. The plaintiff in any civil action could have no execution upon his judgment against either the body or the lands of the defendant; even with respect to his goods and chattels, which were subject to execution, he was obliged to leave him such articles as were necessary for agriculture. But, in process of time, this indulgence being found prejudicial to commerce, a law was enacted in the reign of Edward the First, allowing execution on the person of the debtor, provided his goods and chattels were not sufficient to pay the debt which he had contracted. This law was still attended with a very obvious inconvenience. The debtor, who possessed an estate in lands, was tempted to secrete his moveable effects, and live in concealment on the produce of his lands, while the sheriff connived at his retirement. To remove this evil, a second statute was enacted in the same reign, granting immediate execution against the body, lands, and goods of the debtor; yet his effects could not be sold for the benefit of his creditors till the expiration of three months, during which he himself could dispose of them for ready money, in order to discharge his incumbrances. If the creditor was not satisfied in this manner, he continued in possession of the debtor's lands, and detained the debtor himself in prison, where he was obliged to supply him with bread and water for his support, until the debt was discharged. Other severe regulations were made in the sequel, particularly in the reign of Edward the Third, which gave rise to the writ of *capias ad satisfaciendum*. This, indeed, rendered the preceding laws, called statute-merchant and statute-staple, altogether unnecessary. Though the liberty of the subject, and the security of the landholder, were thus, in some measure, sacrificed to the ad-

vantage of commerce, an imprisoned debtor was not left entirely at the mercy of an inexorable creditor. If he made all the satisfaction in his power, and could show that his insolvency was owing to real misfortunes, the court of chancery interposed on his petition, and actually ordered him to be discharged from prison, when no good reason for detaining him could be assigned. This interposition, which seems naturally to belong to a court of equity, constituted with a view to mitigate the rigour of the common law, ceased, in all probability, after the restoration of Charles the Second, and of consequence the prisons were filled with debtors. Then the legislature charged themselves with the extension of a power which perhaps a chancellor no longer thought himself safe in exercising; and in the year one thousand six hundred and seventy, passed the first act for the relief of insolvent debtors, granting a release to all prisoners for debt, without distinction or inquiry. By this general indulgence, which has even in a great measure continued in all subsequent acts of the same kind, the lenity of the Parliament may be sometimes misapplied, inasmuch as insolvency is often criminal, arising from profligacy and extravagance, which deserve to be severely punished. Yet, even for this species of insolvency, perpetual imprisonment, aggravated by the miseries of extreme indigence, and the danger of perishing through famine, may be deemed a punishment too severe. How cruel then must it be to leave the most innocent bankrupt exposed to this punishment from the revenge or sinister design of a merciless creditor; a creditor, by whose fraud, perhaps, the prisoner became a bankrupt, and by whose craft he is detained in gaol, lest, by his discharge from prison, he should be enabled to seek that redress in chancery to which he is entitled on a fair account! The severity of the law was certainly intended against fraudulent bankrupts only; and the statute of bankruptcy is, doubtless, favourable to insolvents, as it discharges from all former debts those who obtained their certificates. As British subjects, they are surely entitled to the same indulgence which is granted to other insolvents. They were always included in every act passed for the relief of insolvent debtors, till the sixth year of George I., when they were first excepted from this benefit. By a law enacted in the reign of Queen Anne, relating to bankruptcy, any creditor was at liberty to object to the confirmation of the bankrupt's certificate; but the chancellor had

power to judge whether the objection was frivolous or well-founded; yet, by a later act, the chancellor is obliged to confirm the certificate, if it is agreeable to four-fifths in number and value of the creditors; whereas he cannot confirm it, should he be opposed, even without any reason assigned, by one creditor to whom the greater part of the debt is owing. It might, therefore, deserve the consideration of Parliament, whether, in extending their clemency to the poor, it should not be equally diffused to bankrupts and other insolvents; whether proper distinctions ought not to be made between the innocent bankrupt who falls through misfortunes in trade, and him who becomes insolvent from fraud or profligacy; and finally, whether the inquiry and trial of all such cases would not properly fall within the province of chancery, a tribunal instituted for the mitigation of common law.

The House of Commons seems to have been determined on another measure, which, however, does not admit of ^{Inquiry} explanation. An order was made in the month ^{into the} of February, that leave should be given to bring in ^{state of the} a bill to explain, amend, and render effectual so much of an act passed in the thirteenth year of George II. against the excessive increase of horse-races and deceitful gaming, as related to that increase. The bill was accordingly presented, read, printed, and ordered to be committed to a committee of the whole House; but the order was delayed from time to time to the end of the session. Some progress was likewise made in another affair of greater consequence to the community. A committee was appointed in the month of March, to take into consideration the state of the poor in England, as well as the laws enacted for their maintenance. The clerks of the peace belonging to all the counties, cities, and towns in England and Wales were ordered to transmit, for the perusal of the House, an account of the annual expense of passing vagrants through their respective divisions and districts for four years; and the committee began to deliberate on this important subject. In the latter end of May the House was made acquainted with their resolutions, importing that the present method of relieving the poor in the respective parishes, where no workhouses have been provided for their reception and employment, are, in general, very burdensome to the inhabitants, and tend to render the poor miserable to themselves, and useless to the community; that

the present method of giving money out of the parochial rates to persons capable of labour, in order to prevent them from claiming an entire subsistence for themselves and their families, is contrary to the spirit and intention of the laws for the relief of the poor, is a dangerous power in the hands of parochial officers, a misapplication of the public money, and a great encouragement to idleness and intemperance; that the employment of the poor, under proper direction and management, in such works and manufactures as are suited to their respective capacities, would be of great utility to the public; that settling the poor in workhouses, to be provided in the several counties and ridings in England and Wales, under the direction and management of governors and trustees to be appointed for that purpose, would be the most effectual method of relieving such poor persons as by age, infirmities, or diseases, are rendered incapable of supporting themselves by their labour, of employing the able and industrious, reforming the idle and profligate, and of educating poor children in religion and industry; that the poor in such workhouses would be better regulated and maintained, and managed with more advantage to the public, by guardians, governors, or trustees, to be specially appointed, or chosen for that purpose, and incorporated with such powers, and under such restrictions, as the legislature should deem proper, than by the annual parochial officers; that erecting workhouses upon waste lands, and appropriating a certain quantity of such lands to be cultivated, in order to produce provision for the poor in the said houses, would not only be the means of instructing and employing many of the said poor in agriculture, but lessen the expense of the public; that controversies and lawsuits concerning the settlements of poor persons occasioned a very great, and, in general, an useless expense to the public, amounting to many thousand pounds per annum; and that often more money is expended in ascertaining such settlements by each of the contending parishes than would be sufficient to maintain the paupers; that should workhouses be established for the general reception of the poor, in the respective counties and ridings of England, the laws relating to the settlements of the poor and the passing of vagrants might be repealed; that while the present laws relating to the poor subsist, the compelling parish officers to grant certificates to the poor would, in all probability, prevent the hardships they now suffer, in being

debarred gaining their livelihood where they can do it most usefully to themselves and the public. From these sensible resolutions, the reader may conceive some idea of the misconduct that attends the management of the poor in England, as well as of the grievous burdens entailed upon the people by the present laws which constitute this branch of the legislature. The committee's resolves being read at the table, an order was made that they should be taken into consideration on a certain day, when the order was again put off, and in the interim the Parliament was prorogued. While the committee deliberated upon this affair, leave was given to prepare a bill for preventing tenants, under a certain yearly rent, from gaining settlements in any particular parish, by being there rated in any land-tax assessment, and paying for the landlord the money so charged. This order was afterwards discharged; and another bill brought in to prevent any person from gaining a settlement, by being rated by virtue of an act of Parliament for granting an aid to his majesty by a land-tax, and paying the same. The bill was accordingly presented, read, committed, and passed the Lower House; but among the Lords it miscarried. It can never be expected that the poor will be managed with economy and integrity, while the execution of the laws relating to their maintenance is left in the hands of low tradesmen, who derive private advantage from supplying them with necessaries, and often favour the imposition of one another with the most scandalous collusion. This is an evil which will never be remedied, until persons of independent fortune and unblemished integrity, actuated by a spirit of true patriotism, shall rescue their fellow-citizens from the power of such interested miscreants, by taking the poor into their own management and protection. Instead of multiplying laws with respect to the settlement and management of the poor, which serve only to puzzle and perplex the parish and peace-officers, it would become the sagacity of the legislature to take some effectual precautions to prevent the increase of paupers and vagrants, which is become an intolerable nuisance to the commonwealth. Towards this salutary end, surely nothing would more contribute than a reformation of the police, that would abolish those infamous places of entertainment, which swarm in every corner of the metropolis, seducing people of all ranks to extravagance, profligacy, and ruin; and would restrict, within due bounds, the number of

public-houses, which are augmented to an enormous degree, affording so many asylums for riot and debauchery, and corrupting the morals of the common people to such a pitch of licentious indecency as must be a reproach to every civilized nation. Let it not be affirmed, to the disgrace of Great Britain, that such receptacles of vice and impunity subsist under the connivance of the government, according to the narrow views and confined speculation of those shallow politicians, who imagine that the revenue is increased in proportion to the quantity of strong liquors consumed in such infamous recesses of intemperance. Were this in reality the case, that administration would deserve to be branded with eternal infamy, which could sacrifice to such a base consideration the health, the lives, and the morals of their fellow-creatures: but nothing can be more fallacious than the supposition, that the revenue of any government can be increased by the augmented intemperance of the people; for intemperance is the bane of industry, as well as of population; and what the government gains in the articles of the duty on malt and the excise upon liquors, will always be greatly overbalanced by the loss in other articles, arising from the diminution of hands, and the neglect of labour.

Exclusive of the bills that were actually prepared, though they did not pass in the course of this session, the Commons deliberated on other important subjects, which, however, were not finally discussed. In the beginning of the session, a committee being appointed to resume the inquiry touching the regulation of weights and measures, a subject we have mentioned in the history of the preceding session, the box which contained a Troy pound weight, locked up by order of the House, was again produced by the clerk, in whose custody it had been deposited. This affair being carefully investigated, the committee agreed to fourteen resolutions.^f In the mean time

Regulations
of weights
and mea-
sures.

^f As the curiosity of the reader may be interested in these resolutions, we shall here insert them for his satisfaction. The committee resolved, that the ell ought to contain one yard and one quarter, according to the yard mentioned in the third resolution of the former committee upon the subject of weights and measures; that the pole or perch should contain in length five such yards and a half; the furlong two hundred and twenty; and the m'le one thousand seven hundred and sixty: that the superficial perch should contain thirty square yards and a quarter; the rood one thousand two hundred and ten; and the acre four thousand eight hundred and forty: that, according to the fourth, fifth, and sixth resolutions of the former committee, upon the subject of weights and measures, agreed to by the House on the second day of June in the preceding year, the quart ought to contain seventy cubical inches and one half; the pint thirty-five and one quarter; the peck five hundred and sixty-four; and the bushel two thousand two hundred and fifty-six. That the several parts of the pound, mentioned in the eighth resolution of the former committee,

it was ordered, that all the weights, referred to in the report, should be delivered to the clerk of the House to be locked up, and brought forth occasionally.

The House of Commons, among other articles of domestic

examined and adjusted in the presence of this committee, viz, the half pound or six ounces, quarter of a pound or three ounces, two ounces, one ounce, two half-ounces, the five-penny weight, three-penny weight, two-penny weight, and one-penny weight, the twelve grains, six grains, three grains, two grains, and two of one grain each, ought to be the models of the several parts of the said pound, and to be used for sizing or adjusting weights for the future. That all weights exceeding a pound should be of brass, copper, bell-metal, or cast-iron; and all those of cast-iron should be made in the form, and with a handle of hammered iron, such as the pattern herewith produced, having the mark of the weight cast in the iron; and all weights of a pound, or under, should be of gold, silver, brass, copper, or bell-metal. That all weights of cast-iron should have the initial letters of the name of the maker upon the upper bar of the handle; and all other weights should have the same, together with the mark of the weights, according to this standard, upon some convenient part thereof. That the yard mentioned in the second resolution of the former committee, upon the subject of weights and measures, agreed to by the House in the last session, being the standard of length, and the pound, mentioned in the eighth resolution, being the standard of weight, ought to be deposited in the court of the receipt of the exchequer, and there safely kept under the seals of the chancellor of the said exchequer and of the chief baron, and the seal of office of the chamberlain of the exchequer, and not to be opened but by the order and in the presence of the chancellor of the exchequer and chief baron for the time being. That the most effectual means to ascertain uniformity in measures of length and weight, to be used throughout the realm, would be to appoint certain persons at one particular office, with clerks and workmen under them, for the purpose only of sizing and adjusting, for the use of the subjects, all measures of length, and all weights, being parts, multiples, or certain proportions of the standards to be used for the future. That a model or pattern of the said standard yard, mentioned in the second resolution of the former committee, and now in the custody of the clerk of the House, and a model or pattern of the standard pound, mentioned in the eighth resolution of that committee, together with models or patterns of the parts of the said pound, now presented to the House, and also of the multiples of the said pound mentioned in this report (when the same are adjusted) should be kept in the said office, in custody of the said persons to be appointed for sizing weights and measures, under the seal of the chief baron of the exchequer for the time being; to be opened only by order of the said chief baron, in his presence, or the presence of one of the barons of the exchequer, on the application of the said persons, for the purpose of correcting and adjusting, as occasion should require, the patterns or models used at the said office, for sizing measures of length and weight, delivered out to the subjects. That models or patterns of the said standard yard and standard pound aforesaid, and also models or patterns of the parts and multiples aforesaid of the said pound, should be lodged in the said office for the sizing of such measures of length or weight, as, being parts, multiples, or proportions of the said standards, should hereafter be required by any of his majesty's subjects. That all measures of length and weight, sized at the said office, should be marked in some convenient part thereof with such marks as should be thought expedient, to show the identity of the measures and weights sized at the said office, and to discover any frauds that may be committed therein. That the said office should be kept within a convenient distance of the court of Exchequer at Westminster; and that all measures of length and weight within a certain distance of London, should be corrected and re-assized as occasion should require, at the said office. That, in order to enforce the uniformity in weights and measures to be used for the future, all persons appointed by the crown to act as justices of the peace in any county, city, or town corporate, being respectively counties within themselves, throughout the realm, should be empowered to hear and determine, and put the law in execution, in respect to weights and measures only, without any of them being obliged to sue out a *dedimus*, or to act in any other matter; and the said commissioners should be empowered to sue, imprison, inflict, or mitigate such penalties as should be thought proper; and have such other authority as should be necessary for compelling the use of weights and measures, agreeably to the aforesaid standards. That models or patterns of the said standard yard and pound, and of the parts and multiples thereof, before mentioned, should be distributed in each county, in such a manner as to be readily used for evidence in all cases where measures and weights should be questioned before the said commissioners, and for adjusting the same in a proper manner.

economy, bestowed some attention on the hospital for foundlings, which was now, more than ever, become a matter of national consideration. The accounts relating to this charity having been demanded, and subjected to the inspection of the members, were, together with the king's recommendation, referred to the committee of supply, where they produced the resolutions which we have already specified among the other grants of the year. The House afterwards resolved itself into a committee, to deliberate on the state of the hospital, and examine its accounts. On the third day of May their resolutions were reported to the following effect: that the appointing, by the governors and guardians of the said hospital, places in the several counties, ridings, or divisions in this kingdom, for the first reception of exposed and deserted young children, would be attended with many evil consequences; and that the conveying of children from the country to the said hospital is attended with many evil consequences, and ought to be prevented. A bill was ordered to be brought in, founded upon this last resolution, but never presented; therefore the inquiry produced no effect. Notwithstanding the institution of this charity, for the support of which great sums are yearly levied on the public, it does not appear that the bills of mortality, respecting new-born children, are decreased, nor the shocking crime of infant murder rendered less frequent than heretofore. It may, therefore, not be improperly styled a heavy additional tax for the propagation of bastardy, and the encouragement of idleness, among the common people; besides the tendency it has to extinguish the feelings of the heart, and dissolve those family ties of blood by which the charities are connected.

In the month of March, leave was given to bring in a bill for the more effectual preventing of the melting down and exporting the gold and silver coin of the kingdom, and the persons were nominated to prepare it; but the bill never appeared, and no further inquiry was made about the matter. Perhaps it was supposed that such a measure might be thought an encroachment on the prerogative of the crown, which hath always exercised the power of fixing the standard, and regulating the currency of the coin. Perhaps such a step was deferred on account of the war, during which a great quantity of gold

Resolutions
concerning
the found-
ling Hos-
pital.

Messages
from the
king to the
Parliament.

and silver was necessarily exported to the continent, for the support of the allies and armies in the pay of Great Britain. The legislature, however, would do well to consider this eternal maxim in computation, that when a greater quantity of bullion is exported, in waste, than can be replaced by commerce, the nation must be hastening to a state of insolvency. Over and above these proceedings in this session of Parliament, it may not be unnecessary to mention several messages which were sent by the king to the House of Commons. That relating to the vote of credit we have already specified in our account of the supply. On the twenty-sixth day of April, the chancellor of the exchequer presented to the House two messages signed by his majesty, one in favour of his subjects in North America, and the other in behalf of the East India Company: the former recommending to their consideration the zeal and vigour with which his faithful subjects in North America had exerted themselves in defence of his just rights and possessions; desiring he might be enabled to give them a proper compensation for the expenses incurred by the respective provinces in levying, clothing, and paying the troops raised in that country, according as the active vigour and strenuous efforts of the several colonies should appear to merit; in the latter, he desired the House would empower him to assist the East India Company in defraying the expense of a military force in the East Indies, to be maintained by them, in lieu of a battalion of regular troops withdrawn from thence, and returned to Ireland. Both these messages were referred to the committee of supply, and produced the resolutions upon each subject which we have already explained. The message relating to a projected invasion by the enemies of Great Britain we shall particularize in its proper place, when we come to record the circumstances and miscarriage of that design. In the mean time, it may not be improper to observe, that the thanks of the House of Commons were voted and given to Admiral Boscawen and Major-General Amherst, for the services they had done their king and country in North America; and the same compliment was paid to Admiral Osborne, for the success of his cruise in the Mediterranean.

The session was closed on the second day of June with a speech to both Houses, from the commissioners Session closed. appointed by his majesty for that purpose. In this

harangue the Parliament was given to understand, that the king approved of their conduct, and returned them his thanks for their condescension; that the hopes he had conceived of their surmounting the difficulties which lay in the way were founded on the wisdom, zeal, and affection of so good a Parliament, and that his expectations were fully answered; that they had considered the war in all its parts, and, notwithstanding its long continuance, through the obstinacy of the enemy, had made such provision for the many different operations, as ought to convince the adversaries of Great Britain, that it would be for their interest, as well as for the ease and relief of all Europe, to embrace equitable and honourable terms of accommodation. They were told that, by their assistance, the combined army in Germany had been completed: powerful squadrons, as well as numerous bodies of land-forces, were employed in America, in order to maintain the British rights and possessions, and annoy the enemy in the most sensible manner in that country: that as France was making considerable preparations in her different ports, he had taken care to put his fleet at home in the best condition, both of strength and situation, to guard against and repel any attempts that might be meditated against his kingdoms: that all his measures had been directed to assert the honour of his crown; to preserve the essential interests of his faithful subjects; to support the cause of the Protestant religion and public liberty: he, therefore, trusted that the uprightness of his intentions would draw down the blessing of Heaven upon his endeavours. He expressed his hope, that the precautions they had taken to prevent and correct the excesses of the privateers would produce the desired effect; a consideration which the king had much at heart; for, though sensible of the utility of that service, when under proper regulations, he was determined to do his utmost to prevent any injuries or hardships which might be sustained by the subjects of neutral powers, so far as might be practicable and consistent with his majesty's just right to hinder the trade of his enemies from being collusively and fraudulently covered. He not only thanked the Commons, but applauded the firmness and vigour with which they had acted, as well as their prudence in judging, that notwithstanding the present burdens, the making ample provision for carrying on the war was the most probable means to bring it to an honourable

and happy conclusion. He assured them that no attention should be wanting, on his part, for the faithful application of what had been granted. They were informed he had nothing further to desire, but that they would carry down the same good dispositions, and propagate them in their several counties, which they had shown in their proceedings during the session. These declarations being pronounced, the Parliament was prorogued.

The people of England, provoked on one hand by the intrigues, the hostilities, and menaces of France, and animated on the other by the pride and triumph of success, which never fails to reconcile them to difficulties, howsoever great, and expense, however enormous, at this period breathed nothing but war, and discoursed about nothing but new plans of conquest. We have seen how liberally the Parliament bestowed the nation's money; and the acquiescence of the subjects in general, under the additional burdens which had been imposed, appeared in the remarkable eagerness with which they embarked in the subscription planned by the legislature; in the vigorous assistance they contributed towards manning the navy, recruiting the army, and levying additional forces; and the warlike spirit which began to diffuse itself through all ranks of the people. This was a spirit which the ministry carefully cherished and cultivated for the support of the war, which, it must be owned, was prosecuted with an ardour and efficacy peculiar to the present administration. True it is, the German war had been for some time adopted as an object of importance by the British councils, and a resolution was taken to maintain it without flinching: at the same time, it must be allowed, that this consideration had not hitherto weakened the attention of the ministry to the operations in America, where alone the war may be said to have been carried on and prosecuted on British principles, so as to distress the enemy in their most tender part, and at the same time acquire the most substantial advantages to the subjects of Britain. For these two purposes, every preparation was made that sagacity could suggest, or vigour execute. The navy was repaired and augmented; and in order to man the different squadrons, the expedient of pressing, that disgrace to a British administration, was practised both by land and water with extraordinary rigour and vivacity. A proclamation was

Preparations for war.

issued, offering a considerable bounty for every seaman and every landman that should, by a certain day, enter voluntarily into the service. As an additional encouragement to this class of people, the king promised his pardon to all seamen who had deserted from the respective ships to which they belonged, provided they should return to their duty by the third day of July; but at the same time he declared, that those who should neglect this opportunity, at a time when their country so much required their service, would, upon being apprehended, incur the penalty of a court-martial, and if convicted, be deemed unfit objects of the royal mercy. All justices of the peace, mayors, and magistrates of corporations throughout Great Britain were commanded to make particular search for straggling seamen fit for the service, and to send all that should be found to the nearest sea-port, that they might be sent on board by the sea-officer there commanding. Other methods, more gentle and effectual, were taken to levy and recruit the land-forces. New regiments were raised on his majesty's promise, that every man should be entitled to his discharge at the end of three years, and the premiums for enlisting were increased. Over and above these indulgences, considerable bounties were offered and given by cities, towns, corporations, and even by individuals, so universally were the people possessed with a spirit of chivalry and adventure. The example was set by the metropolis, where the common-council resolved, that voluntary subscriptions should be received in the chamber of London, to be appropriated as bounty money to such persons as should engage in his majesty's service. The city subscribed a considerable sum for that purpose; and a committee of aldermen and commoners was appointed to attend at Guildhall, to receive and apply the subscriptions. As a further encouragement to volunteers, they moreover resolved, that every person so entering should be entitled to the freedom of the city at the expiration of three years, or sooner, if the war should be brought to a conclusion. These resolutions being communicated to the king, he was pleased to signify his approbation, and return his thanks to the city, in a letter from the secretary of state to the lord mayor. Large sums were immediately subscribed by different companies, and some private persons; and, in imitation of the capital, bounties were offered by many different communities in every quarter

of the united kingdom. At the same time, such care and diligence were used in disciplining the militia, that, before the close of the year, the greater part of those truly constitutional battalions rivalled the regular troops in the perfection of their exercise, and seemed to be, in all respects, as fit for actual service.

Before we proceed to record the transactions of the campaign that succeeded these preparations, we shall take notice of some domestic events, which, though not very important in themselves, may nevertheless claim a place in the History of England. In the beginning of the year, the court of London was overwhelmed with affliction at the death of the Princess Dowager of Orange and Nassau, governante of the United Provinces in the minority of her son, the present stadtholder. She was the eldest daughter of his Britannic majesty, possessed of many personal accomplishments and exemplary virtues; pious, moderate, sensible, and circumspect. She had exercised her authority with equal sagacity and resolution, respected even by those who were no friends to the house of Orange, and died with great fortitude and resignation.^s In her will she appointed the king her father, and the Princess Dowager of Orange, her mother-in-law, honorary tutors, and Prince Louis of Brunswick acting tutor to her children. In the morning after her decease, the States-General and the States of Holland were extraordinarily assembled, and having received notice of this event, proceeded to confirm the regulations which had been made for the minority of the stadtholder. Prince Louis of Brunswick was invited to assist in the assembly of Holland, where he took the oaths, as representing the captain-general of the union. Then he communicated to the assembly the act by which the princess had appointed him guardian of her children. He was afterwards invited to the assembly of the States-General, who agreed to the resolution of Holland, with respect to his

Death of
the Princess
of Orange
and Princess
Elizabeth
Caroline.

^s Feeling her end approaching, she delivered a key to one of her attendants, directing him to fetch two papers, which she signed with her own hand. One was a contract of marriage between her daughter and the Prince of Nassau Weilburgh; the other was a letter to the States-General, beseeching them to consent to this marriage, and preserve inviolate the regulations she had made, touching the education and tutelage of the young stadtholder. These two papers being signed and sealed, she sent for her children, exhorted them to make proper improvements on the education they had received, and to live in harmony with each other. Then she implored Heaven to shower its blessings on them both, and embraced them with the most affecting marks of maternal tenderness. She afterwards continued to converse calmly and deliberately with her friends, and in a few hours expired.

guardianship; and in the evening the different colleges of the government sent formal deputations to the young stadtholder, and the princess Caroline his sister, in whose names and presence they were received, and answered by their guardian and representative. A formal intimation of the death of the princess was communicated to the king her father, in a pathetic letter, by the States-General; who consoled with him on the irreparable loss which he as well as they had sustained by this melancholy event, and assured him they would employ all their care and attention in securing and defending the rights and interests of the young stadtholder and the princess his sister, whom they considered as the children of the republic. The royal family of England suffered another disaster in the course of this year by the decease of the Princess Elizabeth Caroline, second daughter of his late royal highness Frederick Prince of Wales, a lady of the most amiable character, who died at Kew in the month of September, before she had attained the eighteenth year of her age.

Certain privateers continuing their excesses at sea, and rifling neutral ships without distinction or authority, the government resolved to vindicate the honour of the nation, by making examples of those pirates, who, as fast as they could be detected and secured, were brought to trial, and upon conviction sacrificed to justice. While these steps were taken to rescue the nation from the reproach of violence and rapacity, which her neighbours had urged with such eagerness, equal spirit was exerted in convincing neutral powers that they should not with impunity, contravene the law of nations, in favouring the enemies of Great Britain. A great number of causes were tried relating to disputed captures, and many Dutch vessels, with their cargoes were condemned, after a fair hearing, notwithstanding the loud clamours of that people, and the repeated remonstrances of the States-General.

The reputation of the English was not so much affected by the irregularities of her privateers, armed for rapine, as by the neglect of internal police, and an ingredient of savage ferocity mingled in the national character; an ingredient that appeared but too conspicuous in the particulars of several shocking murders brought to light about this period.—One Halsey, who commanded a merchant-ship in the voyage from Jamaica to England,

Examples
made of
pirates.

Accounts of
some re-
markable
murders.

having conceived some personal dislike to a poor sailor, insulted him with such abuse, exposed him to such hardships, and punished him with such wantonness of barbarity, that the poor wretch leaped overboard in despair. His inhuman tyrant, envying him that death which would have rescued a miserable object from his brutality, plunged into the sea after him, and brought him on board, declaring he should not escape so while there were any torments left to inflict. Accordingly he exercised his tyranny upon him with redoubled rigour, until the poor creature expired, in consequence of the inhuman treatment he had sustained. This savage ruffian was likewise indicted for the murder of another mariner, but being convicted on the first trial, the second was found unnecessary, and the criminal suffered death according to the law, which is perhaps too mild to malefactors convicted of such aggravated cruelty.—Another barbarous murder was perpetrated in the country, near Birmingham, upon a sheriff's officer, by the sons of one Darby, whose effects the bailiff had seized on a distress for rent. The two young assassins, encouraged by the father, attacked the unhappy wretch with clubs, and mangled him in a terrible manner, so that he hardly retained any signs of life. Not contented with this cruel execution, they stripped him naked, and dragging him out of the house, scourged him with a waggoner's whip until the flesh was cut from his bones. In this miserable condition he was found weltering in his blood, and conveyed to a neighbouring house, where he immediately expired. The three barbarians were apprehended, after having made a desperate resistance. They were tried, convicted, and executed: the sons were hung in chains, and the body of the father dissected.—The widow of a timber-merchant at Rotherhithe being cruelly murdered in her own house, Mary Edmonson, a young woman, her niece, ran out into the street with her own arms cut across, and gave the alarm, declaring her aunt had been assassinated by four men, who forced their way into the house, and that she (the niece) had received those wounds in attempting to defend her relation. According to the circumstances that appeared, this unnatural wretch had cut the throat of her aunt and benefactress with a case-knife, then dragged the body from the wash-house to the parlour; that she had stolen a watch and some silver spoons, and concealed them together with the knife and her own apron, which was

soaked with the blood of her aunt. After having acted this horrid tragedy, the bare recital of which the humane reader will not peruse without horror, she put on another apron, and wounded her own flesh, the better to conceal her guilt. Notwithstanding these precautions, she was suspected, and committed to prison. Being brought to trial, she was convicted and condemned upon circumstantial evidence, and finally executed on Kennington-common, though she denied the fact to the last moment of her life. At the place of execution she behaved with great composure, and, after having spent some minutes in devotion, protested she was innocent of the crime laid to her charge. What seemed to corroborate this protestation was the condition and character of the young woman, who had been educated in a sphere above the vulgar, and maintained a reputation without reproach in the country, where she was actually betrothed to a clergyman. On the other hand, the circumstances that appeared against her almost amounted to a certainty, though nothing weaker than proof positive ought to determine a jury in capital cases to give a verdict against the person accused. After all, this is one of those problematic events which elude the force of all evidence, and serve to confound the pride of human reason.—A miscreant, whose name was Haines, having espoused the daughter of a farmer in the neighbourhood of Gloucester, who possessed a small estate, which he intended to divide among seven children, was so abandoned as to form the design of poisoning the whole family, that by virtue of his wife he might enjoy the whole inheritance. For the execution of this infernal scheme he employed his own father to purchase a quantity of arsenic; part of which he administered to three of the children, who were immediately seized with the dreadful symptoms produced by this mineral, and the eldest expired. He afterwards mixed it with three apple cakes, which he bought for the purpose, and presented to the other three children, who underwent the same violence of operation which had proved fatal to the eldest brother. The instantaneous effects of the poison created a suspicion of Haines, who being examined, the whole scene of villany stood disclosed. Nevertheless, the villain found means to escape.—The uncommon spirit of assassination which raged at this period seemed to communicate itself even to foreigners who breathed English air. Five French prisoners confined on board the king's

ship the Royal Oak, were convicted of having murdered one Jean de Manaux, their countryman and fellow-prisoner, in revenge for his having discovered that they had forged passes to facilitate their escape. Exasperated at this detection, they seized this unfortunate informer in the place of their confinement, gagged his mouth, stripped him naked, tied him with a strong cord to a ring-bolt, and scourged his body with the most brutal perseverance. By dint of struggling, the poor wretch disengaged himself from the cord with which he had been tied: then they finished the tragedy, by leaping and stamping on his breast, till the chest was broken, and he expired. They afterwards severed the body into small pieces, and these they conveyed at different times into the sea, through the funnel of a convenience to which they had access: but one of the other prisoners gave information of the murder; in consequence of which they were secured, brought to trial, condemned, and punished with death.—Nor were the instances of cruel assassination which prevailed at this juncture, confined to Great Britain. At the latter end of the foregoing year an atrocious massacre was perpetrated by two Genoese mariners upon the master and crew of an English vessel, among whom they were enrolled. These monsters of cruelty were in different watches, a circumstance that favoured the execution of the horrid plan they had concerted. When one of them retired to rest with his fellows of the watch, consisting of the mate and two seamen, he waited till they were fast asleep, and then butchered them all with a knife. Having so far succeeded without discovery, he returned to the deck, and communicated the exploit to his associate: then they suddenly attacked the master of the vessel, and cleft his head with a hatchet, which they likewise used in murdering the man that stood at the helm; a third was likewise despatched, and no Englishman remained alive but the master's son, a boy, who lamented his father's death with incessant tears and cries for three days, at the expiration of which he was likewise sacrificed, because the assassins were disturbed by his clamour. This barbarous scene was acted within sixty leagues of the rock of Lisbon; but the vessel was taken between the Capes Ortugal and Finisterre, by the captain of the French privateer, called *La Favorite*, who, seeing the deck stained with blood, and finding all the papers of the ship destroyed, began to suspect that the master and crew

had been murdered. He accordingly taxed them with the murder, and they confessed the particulars. The privateer touched at Vigo, where the captain imparted this detail to the English consul; but the prize, with the two villains on board, was sent to Bayonne in France, where they were brought to condign punishment.

We shall close this register of blood with the account of a murder remarkable in all its circumstances, for which a person, called Eugene Aram, suffered at York, in the course of this year. This man, who exercised the profession of a schoolmaster at Knaresborough, had, as far back as the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-five, been concerned with one Houseman in robbing and murdering Daniel Clarke, whom they had previously persuaded to borrow a considerable quantity of valuable effects from different persons in the neighbourhood on false pretences, that he might retire with the booty. He had accordingly filled a sack with these particulars, and began his retreat with his two perfidious associates, who suddenly fell upon him, deprived him of life, and, having buried the body in a cave, took possession of the plunder. Though Clarke disappeared at once in such a mysterious manner, no suspicion fell on the assassins; and Aram, who was the chief contriver and agent in the murder, moved his habitation to another part of the country. In the summer of the present year, Houseman being employed among other labourers, in repairing the public highway, they, in digging for gravel by the road side, discovered the skeleton of a human creature, which the majority supposed to be the bones of Daniel Clarke. This opinion was no sooner broached, than Houseman, as it were by some supernatural impulse which he could not resist, declared that it was not the skeleton of Clarke, inasmuch as his body had been interred at a place called St. Robert's Cave, where they would find it, with the head turned to a certain corner. He was immediately apprehended, examined, admitted as evidence for the crown, and discovered the particulars of the murder. The skeleton of Clarke being found exactly in the place and manner he had described, Eugene Aram, who now acted as usher to a grammar-school in the county of Norfolk, was secured, and brought to trial at the York assizes. There, his own wife corroborating the testimony of Houseman, he was found guilty, and received sentence of death; notwith-

standing a very artful and learned defence, in which he proved, from argument and example, the danger of convicting a man upon circumstantial evidence. Finding all his remonstrances ineffectual, he recommended himself in pathetic terms to the king's mercy; and if ever murderer was entitled to indulgence, perhaps it might have been extended not improperly to this man, whose genius, in itself prodigious, might have exerted itself in works of general utility. He had, in spite of all the disadvantages attending low birth and straitened circumstances, by the dint of his own capacity and inclination, made considerable progress in mathematics and philosophy, acquired all the languages, ancient and modern, and executed part of a Celtic dictionary, which, had he lived to finish it, might have thrown some essential light upon the origin and obscurities of the European history. Convinced, at last, that he had nothing to hope from the clemency of the government, he wrote a short poem in defence of suicide; and, on the day fixed for his execution, opened the veins of his left arm with a razor, which he had concealed for that purpose. Though he was much weakened by the effusion of blood, before this attempt was discovered, yet, as the instrument had missed the artery, he did not expire until he was carried to the gibbet and underwent the sentence of the law. His body was conveyed to Knaresborough-forest, and hung in chains, near the place where the murder was perpetrated. These are some of the most remarkable that appeared amongst many other instances of homicide; a crime that prevails to a degree alike deplorable and surprising, even in a nation renowned for compassion and placability. But this will generally be the case among people whose passions, naturally impetuous, are ill restrained by laws and the regulations of civil society, which the licentious do not fear, and the wicked hope to evade.

The Prince of Wales having, in the beginning of June, entered the two-and-twentieth year of his age, the anniversary of his birth was celebrated with great rejoicings at court, and the king received compliments of congratulation on the majority of a prince, who seemed born to fulfil the hopes, and complete the happiness, of Great Britain. The city of London presented an address to the king on this occasion, replete with expressions of loyalty and affection, assuring his majesty that no hostile threats could intimidate a people animated by the love of

Majority of
the Prince
of Wales.

liberty, who, confiding in the Divine Providence, and his majesty's experienced wisdom and vigorous councils, were resolved to exert their utmost efforts towards enabling their sovereign to repel the insults, and defeat the attempts made by the ancient enemies of his crown and kingdom. Congratulations of the same kind were offered by other cities, towns, corporations, and communities, who vied with each other in professions of attachment; and, indeed, there was not the least trace of disaffection perceivable at this juncture in any part of the island.

So little were the citizens of London distressed by the expense, or incommoded by the operations, of the war, that they found leisure to plan, and funds to execute, magnificent works of art, for the ornament of the metropolis, and the convenience of commerce. They had obtained an act of Parliament, empowering them to build a new bridge over the Thames, from Blackfriars to the opposite shore, about midway between those of London and Westminster. Commissioners were appointed to put this act in execution; and at a court of common-council, it was resolved that a sum not exceeding one hundred and forty-four thousand pounds should be forthwith raised, within the space of eight years, by instalments, not exceeding thirty thousand pounds in one year, to be paid into the chamber of London; that the persons advancing the money should have an interest at the rate of four pounds per cent. per annum, to be paid half yearly by the chamberlain, yet redeemable at the expiration of the first ten years; and that the chamberlain should affix the city's seal to such instruments as the committee might think fit to give for securing the payment of the said annuities. Such were the first effectual steps taken towards the execution of a laudable measure, which met with the most obstinate opposition in the sequel, from the narrow views of particular people, as well as from the prejudice of party.

The spirit that now animated the citizens of London was such as small difficulties did not retard, and even considerable losses could not discourage. In the month of November the city was exposed to a dangerous conflagration, kindled in the night by accident in the neighbourhood of the Royal Exchange, which, burning with great fury, notwithstanding the assistance of the firemen and engines employed under the personal direction of the magis-

Re-solutions
concerning
a new
bridge at
Blackfriars.

The in
Council.

tracy, consumed a great number of houses, and damaged many more. That whole quarter of the town was filled with consternation: some individuals were beggared; one or two perished in the flames; and some were buried in the ruins of the houses that sunk under the disaster.

The ferment of mind so peculiar to the natives of Great Britain, excited by a strange mixture of genius and caprice, passion and philosophy, study and conjecture, produced at this period some flowers of improvement, in different arts and sciences, that seemed to promise fruit of public utility. Several persons invented methods for discovering the longitude at sea, that great *desideratum* in navigation, for the ascertainment of which so many nations have offered a public recompense, and in the investigation of which so many mathematical heads have been disordered. Some of those who now appeared candidates for the prize deserved encouragement for the ingenuity of their several systems; but he who seemed to enjoy the pre-eminence in the opinion and favour of the public was Mr. Irwin, a native of Ireland, who contrived a chair so artfully poised, that a person sitting in it on board a ship, even in a rough sea, can, through a telescope, observe the immersion and emersion of Jupiter's satellites, without being interrupted or incommoded by the motion of the vessel. This gentleman was favoured with the assistance and protection of Admiral Lord Howe, in whose presence the experiment was tried in several ships at sea with such success, that he granted a certificate, signifying his approbation; and in consequence of this, Mr. Irwin is said to have obtained a considerable reward from the board of Admiralty.

The people of England, happy in their situation, felt none of the storms of war and desolation which ravaged the neighbouring countries; but, enriched by a surprising augmentation of commerce, enjoyed all the security of peace, and all the pleasures of taste and affluence. The university of Oxford having conferred the office of their chancellor, vacant by the death of the Earl of Arran, upon another nobleman of equal honour and integrity, namely, the Earl of Westmoreland, he made a public entrance into that celebrated seat of learning with great magnificence, and was installed amidst the *Encænia*, which were celebrated with such classical elegance of pomp, as might have rivalled the chief Roman festival of the *Augustan* age. The chan-

Method
contrived to
find out the
longitude.

Installation
at Oxford.

cellor elect was attended by a splendid train of the nobility and persons of distinction. The city of Oxford was filled with a vast concourse of strangers. The processions were contrived with taste, and conducted with decorum. The installation was performed with the most striking solemnity. The congratulatory verses, and public speeches, breathed the spirit of old Rome; and the ceremony was closed by Dr. King, that venerable sage of St. Mary Hall, who pronounced an oration in praise of the new chancellor with all the flow of Tully, animated by the fire of Demosthenes.

We shall conclude the remarkable incidents of this year,^h that are detached from the prosecution of the war, with the detail of an event equally surprising and deplorable. A sloop called the *Dolphin*, bound from the Canaries to New York, met with such unfavourable weather, that she was detained one hundred and sixty-five days in the passage, and the provision of the ship was altogether expended before the first fifty days were elapsed. The wretched crew had devoured their dog, cat, and all their shoes on board; at length, being reduced to the utmost extremity, they agreed to cast lots for their lives, that the body of him upon whom the lot should fall might serve for some time to support the survivors. The wretched victim was one Antonio Galatia, a Spanish gentleman and passenger. Him they shot with a musket; and having cut off his head, threw it overboard; but the entrails, and the rest of the carcass, they greedily devoured. This horrid banquet having, as it were, fleshed the famished crew, they began to talk of another sacrifice, from which, however, they were diverted by the influence and remonstrances of their captain, who prevailed upon them to be satisfied with a miserable allowance to each per diem, cut from a pair

Deplorable
incident at
sea.

^h In the spring of this year the liberal arts sustained a lamentable loss in the death of George Frederick Handel, the most celebrated master in music which this age had produced. He was by birth a German; but had studied in Italy, and afterwards settled in England, where he met with the most favourable reception, and resided above half a century, universally admired for his stupendous genius in the sublime parts of musical composition.

One would be apt to imagine that there was something in the constitution of the air at this period, which was particularly unfavourable to old age; inasmuch as, in the compass of a few months, the following persons, remarkable for their longevity, died in the kingdom of Scotland; William Barnes, who had been above seventy years a servant in the family of Brodie, deceased there at the age of one hundred and nine. Catherine Mackenzie died in Ross-shire, at the age of one hundred and eighteen. Janet Blair, deceased at Monemusk, in the shire of Aberdeen, turned of one hundred and twelve. Alexander Stephens, in Bamfshire, at the age of one hundred and eight. Janet Harper, at Buins-hole, at the age of one hundred and seven. Daniel Cameron, in Rannach, married when he was turned of one hundred, and survived his marriage thirty years.

of leather breeches found in the cabin. Upon this calamitous pittance, reinforced with the grass which grew plentifully upon the deck, these poor objects made shift to subsist for twenty days, at the expiration of which they were relieved, and taken on board by one Captain Bradshaw, who chanced to fall in with them at sea. By this time the whole crew, consisting of seven men, were so squalid and emaciated, as to exhibit an appearance at once piteous and terrible; and so reduced in point of strength, that it was found necessary to use ropes and tackle for hoisting them from one ship to the other. The circumstance of the lot falling upon the Spaniard, who was the only foreigner on board, encourages a suspicion that foul play was offered to this unfortunate stranger; but the most remarkable part of this whole incident is, that the master and crew could not contrive some sort of tackle to catch fish, with which the sea every where abounds, and which, no doubt, might be caught with the help of a little ingenuity. If implements of this kind were provided in every ship, they would probably prevent all those tragical events at sea that are occasioned by famine.

Previous to the more capital operations in war, we shall particularize the most remarkable captures that were made upon the enemy by single ships of war, ^{Captures made by separate cruisers.} during the course of this summer and autumn. In the month of February, a French privateer belonging to Granville, called the Marquis de Marigny, having on board near two hundred men, and mounted with twenty cannon, was taken by Captain Parker, commander of his majesty's ship the Montague; who likewise made prize of a smaller armed vessel, from Dunkirk, of eight cannon, and sixty men. About the same period, Captain Graves, of the Unicorn, brought in the Moras privateer, of St. Maloes, carrying two hundred men, and two-and-twenty cannon. Two large merchant-ships, laden on the French king's account for Martinique, with provision, clothing, and arms, for the troops on that island, were taken by Captain Lendrick, commander of the Brilliant; and an English transport from St. John's, having four hundred French prisoners on board, perished near the Western Islands. Within the circle of the same month, a large French ship from St. Domingo, richly laden, fell in with the Favourite ship of war, and was carried into Gibraltar.

In the month of February, Captain Hood, of his majesty's

frigate the *Vestal*, belonging to a small squadron commanded by Admiral Holmes, who had sailed for the West Indies in January, being advanced a considerable way ahead of the fleet, descried and gave chase to a sail, which proved to be a French frigate called the *Bellona*, of two hundred and twenty men, and two-and-thirty great guns, commanded by the Count de Beauhonoire. Captain Hood, having made a signal to the admiral, continued the chase until he advanced within half musket-shot of the enemy, and then poured in a broadside, which was immediately retorted. The engagement thus begun was maintained with great vigour on both sides for the space of four hours; at the expiration of which the *Bellona* struck, after having lost all her masts and rigging, together with about forty men killed in the action. Nor was the victor in a much better condition. Thirty men were killed and wounded on board the *Vestal*. Immediately after the enemy submitted, all her rigging being destroyed by the shot, the topmasts fell overboard; and she was otherwise so much damaged, that she could not proceed on her voyage. Captain Hood, therefore, returned with his prize to Spithead; and afterwards met with a gracious reception from his majesty, on account of the valour and conduct he had displayed on this occasion. The *Bellona* had sailed in January from the island of Martinique, along with the *Florissant*, and another French frigate, from which she had been separated in the passage. Immediately after this exploit, Captain Elliot, of the *Æolus* frigate, accompanied by the *Iris*, made prize of a French ship, the *Mignonne*, of twenty guns, and one hundred and forty men, one of four frigates employed as corvoy to a large fleet of merchant-ships, near the island of Rhée.

In the month of March, the English frigates, the *Southampton* and *Melampe*, commanded by the Captains Gilchrist and Hotham, being at sea to the northward on a cruise, fell in with the *Danaë*, a French ship of forty cannon, and three hundred and thirty men, which was engaged by Captain Hotham in a ship of half the force, who maintained the battle a considerable time with admirable gallantry, before his consort could come to his assistance. As they fought in the dark, Captain Gilchrist was obliged to lie by for some time, because he could not distinguish the one from the other; but no sooner did

And Cap-
tain Bail-
liff took
the Count
de St.
Florentin.

the day appear, than he bore down upon the Danaë with his usual impetuosity, and soon compelled her to surrender: she did not strike, however, until thirty or forty of her men were slain: and the gallant Captain Gilchrist received a grape-shot in his shoulder, which, though it did not deprive him of life, yet rendered him incapable of future service; a misfortune the more to be lamented, as it happened to a brave officer in the vigour of his age, and in the midst of a sanguinary war, which might have afforded him many other opportunities of signalizing his courage for the honour and advantage of his country. Another remarkable exploit was achieved about the same juncture by Captain Barrington, commander of the ship *Achilles*, mounted with sixty cannon, who, to the westward of Cape Finisterre, encountered a French ship of equal force, called the *Count de St. Florentin*, bound from Cape François on the island of Hispaniola to Rochefort, under the command of the *Sieur de Montay*, who was obliged to strike, after a close and obstinate engagement, in which he himself was mortally wounded, a great number of his men slain, and his ship so damaged, that she was with difficulty brought into Falmouth. Captain Barrington obtained the victory at the expense of about five-and-twenty men killed and wounded, and all his rigging, which the enemy's shot rendered useless. Two small privateers from Dunkirk were also taken, one called the *Marquis de Bareil*, by the *Brilliant*, which carried her into Kinsale in Ireland; the other called the *Carillonneur*, which struck to the *Grace* cutter, assisted by the boats of the ship *Rochester*, commanded by Captain Duff, who sent her into the Downs.

About the latter end of March, Captain Samuel Falkner, in the ship *Windsor*, of sixty guns, cruising to the westward, discovered four large ships to leeward, which, when he approached them, formed the line of battle ahead, in order to give him a warm reception. He accordingly closed with the sternmost ship, which sustained his fire about an hour; then the other three bearing away with all the sail they could carry, she struck her colours, and was conducted to Lisbon. She proved to be the *Duc de Chartres*, pierced for sixty cannon, though at that time carrying no more than four-and-twenty, with a complement of three hundred men, about thirty of whom were killed in the action. She belonged, with the other

Captain
Falkner
takes a
French East
Indiaman.

three that escaped, to the French East India Company, was laden with gunpowder and naval stores, and bound for Pondicherry. Two privateers, called *Le Chasseur* and *Le Conquerant*, the one from Dunkirk, and the other from Cherbourg, were taken and carried into Plymouth by Captain Hughes, of his majesty's frigate the *Tamer*. A third, called the *Despatch*, from Morlaix, was brought into Penzance by the *Diligence* sloop, under the command of Captain Eastward. A fourth, called the *Basque*, from Bayonne, furnished with two-and-twenty guns, and about two hundred men, fell into the hands of Captain Parker, of the *Brilliant*, who conveyed her into Plymouth. Captain Antrobus, of the *Surprise*, took the *Vieux*, a privateer of Bourdeaux; and a fifth, from Dunkirk, struck to Captain Knight, of the *Liverpool*, off Yarmouth. In the month of May, a French frigate called the *Arethusa*, mounted with two-and-thirty cannon, manned with a large complement of hands, under the command of the late Marquis de Vaudreuil, submitted to two British frigates, the *Venus* and the *Thames*, commanded by the Captains Harrison and Colby, after a warm engagement, in which sixty men were killed and wounded on the side of the enemy. In the beginning of June, an armed ship belonging to Dunkirk was brought into the Downs, by Captain Angel, of the *Stag*; and a privateer of force, called the *Countess de la Serre*, was subdued and taken, after an obstinate action, by Captain Moore, of his majesty's ship the *Adventure*.

Several armed ships of the enemy, and rich prizes, were taken in the West Indies, particularly two French frigates, and two Dutch ships with French commodities, all richly laden, by some of the ships of the squadron which Vice-Admiral Coats commanded on the Jamaica station. A fifth, called the *Velour*, from St. Domingo, with a valuable cargo on board, being fortified with twenty cannon, and above one hundred men, fell in with the *Favourite* sloop of war, under the command of Captain Edwards, who, after an obstinate dispute, carried her in triumph to Gibraltar. At St. Christopher's in the West Indies, Captain Collingwood, commander of the king's ship the *Crescent*, attacked two French frigates, the *Ametyste* and *Berkeley*; the former of which escaped, after a warm engagement, in which the *Crescent's* rigging was so much damaged, that she could not pursue: but the other

Prizes taken
in the West
Indies.

was taken, and conveyed into the harbour of Basseterre. Notwithstanding the vigilance and courage of the English cruisers in those seas, the French privateers swarmed to such a degree, that, in the course of this year, they took above two hundred sail of British ships, valued at six hundred thousand pounds sterling. This their success is the more remarkable, as by this time the island of Guadaloupe was in possession of the English, and Commodore Moore commanded a numerous squadron in those very latitudes.

In the beginning of October, the *Hercules* ship of war, mounted with seventy-four guns, under the command of Captain Porter, cruising in the chops of the channel, descried to windward a large ship, which proved to be the *Florissant*, of the same force with the *Hercules*. Her commander, perceiving the English ship giving chase, did not seem to decline the action; but bore down upon her in a slanting direction, and the engagement began with great fury. In a little time, the *Hercules* having lost her topmast, and all her rigging being shot away, the enemy took advantage of this disaster, made the best of his way, and was pursued till eight o'clock next morning, when he escaped behind the isle of Oleron. Captain Porter was wounded in the head with a grape-shot, and lost the use of one leg in the engagement.

Engage-
ment be-
tween the
Hercules
and the
Florissant.

Having taken notice of all the remarkable captures and exploits that were made and achieved by single ships since the commencement of the present year, we shall now proceed to describe the actions that were performed in this period by the different squadrons that constituted the naval power of Great Britain. Intelligence having been received that the enemy meditated an invasion upon some of the British territories, and that a number of flat-bottomed boats were prepared at Havre-de-Grace, for the purpose of disembarking troops, Rear-Admiral Rodney was, in the beginning of July, detached with a small squadron of ships and bombs to annoy and overawe that part of the coast of France. He accordingly anchored in the road of Havre, and made a disposition to execute the instructions he had received. The bomb-vessels, being placed in the narrow channel of the river leading to Honfleur, began to throw their shells, and continued the bombardment for two-and-fifty hours without intermission,

Havre-de-
Grace bom-
barded by
Admiral
Rodney.

during which a numerous body of French troops were employed in throwing up intrenchments, erecting new batteries, and firing both with shot and shells upon the assailants. The town was set on fire in several places, and burned with great fury ; some of the boats were overturned, and a few of them reduced to ashes, while the inhabitants forsook the place in the utmost consternation : nevertheless, the damage done to the enemy was too inconsiderable to make amends for the expense of the armament, and the loss of nineteen hundred shells and eleven hundred carcasses, which were expended in this expedition. Bombardments of this kind are at best but expensive and unprofitable operations, and may be deemed a barbarous method of prosecuting war, inasmuch as the damage falls upon the wretched inhabitants, who have given no cause of offence, and who are generally spared by a humane enemy, unless they have committed some particular act of provocation.

The honour of the British flag was much more effectually asserted by the gallant Admiral Boscawen, who, as we have already observed, was entrusted with the conduct of a squadron in the Mediterranean. It must be owned, however, that his first attempt savoured of temerity. Having in vain displayed the British flag in sight of Toulon, by way of defiance to the French fleet that lay there at anchor, he ordered three ships of the line, commanded by the Captains Smith, Harland, and Barker, to advance and burn two ships that lay close to the mouth of the harbour. They accordingly approached with great intrepidity, and met with a very warm reception from divers batteries which they had not before perceived. Two small forts they attempted to destroy, and cannonaded for some time with great fury ; but being overmatched by superior force, and the wind subsiding into a calm, they sustained considerable damage, and were towed off with great difficulty in a very shattered condition. The admiral, seeing three of his best ships so roughly handled in this enterprise, returned to Gibraltar in order to refit ; and M. de la Clue, the French commander of the squadron at Toulon, seized this opportunity of sailing, in hopes of passing the Straits' mouth unobserved, his fleet consisting of twelve large ships and three frigates. Admiral Boscawen, who commanded fourteen sail of the line with two frigates, and as many fire-ships, having refitted his squadron, detached one frigate

Admiral
Boscawen
defeats M.
de la Clue.

to cruise off Malaga, and another to hover between Estepona and Ceuta-point, with a view to keep a good look out and give timely notice in case the enemy should approach. On the seventeenth day of August, at eight in the evening, the Gibraltar frigate made a signal that fourteen sail appeared on the Barbary shore, to the eastward of Ceuta; upon which the English admiral immediately heaved up his anchors and went to sea: at daylight he descried seven large ships lying to; but when the English squadron forbore to answer their signal, they discovered their mistake, set all their sails, and made the best of their way. This was the greater part of the French squadron, commanded by M. de la Clue, from whom five of his large ships and three frigates had separated in the night. Even now, perhaps, he might have escaped, had he not been obliged to wait for the *Souveraine*, which was a heavy sailer. At noon the wind, which had blown a fresh gale, died away, and although Admiral Boscawen had made signal to chase, and engage in a line of battle ahead, it was not till half an hour after two that some of his headmost ships could close with the rear of the enemy; which, though greatly outnumbered, fought with uncommon bravery. The English admiral, without waiting to return the fire of the sternmost, which he received as he passed, used all his endeavours to come up with the *Ocean*, which M. de la Clue commanded in person; and about four o'clock in the afternoon, running athwart her hawse, poured into her a furious broadside: thus the engagement began with equal vigour on both sides. This dispute, however, was of short duration. In about half an hour Admiral Boscawen's mizen-mast and topsail-yards were shot away; and the enemy hoisted all the sail they could carry. Mr. Boscawen having shifted his flag from the *Namur* to the *Newark*, joined some other ships in attacking the *Centaur*, of seventy-four guns, which, being thus overpowered, was obliged to surrender. The British admiral pursued them all night, during which the *Souveraine* and the *Guerrier* altered their course, and deserted their commander. At daybreak, M. de la Clue, whose left leg had been broken in the engagement, perceiving the English squadron crowding all their sails to come up with him, and finding himself on the coast of Portugal, determined to burn his ships rather than they should fall into the hands of the victors. The *Ocean* was run ashore two leagues from Lagos, near the fort of Almadana, the commander of which fired

three shot at the English ; another captain of the French squadron followed the example of his commander, and both endeavoured to disembark their men ; but the sea being rough, this proved a very tedious and difficult attempt. The captains of the *Temeraire* and *Modeste*, instead of destroying their ships, anchored as near as they could to the forts *Xavier* and *Lagres*, in hopes of enjoying their protection ; but in this hope they were disappointed. M. de la Clue had been landed, and the command of the *Ocean* was left to the Count de Carne, who, having received one broadside from the *America*, struck his colours, and the English took possession of this noble prize, the best ship in the French navy, mounted with eighty cannon. Captain Bentley, of the *Warspight*, who had remarkably signalized himself by his courage during the action of the preceding day, attacked the *Temeraire*, of seventy-four guns, and brought her off with little damage. Vice-Admiral Broderick, the second in command, advancing with his division, burned the *Redoubtable*, of seventy-four guns, which was bulged, and abandoned by her men and officers ; but they made prize of the *Modeste*, carrying sixty-four guns, which had not been much injured in the engagement. This victory was obtained by the English admiral at a very small expense of men ; the whole number of the killed and wounded not exceeding two hundred and fifty on board of the British squadron, though the carnage among the enemy must have been much more considerable, as M. de la Clue, in his letter to the French ambassador at Lisbon, owned, that on board of his own ship, the *Ocean*, one hundred men were killed on the spot, and seventy dangerously wounded : but the most severe circumstance of this disaster was the loss of four capital ships, two of which were destroyed, and the other two brought in triumph to England, to be numbered among the best bottoms of the British navy. What augmented the good fortune of the victors was, that not one officer lost his life in the engagement. Captain Bentley, whom the admiral despatched to England with the tidings of his success, met with a gracious reception from the king, who knighted him for his gallantry.

As we propose to throw together all the naval transactions of the year, especially those that happened in the European seas, that they may be comprehended, as it were, in one view, we must now, without regarding the order of

time, postpone many previous events of importance, and record the last action by sea, that in the course of this year distinguished the flag of Great Britain. The court of Versailles, in order to embarrass the British ministry, and divert their attention from all external expeditions, had in the winter projected a plan for invading some part of the British dominions; and in the beginning of the year had actually begun to make preparations on different parts of their coast for carrying this design into execution. Even as far back as the latter end of May, messages from the king to both Houses of Parliament were delivered by the Earl of Holderness and Mr. Pitt, the two secretaries of state, signifying that his majesty had received advices of preparations making by the French court, with a design to invade Great Britain: that though persuaded, by the universal zeal and affection of his people, any such attempt must, under the blessing of God, end in the destruction of those who engaged in it; yet he apprehended he should not act consistent with that paternal care and concern which he had always shown for the safety and preservation of his subjects, if he omitted any means in his power which might be necessary for their defence: he, therefore, acquainted the Parliament with his having received repeated intelligence of the enemy's preparations, to the end that his majesty might, if he should think proper, in pursuance of the late act of Parliament, cause the militia, or such part thereof as should be necessary, to be drawn out and embodied, in order to march as occasion should require. These messages were no sooner read, than each House separately resolved to present an address, thanking his majesty for having communicated this intelligence; assuring him that they would, with their lives and fortunes, support him against all attempts whatever: that, warmed with affection and zeal for his person and government, and animated by indignation at the daring designs of an enemy whose fleet had hitherto shunned the terror of the British navy, they would cheerfully exert their utmost efforts to repel all insults, and effectually enable their sovereign not only to disappoint the attempts of France, but, by the blessing of God, turn them to their own confusion. The Commons at the same time resolved upon another address, desiring his majesty would give directions to his lieutenants of the several counties, ridings, and places within South

Prepara-
tions made
by the
French for
invading
England.

Britain, to use their utmost diligence and attention in executing the several acts of Parliament made for the better ordering the militia.

These and other precautionary steps were accordingly taken; but the administration wisely placed their chief dependence upon the strength of the navy, part of which was so divided and stationed as to block up all the harbours of France in which the enemy were known to make any naval armament of consequence. We have seen in what manner Rear-Admiral Rodney visited the town and harbour of Havre-de-Grace, and scoured that part of the coast in successive cruises: we have also recorded the expedition and victory of Admiral Boscawen over the squadron of La Clue, which was equipped at Toulon, with a design to assist in the projected invasion. Notwithstanding this disaster, the French ministry persisted in their design; towards the execution of which they had prepared another considerable fleet in the harbours of Rochefort, Brest, and Port-Louis, to be commanded by M. de Conflans, and reinforced by a considerable body of troops, which were actually assembled under the Duc d'Aiguillon, at Vannes, in Lower Bretagne. Flat-bottomed boats and transports to be used in this expedition were prepared in different ports on the coast of France; and a small squadron was equipped at Dunkirk, under the command of an enterprising adventurer, called Thurot, who had, in the course of the preceding year, signalized his courage and conduct in a large privateer called the *Belleisle*, which had scoured the North Seas, taken a number of ships, and at one time maintained an obstinate battle against two English frigates, which were obliged to desist, after having received considerable damage. This man's name became a terror to the merchants of Great Britain; for his valour was not more remarkable in battle than his conduct in eluding the pursuit of the British cruisers, who were successively detached in quest of him, through every part of the German Ocean and North Sea, as far as the islands of Orkney. It must be likewise owned, for the honour of human nature, that this bold mariner, though destitute of the advantages of birth and education, was remarkably distinguished by his generosity and compassion to those who had the misfortune to fall into his power; and that his deportment in every respect entitled him to a much more honourable rank in the service of his country.

The court of Versailles was not insensible to his merit. He obtained a commission from the French king, and was vested with the command of the small armament now fitting out in the harbour of Dunkirk. The British government being apprised of all these particulars, took such measures to defeat the purposed invasion as must have conveyed a very high idea of the power of Great Britain to those who considered, that, exclusive of the force opposed to this design, they at the same time carried on the most vigorous and important operations of war in Germany, America, and the East and West Indies. Thurot's armament at Dunkirk was watched by an English squadron in the Downs, commanded by Commodore Boys; the port of Havre was guarded by Rear-Admiral Rodney; Mr. Boscawen had been stationed off Toulon; and the coast of Vannes was scoured by a small squadron detached from Sir Edward Hawke, who had, during the summer, blocked up the harbour of Brest, where Conflans lay with his fleet, in order to be joined by the other divisions of the armament. These different squadrons of the British navy were connected by a chain of separate cruisers; so that the whole coast of France, from Dunkirk to the extremity of Bretagne, was distressed by an actual blockade.

The French ministry, being thus hampered, forbore their attempt upon Britain; and the projected invasion seemed to hang in suspense till the month of August, in the beginning of which their army in Germany was defeated at Minden. Their designs in that country being baffled by this disaster, they seemed to convert their chief attention to their sea-armament: the preparations were resumed with redoubled vigour; and even after the defeat of La Clue, they resolved to try their fortune in a descent. They now proposed to disembark a body of troops in Ireland. Thurot received orders to sail from Dunkirk with the first opportunity, and shape his course round the northern parts of Scotland, that he might alarm the coast of Ireland, and make a diversion from that part where Conflans intended to effectuate the disembarkation of his forces. The transports and ships of war were assembled at Brest and Rochefort, having on board a train of artillery, with saddles and other accoutrements for cavalry, to be mounted in Ireland; and a body of French troops, including part of the Irish brigade, was kept in readiness to embark. The execu-

French fleet
sails from
Brest

tion of this scheme was, however, prevented by the vigilance of Sir Edward Hawke, who blocked up the harbour of Brest with a fleet of twenty-three capital ships; while another squadron of smaller ships and frigates, under the command of Captain Duff, continued to cruise along the French coast, from Port L'Orient, in Bretagne, to the Point of St. Gilles in Poitou. At length, however, in the beginning of November, the British squadron, commanded by Sir Edward Hawke, Sir Charles Hardy, and Rear-Admiral Geary, were driven from the coast of France by stress of weather, and on the ninth day of the month anchored in Torbay. The French admiral, Conflans, snatched this opportunity of sailing from Brest, with one-and-twenty sail of the line and four frigates, in hopes of being able to destroy the English squadron, commanded by Captain Duff, before the large fleet could return from the coast of England. Sir Edward Hawke having received intelligence that the French fleet had sailed from Brest, immediately stood to sea, in order to pursue them; and in the mean time the government issued orders for guarding all those parts of the coast that were thought the most exposed to a descent. The land-forces were put in motion, and quartered along the shore of Kent and Sussex: all the ships of war in the different harbours, even those which had just arrived from America, were ordered to put to sea, and every step was taken to disconcert the designs of the enemy.

While these measures were taken with equal vigour and deliberation, Sir Edward Hawke steered his course directly for Quiberon, on the coast of Bretagne, which he supposed would be the rendezvous of the French squadron; but notwithstanding his utmost efforts, he was driven by a hard gale considerably to the westward, where he was joined by two frigates, the *Maidstone* and *Coventry*. These he directed to keep ahead of the squadron. The weather growing more moderate, the former made the signal for seeing a fleet, on the twentieth day of November, at half an hour past eight o'clock in the morning, and in an hour afterwards discovered them to be the enemy's squadron. They were at that time in chase of Captain Duff's squadron, which now joined the large fleet, after having run some risk of being taken. Sir Edward Hawke, who, when the *Maidstone* gave the first notice, had formed the line abreast, now perceiving that the French admiral endeavoured to escape

Admiral
Hawke de-
fects M. de
Conflans.

with all the sail he could carry, threw out a signal for seven of his ships that were nearest the enemy to chase and endeavour to detain them until they could be reinforced by the rest of the squadron, which were ordered to form into a line of battle ahead as they chased, that no time might be lost in the pursuit. Considering the roughness of the weather, which was extremely tempestuous; the nature of the coast, which is in this place rendered very hazardous by a great number of sand-banks, shoals, rocks, and islands, as entirely unknown to the British sailors as they were familiar to the French navigators; the dangers of a short day, dark night, and lee-shore; it required extraordinary resolution in the English admiral to attempt hostilities on this occasion; but Sir Edward Hawke, steeled with the integrity and fortitude of his own heart, animated by a warm love for his country, and well acquainted with the importance of the stake on which the safety of that country in a great measure depended, was resolved to run extraordinary risks in his endeavours to frustrate at once a boasted scheme projected for the annoyance of his fellow-subjects. With respect to his ships of the line, he had but the advantage of one in point of number, and no superiority in men or metal; consequently, M. de Conflans might have hazarded a fair battle on the open sea, without any imputation of temerity; but he thought proper to play a more artful game, though it did not succeed according to his expectation. He kept his fleet in a body, and retired close in shore, with a view to draw the English squadron among the shoals and islands, on which he hoped they would pay dear for their rashness and impetuosity, while he and his officers, who were perfectly acquainted with the navigation, could either stay, and take advantage of the disaster, or, if hard pressed, retire through channels unknown to the British pilots. At half an hour after two the van of the English fleet began the engagement with the rear of the enemy, in the neighbourhood of Belleisle. Every ship, as she advanced, poured in a broadside on the sternmost of the French, and bore down upon their van, leaving the rear to those that came after. Sir Edward Hawke, in the Royal George, of one hundred and ten guns, reserved his fire in passing through the rear of the enemy, and ordered his master to bring him alongside of the French admiral, who commanded in person on board the *Soleil Royal*, a ship mounted with eighty cannon, and provided with a comple-

ment of twelve hundred men. When the pilot remonstrated, that he could not obey his command, without the most imminent risk of running upon a shoal, the veteran replied, "You have done your duty in showing the danger; now you are to comply with my order, and lay me alongside the *Soleil Royal*." His wish was gratified; the *Royal George* ranged up with the French admiral. The *Thesée*, another large ship of the enemy, running up between the two commanders, sustained the fire that was reserved for the *Soleil Royal*; but in returning the first broadside foundered, in consequence of the high sea that entered her lower-deck ports, and filled her with water. Notwithstanding the boisterous weather, a great number of ships on both sides fought with equal fury and dubious success, till about four in the afternoon, when the *Formidable* struck her colours. The *Superbe* shared the fate of the *Thesée* in going to the bottom. The *Hero* hauled down her colours in token of submission, and dropped anchor; but the wind was so high, that no boat could be sent to take possession. By this time daylight began to fail, and the greater part of the French fleet escaped under cover of the darkness. Night approaching, the wind blowing with augmented violence on a lee-shore, and the British squadron being entangled among unknown shoals and islands, Sir Edward Hawke made the signal for anchoring to the westward of the small island Dumet; and here the fleet remained all night in a very dangerous riding, alarmed by the fury of the storm, and the incessant firing of guns of distress, without their knowing whether it proceeded from friend or enemy. The *Soleil Royal* had, under favour of the night, anchored also in the midst of the British squadron; but at daybreak M. de Conflans ordered her cable to be cut, and she drove ashore to the westward of Crozie. The English admiral immediately made signal to the *Essex* to slip cable and pursue her; and, in obeying this order, she ran unfortunately on a sand-bank called Lefour, where the *Resolution*, another ship of the British squadron, was already grounded. Here they were both irrecoverably lost, in spite of all the assistance that could be given; but all their men and part of their stores were saved, and the wrecks set on fire by order of the admiral. He likewise detached the *Portland*, *Chatham*, and *Vengeance*, to destroy the *Soleil Royal*, which was burned by her own people before the English ships could approach; but they arrived time enough

to reduce the *Héro* to ashes on the *Lefour*, where she had been also stranded; and the *Juste*, another of their great ships, perished in the mouth of the *Loire*. The admiral, perceiving seven large ships of the enemy riding at anchor between *Point Penvas* and the mouth of the river *Vilaine*, made the signal to weigh, in order to attack them; but the fury of the storm increased to such a degree, that he was obliged to remain at anchor, and even order the top-gallant masts to be struck. In the mean time, the French ships being lightened of their cannon, their officers took advantage of the flood, and a more moderate gale under the land, to enter the *Vilaine*, where they lay within half a mile of the entrance, protected by some occasional batteries erected on the shore, and by two large frigates moored across the mouth of the harbour. Thus they were effectually secured from any attempts of small vessels; and as for large ships, there was not water sufficient to float them within fighting distance of the enemy. On the whole, this battle, in which a very inconsiderable number of lives was lost, may be considered as one of the most perilous and important actions that ever happened in any war between the two nations; for it not only defeated the projected invasion, which had hung menacing so long over the apprehensions of Great Britain, but it gave the finishing blow to the naval power of France, which was totally disabled from undertaking any thing of consequence in the sequel.¹ By this time, indeed, *Thurot* had escaped from *Dunkirk*, and directed his course to the *North Sea*, whither he was followed by *Commodore Boys*, who nevertheless was disappointed in his pursuit; but the fate of that enterprising adventurer falls under the annals of the ensuing year, among the transactions of which it shall be recorded. As for *Sir Edward Hawke*, he continued cruising off the coast of *Bretagne* for a considerable time after the victory he had obtained, taking particular care to block up the mouth of the river *Vilaine*, that the seven French ships might not escape and join *M. Conflans*, who made shift to reach *Rochefort* with the shattered remains of his squadron. Indeed, this service became such a considerable object in the

¹ During this war the English had already taken and destroyed twenty-seven French ships of the line and thirty-one frigates, two of their great ships and four frigates perished; so that their whole loss, in this particular, amounted to sixty-four; whereas the loss of Great Britain did not exceed seven sail of the line and five frigates. It may be easily conceived how the French marine, at first greatly inferior to the naval power of Britain, must have been affected by this dreadful balance to its prejudice.

eyes of the British ministry, that a large fleet was maintained upon this coast, apparently for no other purpose, during the whole year, and after all, the enemy eluded their vigilance. Sir Edward Hawke, having undergone a long and dangerous conflict with tempestuous weather, was at length recalled, and presented to his sovereign, who gratified him with a considerable pension, for the courage and conduct he had so often and so long displayed in the service of his country; and his extraordinary merit was afterwards honoured with the approbation of the Parliament. The people of France were so dispirited by the defeat of their army at Minden, and the disaster of their squadron at Lagos, that the ministry of Versailles thought proper to conceal the extent of their last misfortunes under a palliating detail published in the gazette of Paris, as a letter from M. Conflans to the Count de St. Florentin, secretary of the marine. In this partial misrepresentation their admiral was made to affirm, that the British fleet consisted of forty ships of the line of battle, besides frigates; that the *Soleil Royal* had obliged the Royal George to sheer off; that the seven ships which retreated into the river Vilaine had received very little damage, and would be soon repaired; and that, by the junction of Bompars's squadron, he should be soon able to give a good account of the English admiral. These tumid assertions, so void of truth, are not to be imputed to an illiberal spirit of vain-glory, so much as to a political design of extenuating the national calamity, and supporting the spirit of the people.

The alarm of the French invasion, which was thus so happily frustrated, not only disturbed the quiet of Great Britain, but also diffused itself to the kingdom of Ireland, where it was productive of some public disorder. In the latter end of October, the two Houses of Parliament, assembled at Dublin, received a formal message from the Duke of Bedford, lord-lieutenant of that kingdom, to the following effect: that, by a letter from the secretary of state, written by his majesty's express command, it appeared that France, far from resigning her plan of invasion, on account of the disaster that befel her Toulon squadron, was more and more confirmed in her purpose, and even instigated by despair itself, to attempt, at all hazards, the only resource she seemed to have left for thwarting, by a diversion at home, the measures of England abroad in prosecuting

a war which hitherto opened, in all parts of the world, so unfavourable a prospect to the views of French ambition: that in case the body of French troops, amounting to eighteen thousand men, under the command of the Duc d'Aiguillon, assembled at Vannes, where also a sufficient number of transports was prepared, should be able to elude the British squadron, Ireland would, in all probability, be one of their chief objects; his grace thought it, therefore, incumbent upon him, in a matter of such high importance to the welfare of that kingdom, to communicate this intelligence to the Irish Parliament. He told them his majesty would make no doubt but that the zeal of his faithful Protestant subjects in that kingdom had been already sufficiently quickened by the repeated accounts received of the enemy's dangerous designs, and actual preparations made, at a vast expense, in order to invade the several parts of the British dominions. He gave them to understand he had received his sovereign's commands to use his utmost endeavours to animate and excite his loyal people of Ireland to exert their well-known zeal and spirit in support of his majesty's government, and in defence of all that was dear to them, by timely preparation to resist and frustrate any attempts of the enemy to disturb the quiet and shake the security of this kingdom: he, therefore, in the strongest manner, recommended it to them to manifest, upon this occasion, that zeal for the present happy establishment, and that affection for his majesty's person and government, by which the Parliament of that nation had been so often distinguished. Immediately after this message was communicated, the House of Commons unanimously resolved to present an address to the lord-lieutenant, thanking his grace for the care and concern he had shown for the safety of Ireland, in having imparted intelligence of so great importance; desiring him to make use of such means as should appear to him the most effectual for the security and defence of the kingdom; and assuring him, that the House would make good whatever expense should be necessarily incurred for that purpose. This intimation, and the steps that were taken in consequence of it for the defence of Ireland, produced such apprehensions and distraction among the people of that kingdom, as had well nigh proved fatal to the public credit. In the first transports of popular fear, there was such an extraordinary run upon the banks of Dublin, that several considerable bankers were obliged to stop payment;

and the circulation was in danger of being suddenly stagnated, when the lord-lieutenant, the members of both Houses of Parliament, the lord-mayor, aldermen, merchants, and principal traders of Dublin, engaged in an association to support public credit, by taking the notes of bankers in payment; a resolution which effectually answered the purpose intended.

Howsoever the court of Versailles might have flattered itself that their invading army would in Ireland be joined by a great number of the natives, in all probability it would have been disappointed in this hope, had their purposed descent even been carried into execution, for no signs of disaffection to the reigning family appeared at this juncture. On the contrary, the wealthy individuals of the Romish persuasion offered to accommodate the government with large sums of money, in case of necessity, to support the present establishment against all its enemies; and the Roman Catholics of the city of Cork, in a body, presented an address to the lord-lieutenant, expressing their loyalty in the warmest terms of assurance. After having congratulated his grace on the unparalleled successes which had attended his majesty's arms, and expressed their sense of the king's paternal tenderness for his kingdom of Ireland, they acknowledged, with the deepest sense of gratitude, that protection and indulgence they had enjoyed under his majesty's mild and auspicious reign. They professed the warmest indignation at the threatened invasion of the kingdom by an enemy, who, grown desperate from repeated defeats, might possibly make that attempt as a last effort, vainly flattered with the imaginary hope of assistance in Ireland from the former attachment of their deluded predecessors. They assured his grace, in the most solemn manner, that such schemes were altogether inconsistent with their principles and intentions; that they would, to the utmost exertion of their abilities, with their lives and fortunes, join in the defence and support of his majesty's royal person and government against all invaders whatsoever; that they should be always ready to concur in such measures, and to act such parts in defence of the kingdom, in common with the rest of his majesty's subjects, as his grace in his great wisdom should be pleased to appoint; and think themselves particularly happy to be under the direction and command of so known an assertor of liberty, such an important and

Loyalty of
the Irish
Catholics.

distinguished governor. Finally, they expressed the most earnest wish, that his majesty's arms might be crowned with such a continuance of success, as should enable him to defeat the devices of all his enemies, and obtain a speedy and honourable peace. This cordial address, which was transmitted to the Earl of Shannon, and by him presented to the Duke of Bedford, must have been very agreeable to the government at such a critical conjuncture.

Although no traces of disaffection to his majesty's family appeared on this trying occasion, it must nevertheless be acknowledged, that a spirit of dissatisfaction broke out with extraordinary violence among the populace of Dublin. The present lord-lieutenant was not remarkably popular in his administration. He had bestowed one place of considerable importance upon a gentleman whose person was obnoxious to many people in that kingdom, and perhaps failed in that affability and condescension which a free and ferocious nation expects to find in the character of him to whose rule they are subjected. Whether the offence taken at his deportment had created enemies to his person, or the nation in general began to entertain doubts and jealousies of the government's designs, certain it is, great pains were taken to propagate a belief among the lower sort of people, that an union would soon be effected between Great Britain and Ireland; in which case this last kingdom would be deprived of its Parliament and independency, and be subjected to the same taxes that are levied upon the people of England. This notion inflamed the populace to such a degree, that they assembled in a prodigious multitude, broke into the House of Lords, insulted the Peers, seated an old woman on the throne, and searched for the journals, which, had they been found, they would have committed to the flames. Not content with this outrage, they compelled the members of both Houses, whom they met in the streets, to take an oath that they would never consent to such an union, or give any vote contrary to the true interest of Ireland. Divers coaches belonging to obnoxious persons were destroyed, and their horses killed; and a gibbet was erected for one gentleman in particular, who narrowly escaped the ungovernable rage of those riotous insurgents. A body of horse and infantry were drawn out on this occasion, in order to overawe the multitude, which at night dispersed of itself. Next day addresses to the

Dangerous
insurrection
in Dublin.

lord-lieutenant were agreed to by both Houses of Parliament, and a committee of inquiry appointed, that the ringleaders of the tumult might be discovered and brought to condign punishment.

When the ministry of England received the first advice that M. Thurot had escaped from Dunkirk, with a small squadron of armed ships, having on board a body of land-troops, designed for a private expedition on the coast of Scotland or Ireland, expresses were immediately despatched to the commanding officers of the forces in North Britain, with orders to put the forts along the coast of that kingdom in the best posture of defence; and to hold every thing in readiness to repel the enemy, in case they should attempt a descent. In consequence of these instructions, beacons were erected for the immediate communication of intelligence; places of rendezvous appointed for the regular troops and militia; and strict orders issued that no officer should absent himself from his duty on any pretence whatever. The greatest encomium that can be given to the character of this partisan is an account of the alarm which the sailing of his puny armament spread through the whole extent of such a powerful kingdom, whose fleets covered the ocean. Perhaps Thurot's career would have been sooner stopped, had Commodore Boys been victualled for a longer cruise; but this commander was obliged to put into Leith for a supply of provisions at the very time when Thurot was seen hovering on the coast near Aberdeen; and before the English squadron was provided for a prosecution of the cruise, the other had taken shelter at Gottenburgh, in Sweden.

Alarm of a
descent in
Scotland.

CHAPTER XXXI.

STATE OF THE ISLAND OF MARTINIQUE — EXPEDITION AGAINST THAT ISLAND — ATTEMPT UPON ST. PIERRE — DESCENT ON THE ISLAND OF GUADALOUPE — SKIRMISHES WITH THE ISLANDERS — FORT LOUIS REDUCED — FATE OF COLONEL DEBRISAY. — THE ENGLISH FLEET SAILS TO DOMINIQUE — GENERAL BARRINGTON TAKES GOSIER, AND STORMS THE POST OF LICOINE — HE TAKES PETITBOURG AND ST. MARY'S — THE ISLAND CALIFULATES. — ISLAND OF MARIGALANTE TAKEN BY GENERAL BARRINGTON — HE RETURNS TO ENGLAND — TREATY WITH THE INDIANS IN NORTH AMERICA — PLAN OF THE CAMPAIGN. — TICONDEROGA AND CROWN POINT ABANDONED BY THE FRENCH — GENERAL AMHERST EMBARKS ON LAKE CHAMPLAIN — NIAGARA REDUCED — INTRODUCTION TO THE EXPEDITION AGAINST QUEBEC. — GENERAL WOLFE LANDS ON THE ISLAND OF ORLEANS — AND TAKES POINT LEVI. — ENGLISH FLEET DAMAGED BY A STORM — GENERAL WOLFE IN CAMPS NEAR THE FALLS OF THE RIVER MONTMORENCI — AND ATTACKS THE FRENCH INTRENCHMENTS THERE, BUT IS REPULSED — BRIGADIER MURRAY DETACHED UP THE RIVER, — COUNCIL OF WAR CALLED — THE TROOPS LAND AT THE HEIGHTS OF ABRAHAM, — BATTLE OF QUEBEC. — QUEBEC TAKEN. — REJOICINGS IN ENGLAND.

HAVING finished the detail of the actions achieved in the European seas, by the naval force of Great Britain, ^{1759.} within the compass of the present year, we shall ^{State of the island of Martinique.} now proceed to record the exploits of the British arms within the tropics, and particularly the expedition to Martinique and Guadaloupe, which is said to have succeeded even beyond the expectation of the ministry. A plan had been formed for improving the success of the preceding year in North America, by carrying the British arms up the river St. Lawrence, and besieging Quebec, the capital of Canada. The armament employed against the French islands of Martinique and Guadaloupe constituted part of this design, inasmuch as the troops embarked on that expedition were, in case of a miscarriage at Martinique, intended to reinforce the British army in North America, which was justly considered as the chief seat of the war. What hope of success the administration conceived from an attempt upon Martinique may be guessed from the state of that island, as it appeared in a memorial presented by the French king's lieutenants of its several districts to the general of the French island, in consequence of an order issued in November, for holding them in readiness to march, and defend the island from the English, of whose design they were apprised. They represented that the trade with the

Dutch was become their sole dependence ; that they could expect no succour from Europe, by which they had been abandoned ever since the commencement of the war : that the traders vested with the privileges of trafficking among them had abused the intention of the general ; and, instead of being of service to the colony, had fixed an arbitrary price for all the provisions which they brought in, as well as for the commodities which they exported ; of consequence, the former was valued at as high a price as their avarice could exact, and the latter sunk as low in value as their own selfish hearts could conceive : that the colony for two months had been destitute of all kinds of provision ; the commodities of the planters lay upon their hands, and their negroes were in danger of perishing through hunger ; a circumstance that excited the apprehension of the most dreadful consequences ; as to slaves, half starved, all kinds of bondage were equal ; and people reduced to such a situation were often driven to despair, seeking, in anarchy and confusion, a remedy from the evils by which they were oppressed : that the best provided of the inhabitants laboured under the want of the common necessities of life ; and others had not so much as a grain of salt in their houses : that there was an irreparable scarcity of slaves to cultivate their land ; and the planters were reduced to the necessity of killing their own cattle to support the lives of those who remained alive ; so that the mills were no longer worked, and the inhabitants consumed beforehand what ought to be reserved for their sustenance, in case of being blocked up by the enemy. They desired, therefore, that the general would suppress the permission granted to particular merchants, and admit neutral vessels freely into their ports, that they might trade with the colonists unmolested and unrestrained. They observed, that the citadel of Port Royal seemed the principal object on which the safety and defence of the country depended ; as the loss of it would be necessarily attended with the reduction of the whole island ; they therefore advised that this fort should be properly provided with every thing necessary for its safety and defence ; and that magazines of provision, as well as ammunition, should be established in different quarters of the island.—This remonstrance plainly proves that the island was wholly unprepared to repel the meditated invasion, and justifies the plan adopted by the ministry of Great Britain. The regular

troops of Martinique consisted of about twenty independent companies, greatly defective in point of number. The militia was composed of burghers and planters distressed and dissatisfied, mingled with a parcel of wretched negro slaves, groaning under the most intolerable misery, from whence they could have no hope of deliverance but by a speedy change of masters; their magazines were empty, and their fortifications out of repair.

Such was the state of Martinique when the inhabitants every day expected a visit from the British armament, whose progress we shall now relate. On the twelfth day of November, in the preceding year, Captain Hughes sailed from St. Helen's with eight sail of the line, one frigate, four bomb-ketches, and a fleet of transports, having on board six regiments of infantry and a detachment of artillery, besides eight hundred marines distributed among the ships of war; this whole force being under the command of Major-General Hopson, an old experienced officer, assisted by Major-General Barrington, the Colonels Armiger and Haldane, the Lieutenant-Colonels Trapaud and Clavering, acting in the capacity of brigadiers. After a voyage of seven weeks and three days, the fleet arrived at Barbadoes, and anchored in Carlisle-bay, where they joined Commodore Moore, appointed by his majesty to command the united squadron, amounting to ten ships of the line, besides frigates and bomb-ketches. Ten days were employed in supplying the fleet with wood and water, in waiting for the hospital ship, in reviews, re-embarkations, councils of war, assemblies of the council belonging to the island, in issuing proclamations, and beating up for volunteers. At length, every great ship being reinforced with forty negroes, to be employed in drawing the artillery; and the troops, which did not exceed five thousand eight hundred men, being joined by two hundred Highlanders belonging to the second battalion of the regiment commanded by Lord John Murray in North America, who were brought as recruits from Scotland, under convoy of the ship Ludlow-castle; the whole armament sailed from Carlisle-bay on the thirteenth day of January; but by this time the troops, unaccustomed to a hot climate, were considerably weakened and reduced by fevers, diarrhoeas, the scurvy, and the small-pox; which last disease had unhappily broken out amongst the transports. Next morning the

Expedition
against that
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squadron discovered the island of Martinique, which was the place of its destination. The chief fortification of Martinique was the citadel of Port Royal, a regular fort garrisoned by four companies, that did not exceed the number of one hundred and fifty men, thirty-six bombardiers, eighty Swiss, and fourteen officers. One hundred barrels of beef constituted their whole store of provision; and they were destitute of all other necessaries. They were almost wholly unprovided with water in the cisterns, with spare carriages for their cannon, match, wadding, and langrage: they had but a small stock of other ammunition; and the walls were in many parts decayed. The only preparations they had made for receiving the English were some paltry intrenchments thrown up at St. Pierre, and a place called Casde-navires, where they imagined the descent would probably be attempted. On the fifteenth day of the month, the British squadron entered the great bay of Port Royal, some of the ships being exposed to the shot of a battery erected on the isle de Ranieres, a little island about half way up the bay. At their first appearance, the Florissant, of seventy-four guns, which had been so roughly handled by Captain Tyrel in the Buckingham, then lying under the guns of Fort Negro, along with two frigates, turned up under the citadel, and came to an anchor in the Carenage, behind the fortification. One frigate, called the Vestal, under favour of the night, made her escape through the transports, and directed her course for Europe, where she was taken by Captain Hood, as we have already related. Next day three ships of the line were ordered to attack Fort Negro, a battery at the distance of three miles from the citadel, which, being mounted with seven guns only, was soon silenced, and immediately possessed by a detachment of marines and sailors; who, being landed in flat-bottomed boats, clambered up the rock, and entered through the embrasures with their bayonets fixed. Here, however, they met with no resistance: the enemy had abandoned the fort with precipitation. The British colours were immediately hoisted, and sentinels of marines posted upon the parapet. The next care was to spike and disable the cannon, break the carriages, and destroy the powder which they found in the magazine: nevertheless, the detachment was ordered to keep possession of the battery. This service being successfully performed, three ships were sent to reduce the

other battery at Casdenavires, which consisted only of four guns, and these were soon rendered unserviceable. The French troops, reinforced with militia which had been detached from the citadel to oppose the disembarkation, perceiving the whole British squadron, and all the transports, already within the bay, and Fort Negro occupied by the marines, retired to Port Royal, leaving the beach open; so that the English troops were landed without opposition; and, being formed, advanced into the country towards Fort Negro, in the neighbourhood of which they lay all night upon their arms; while the fleet, which had been galled by bomb-shells from the citadel, shifted their station, and stood further up the bay. By ten next day the English officers had brought up some field-pieces to an eminence, and scoured the woods, from whence the troops had been greatly annoyed by the small shot of the enemy during the best part of the night, and all that morning. At noon the British forces advanced in order towards the hill that overlooked the town and citadel of Port Royal, and sustained a troublesome fire from enemies they could not see; for the French militia were entirely covered by the woods and bushes. This eminence, called the Morne Tortueson, though the most important post of the whole island, was neglected by the General of Martinique, who had resolved to blow up the fortifications of the citadel; but, luckily for the islanders, he had not prepared the materials for this operation, which must have been attended with the immediate destruction of the capital, and indeed of the whole country. Some of the inferior officers, knowing the importance of the Morne Tortueson, resolved to defend that post with a body of the militia, which was reinforced by the garrisons of Fort Negro and Casdenavires, as well as by some soldiers detached from the Florissaut; but, notwithstanding all their endeavours, as they were entirely unprovided with cannon, extremely defective in point of discipline, dispirited by the pusillanimity of their governor, and in a great measure disconcerted by the general consternation that prevailed among the inhabitants, in all probability they could not have withstood a spirited and well-conducted attack by regular forces. About two o'clock General Hopson thought proper to desist from his attempt. He gave the commodore to understand, that he could not maintain his ground, unless the squadron would supply him with heavy cannon, landed near the town

of Port Royal, at a savannah, where the boats must have been greatly exposed to the fire of the enemy; or assist him in attacking the citadel by sea, while he should make his approaches by land. Both these expedients^a being deemed impracticable by a council of war, the troops were recalled from their advanced posts, and re-embarked in the evening, without any considerable molestation from the enemy. Their attempt on the Morne Tortueson had cost them several men, including two officers, killed or wounded in the attack; and, in revenge for this loss, they burned the sugar-canes, and desolated the country in their retreat. The inhabitants of Martinique could hardly credit the testimony of their own senses, when they saw themselves thus delivered from all their fears, at a time when they were overwhelmed with terror and confusion; when the principal individuals among them had resigned all thought of further resistance; and were actually assembled at the public hall in Port Royal, to send deputies to the English general, with proposals of capitulation and surrender.

The majority of the British officers who constituted a council of war held for this purpose,^b having given their opinion, that it might be for his majesty's service to make an attack upon St. Pierre, the fleet proceeded to that part of the island, and entered the bay on the nineteenth. The commodore told the general, that he made no doubt of being able to reduce the town of St. Pierre; but as the ships might be disabled in the attack, so as not to be in a condition to proceed immediately on any material service; as the troops might be reduced in their numbers so as to be incapable of future attacks; and as the reduction of the island of Guadaloupe would be of great benefit to the sugar-colonies; Mr. Moore proposed that the armament should immediately proceed to that island; and the general agreed to the proposal. The reasons produced on this occasion are, we apprehend, such as may be urged against every operation of war. Certain it is, no conquest can be

^a The commodore offered to land the cannon on the other side of Fort Negro, at a place equally near the road from the English army at Port Royal, and even cause them to be drawn up by the scamen, without giving the troops the least trouble. But this offer was not accepted. General Hopson afterwards declared, that he did not understand Mr. Moore's message in the sense which it was meant to imply.

^b The commodore did not attend at this council: it was convoked to deliberate upon the opinion of the chief engineer, who thought they should make another landing on the southward of the Carenage. In this case, the pilots declared it would be extremely difficult, if not impracticable, for the fleet to keep up a communication with the army.

attempted, either by sea or land, without exposing the ships and troops to a possibility of being disabled and diminished ; and the same possibility militated as strongly against an attempt upon Guadaloupe, as it could possibly discourage the attack of St. Pierre. Besides, Martinique was an object of greater importance than Guadaloupe ;^c as being the principal place possessed by the French in those seas, and that to which the operations of the armament were expressly limited by the instructions received from the ministry. St. Pierre was a place of considerable commerce ; and at that very juncture about forty sail of merchant-ships lay at anchor in the bay. The town was defended by a citadel regularly fortified, but at that time poorly garrisoned, and so situated as to be accessible to the fire of the whole squadron ; for the shore was bold, and the water sufficient to float any ship of the line. Before the resolution of proceeding to Guadaloupe was taken, the commodore had ordered the bay to be sounded ; and directed the Rippon to advance, and silence a battery situated a mile and a half to the northward of St. Pierre. Accordingly, Captain Jekyll, who commanded that ship, stood in, and anchoring close to the shore, attacked it with such impetuosity, that in a few minutes it was abandoned. At the same time the Rippon was exposed to the fire of three other batteries, from which she received considerable damage both in her hull and rigging ; and was in great danger of running aground, when orders were given to tow her out of danger.

The whole armament, having abandoned the design on Martinique, directed their course to Guadaloupe, another of the Caribbee islands, lying at the distance of thirty leagues to the westward, about fifteen leagues in length, and twelve in breadth ; divided into two parts by a small channel, which the inhabitants cross in a ferry-boat. The western division is known by the name of Basseterre ; and here the metropolis stands, defended by the citadel and other fortifications. The eastern part, called Grandeterre, is destitute of fresh water, which abounds in the other division ; and is defended by Fort Louis, with a redoubt, which commands the road in the district of Gosier. The cut, or canal, that separates the two parts, is distin-

^c Only as being the seat of government ; for Guadaloupe makes a much greater quantity of sugar, and equipped a much greater number of privateers, with the assistance of the Dutch of St. Eustatia, situated in its neighbourhood.

guished by the appellation of the Salt River ; having a road or bay at each end ; namely, the great Cul de Sac, and the small Cul de Sac. Guadaloupe is encumbered with high mountains and precipices, to which the inhabitants used to convey their valuable effects in time of danger : but here are also beautiful plains watered by brooks and rivers, which fertilize the soil, enabling it to produce a great quantity of sugar, cotton, indigo, tobacco, and cassia ; besides plenty of rice, potatoes, all kinds of pulse, and fruit peculiar to the island. The country is populous and flourishing, and the government comprehends two smaller islands, called All Saints and Deseada, which appear at a small distance from the coast on the eastern side of the island. The British squadron having arrived at Basseterre, it was resolved to make a general attack by sea upon the citadel, the town, and other batteries by which it was defended. A disposition being made for this purpose, the large ships took their respective stations next morning, which was the twenty-third day of January. At nine, the *Lion*, commanded by Captain Trelawney, began the engagement against a battery of nine guns ; and the rest of the fleet continued to place themselves abreast of the other batteries and the citadel, which mounted forty-six cannon, besides two mortars. The action in a little time became general, and was maintained on both sides for several hours with great vivacity ; while the commodore, who had shifted his pendant into the *Woolwich* frigate, kept aloof without gunshot, that he might be the more disengaged to view the state of the battle,^d and give his orders with the greater deliberation. This expedient of an admiral's removing his flag, and retiring from the action while his own ship is engaged, however consonant to reason, we do not remember to have seen practised upon any occasion, except in one instance, at Carthage, where Sir Chaloner Ogle quitted his own ship, when she was ordered to stand in and cannonade the fort of Boca-chica. In this present attack, all the sea commanders behaved with extraordinary spirit and resolution, particularly the Captains Leslie, Burnet, Gayton, Jekyll, Trelawney, and Shuldham ; who, in the hottest tumult of the

^d He shifted his broad pendant on board the *Woolwich*, as well to direct and keep the transports together in a proper posture for the landing of the troops, as to cover the disembarkation ; and also to consult proper measures with the general, who saw the necessity of Mr. Moore's being with him ; and requested that he, with the other general officers and engineers, might be admitted on board the *Woolwich*, in order to consult, and take the earliest opportunity of landing the troops, as the service necessarily required.

action, distinguished themselves equally by their courage, impetuosity, and deliberation. About five in the afternoon the fire of the citadel slackened. The Burford and Berwick were driven out to sea; so that Captain Shuldham, in the Panther, was unsustained; and two batteries played upon the Rippon, Captain Jekyll, who by two in the afternoon silenced the guns of one, called the Morne-rouge; but at the same time could not prevent his ship from running aground. The enemy, perceiving her disaster, assembled in great numbers on the hill, and lined the trenches, from whence they poured in a severe fire of musketry. The militia afterwards brought up a cannon of eighteen pound ball, and for two hours raked her fore and aft with considerable effect: nevertheless Captain Jekyll returned the fire with equal courage and perseverance, though his people dropped on every side, until all his grape-shot and wadding were expended, and all his rigging cut to pieces: to crown his misfortune, a box, containing nine hundred cartridges, blew up on the poop, and set the ship on fire, which, however, was soon extinguished. In the mean time, the captain threw out a signal of distress; to which no regard was paid,* till Captain Leslie, of the Bristol, coming from sea, and observing his situation, ran in between the Rippon and the battery; and engaged with such impetuosity, as made an immediate diversion in favour of Captain Jekyll, whose ship remained aground, notwithstanding all the assistance that could be given, till midnight, when she floated, and escaped from the very jaws of destruction. At seven in the evening, all the other large ships having silenced the guns to which they had been respectively opposed, joined the rest of the fleet. The four bombs, being anchored near the shore, began to ply the town with shells and carcasses; so that in a little time the houses were in flames, the magazines of gunpowder blew up with the most terrible explosion, and about ten o'clock the whole place blazed out in one general conflagration. Next day, at two in the afternoon, the fleet came to an anchor in the road of Basseterre, where they found the hulls of divers ships which the enemy had set on fire at their approach: several ships turned out and endeavoured to escape, but were intercepted and taken by the English squadron. At five the troops landed without opposition, and took possession of the town and citadel, which they found entirely abandoned. They

* In all probability it was not perceived by the commodore.

learned from a Genoese deserter, that the regular troops of the island consisted of five companies only, the number of the whole not exceeding one hundred men, and that they had laid a train to blow up the powder-magazine in the citadel, but had been obliged to retreat with such precipitation, as did not permit them to execute this design. The train was immediately cut off, and the magazine secured. The nails with which they had spiked up their cannon were drilled out by the matrosses; and in the mean time the British colours were hoisted on the parapet. Part of the troops took possession of an advantageous post on an eminence, and part entered the town, which still continued burning with great violence. In the morning, at daybreak, the enemy appeared, to the number of two thousand, about four miles from the town, as if they intended to throw up intrenchments in the neighbourhood of a house where the governor had fixed his head-quarters, declaring he would maintain his ground to the last extremity. To this resolution, indeed, he was encouraged by the nature of the ground, and the neighbourhood of a pass called the Dos d'Ane, a cleft through a mountainous ridge, opening a communication with Capesterre, a more level and beautiful part of the island. The ascent from Basseterre to this pass was so steep, and the way so broken and interrupted by rocks and gullies, that there was no prospect of attacking it with success, except at the first landing, when the inhabitants were under the dominion of a panic. They very soon recovered their spirits and recollection, assembled and fortified themselves among the hills, armed and arrayed their negroes, and affected to hold the invaders at defiance. A flag of truce being sent, with offers of terms to their governor, the Chevalier d'Etreil, he rejected them in a letter, with which his subsequent conduct but ill agreed.^f Indeed, from the beginning, his deportment had

^f The letter was to this effect :

"To their Excellencies Mess. Hopson and Moore, General Officers of his Britannic Majesty, at Basseterre.

"Gentlemen,

"I have received the letter which your excellencies have done me the honour to write of the twenty-fifth. You make me proposals which could arise from nothing but the facility with which you have got possession of the little town and citadel of Basseterre; for otherwise you ought to do me the justice to believe they could not be received. You have strength sufficient to subdue the exteriors of the island; but with respect to the interiors, the match between us is equal. As to the consequences that may attend my refusal, I am persuaded they will be no other than such as are prescribed by the laws of war. Should we be disappointed in this particular, we have a master powerful enough to revenge any injury we may sustain. I am with respect,

"Gentlemen, your most obedient servant,

"NADAU D'ETREIL."

been such as gave a very unfavourable impression of his character. When the British squadron advanced to the attack, instead of visiting in person the citadel and the batteries, in order to encourage and animate his people by his exhortation and example, he retired out of the reach of danger to a distant plantation, where he remained a tame spectator of the destruction in which his principal town and citadel were involved. Next morning, when he ought to have exerted himself in preventing the disembarkation of the English troops, who had a difficult shore and violent surf to surmount, and when he might have defended the intrenchments and lines which had been made to oppose their landing, he abandoned all these advantages, and took shelter among the mountains that were deemed inaccessible.

But howsoever deficient the governor might have been in the article of courage, certain it is the inhabitants behaved with great spirit and activity in defence of their country. They continually harassed the scouring detachments by firing upon them from woods and sugar plantations, which last the English burned about their ears in resentment. Their armed negroes were very expert in this kind of bush-fighting. The natives or militia appeared in considerable parties, and even encountered detached bodies of the British army. A lady of masculine courage, whose name was Ducharmy, having armed her slaves, they made several bold attempts upon an advanced post, occupied by Major Melville, and threw up intrenchments upon a hill opposite to the station of this officer, who had all along signalized himself by his uncommon intrepidity, vigilance, and conduct. At length the works of this virago were stormed by a regular detachment, which, after an obstinate and dangerous conflict, entered the intrenchment sword in hand, and burned the houses and plantations. Some of the enemy were killed, and a great number taken. Of the English detachment twelve soldiers were slain, and thirty wounded, including three subaltern officers, one of whom lost his arm. The greatest body of the enemy always appeared at the governor's head-quarters, where they had raised a redoubt, and thrown up intrenchments. From these a considerable detachment advanced on the sixth day of Fe-

Skirmishes
with the
islanders.

It is pretty remarkable, that the apprehension of cruel usage from the English, who are undoubtedly the most generous and humane enemies under the sun, not only prevailed among the common French soldiery throughout this whole war, but even infected officers of distinction, who ought to have been exempted from these prejudices, by a better acquaintance with life, and a more liberal turn of thinking.

bruary, in the morning, towards the citadel, and fell in with an English party, whom they engaged with great vivacity; but, after a short though warm dispute, they were obliged to retire with some loss. Without all doubt, the inhabitants of Guadaloupe pursued the most sensible plan that could possibly have been projected for their own safety. Instead of hazarding a general engagement against regular troops, in which they could have no prospect of success, they resolved to weary them out, by maintaining a kind of petty war in separate parties, to alarm and harass the English with hard duty in a sultry climate, where they were but indifferently supplied with provision and refreshment. Nor were their hopes in this particular disappointed. Both the army and the navy were invaded with fevers, and other diseases, epidemical in those hot countries; and the regimental hospitals were so crowded, that it was judged convenient to send five hundred sick men to the island of Antigua, where they might be properly attended.

In the mean time, the reduction of the islanders on the side of Guadaloupe appearing more and more impracticable, the general resolved to transfer the seat of war to the eastern and more fertile part of the island, called Grandeterre, which, as we have already observed, was defended by a strong battery, called Fort Louis. In pursuance of this determination, the great ships were sent round to Grandeterre, in order to reduce this fortification, which they accordingly attacked on the thirteenth day of February. After a severe cannonading, which lasted six hours, a body of marines being landed, with the Highlanders,^s they drove the enemy from their intrenchments sword in hand, and taking possession of the fort, hoisted the English colours. In a few days after this exploit, General Hopson dying at Basseterre, the chief command devolved on General Barrington, who resolved to prosecute the final reduction of the island with vigour and despatch. As one step towards this conquest, the commodore ordered two ships of war to cruise off the island of St. Eustatia, and prevent the Dutch traders from assisting the natives of Guadaloupe, whom they had hitherto constantly supplied with provisions since they retired to the mountains. General Barrington, on the very first day of his command, ordered the troops who were

Fort Louis
reduced.
Fate of
Colonel
Debrisay.

^s A reinforcement of two or three hundred Highlanders had joined the fleet immediately before the troops landed on Guadaloupe.

encamped to strike their tents and huts, that the enemy might imagine he intended to remain in this quarter; but in a few days the batteries in and about Basseterre were blown up and destroyed, the detachments recalled from the advanced posts, and the whole army re-embarked, except one regiment, with a detachment of artillery, left in garrison at the citadel, the command of which was bestowed on Colonel Debrisay, an accomplished officer of great experience. The enemy no sooner perceived the coast clear than they descended from the hills, and endeavoured to take possession of the town, from which, however, they were driven by the fire of the citadel. They afterwards erected a battery, from whence they annoyed this fortification both with shot and shells, and even threatened a regular attack; but, as often as they approached the place, they were repulsed by sallies from the castle.^a In the midst of these hostilities, the gallant Debrisay, together with Major Trollop, one lieutenant, two bombardiers, and several common soldiers, were blown up, and perished, by the explosion of a powder-magazine at the flanked angle of the south-east bastion. The confusion necessarily produced by such an unfortunate accident encouraged the enemy to come pouring down from the hills, in order to make their advantage of the disaster; but they were soon repulsed by the fire of the garrison. The general being made acquainted with the fate of Colonel Debrisay, conferred the government of the fort upon Major Melville, and sent thither the chief engineer to repair and improve the fortifications.

In the mean time, Commodore Moore having received certain intelligence that Mons. de Bompard had arrived at Martinique with a squadron, consisting of eight sail of the line and three frigates, having on board a whole battalion of Swiss, and some other troops, to reinforce the garrisons of the island, he called in his cruisers, and sailed immediately to the bay of Dominique, an island to windward, at the distance of nine leagues from Guadaloupe, whence he could always sail to oppose any design which the French commander might form against the operations of the British armaments. For what reason Mr. Moore did not sail immediately to the bay of Port Royal in Martinique, where he knew the French squadron lay at

^a The battery which they had raised was attacked at noon, taken, and destroyed, by Captain Blomer, of the sixty-first regiment.

The English fleet sails to Dominique.

anchor, we shall not pretend to determine. Had he taken that step, M. Bompert must either have given him battle, or retired into the Carenage, behind the citadel; in which last case, the English commander might have anchored between Pigeon-island and Fort Negro, and thus blocked him up effectually. By retiring to Dominique, he left the sea open to French privateers, who roved along the coasts of these islands, and in a very little time carried into Martinique above fourscore merchant-ships, belonging to the subjects of Great Britain. These continual depredations, committed under the nose of the English commodore, irritated the planters of the English islands, some of whom are said to have circulated unfavourable reports of that gentleman's character.¹

General Barrington being left with no more than one ship of forty guns for the protection of the transports, formed a plan of prosecuting the war in Guadaloupe by detachments, and the success fully answered his expectation. He determined to make a descent on the division of the island called Grande-terre, and for that purpose allotted six hundred men; who, under the command of Colonel Crump, landed between the towns of St. Anne and St. François, and destroyed some batteries of the enemy, from whom he sustained very little opposition. While he was thus employed, a detachment of three hundred men attacked the town of Gosier, which, notwithstanding a severe fire, they took by storm, drove the garrison into the woods, set fire to the place, and demolished the battery and intrenchment raised for its defence. This service being happily performed, the detachment was ordered to force their way to Fort-Louis, while the garrison of that castle was directed to make two sallies, in order to

¹ The reasons assigned by the commodore for his conduct in this particular are these:—The bay of Dominique was the only place in which he could rendezvous and unite his squadron. Here he refreshed his men, who were grown sickly, in consequence of subsisting on salt provision. Here he supplied his ships with plenty of fresh water. Here he had intercourse once or twice every day with General Barrington, by means of small vessels which passed and repassed from one island to the other. By remaining in this situation, he likewise maintained a communication with the English Leeward Islands, which being in a defenceless condition, their inhabitants were constantly soliciting the commodore's protection; and here he supported the army, the commander of which was unwilling that he should remove to a greater distance. Had he sailed to Port Royal, he would have found the enemy's squadron so disposed, that he could not have attacked them, unless M. de Bompert had been inclined to hazard an action. Had he anchored in the bay, all his cruisers must have been employed in conveying provisions and stores to the squadron. There he could not have procured either fresh provisions or water; nor could he have had any communication with, or intelligence from, the army in the Leeward Islands in less than eight or ten days.

favour their irruption. They accordingly penetrated, with some loss sustained in forcing a strong pass, and took possession of a battery which the enemy had raised against the English camp, in the neighbourhood of Fort Louis. The general, having hitherto succeeded in his designs, formed the scheme of surprising at one time the three towns of Petitbourg, Gonoyave, and St. Mary, situated on the Basseterre side of the little Cul de Sac, and committed the execution of it to the Colonel's Crump and Clavering; but the night appointed for the service proved exceedingly dark and tempestuous; and the negro conductors were so frightened, that they ran several of the flat-bottomed boats on the shoals that skirt this part of the island. Colonel Clavering landed with about eighty men; but found himself so entangled with mangrove-trees, and the mud so impassably deep, that he was obliged to re-embark, though not before the enemy had discovered his design. This project having miscarried, the general detached the same commanders, whose gallantry and conduct cannot be sufficiently applauded, with a detachment of fifteen hundred men, including one hundred and fifty volunteers from Antigua, to land in a bay not far from the town of Arncliffe, at the bottom of the little Cul de Sac, under the protection of his majesty's ship Woolwich. The enemy made no opposition to their landing; but retreated, as the English advanced, to a strong intrenchment thrown up behind the river Licorne, a post of the utmost importance, as it covered the whole country as far as the bay of Mahaut, where provisions and supplies of all sorts were landed from St. Eustatia. The river was rendered inaccessible by a morass covered with mangroves, except at two narrow passes, which they had fortified with a redoubt and intrenchments well palisaded, mounted with cannon, and defended by a numerous militia: besides, the narrow roads, through which only they could be attacked, were intersected with deep and wide ditches. Notwithstanding these disadvantages, the English commanders determined to hazard an assault. While four field-pieces and two howitzers maintained a constant fire upon the top of the intrenchments, the regiment of Durore and the Highlanders advanced under this cover, firing by platoons with the utmost regularity. The enemy, intimidated by their cool and resolute behaviour, began to abandon the first intrenchment on the left. Then the Highlanders, drawing their swords,

and sustained by part of the regiment, threw themselves in with their usual impetuosity, and followed the fugitives pell-mell into the redoubt, of which they took possession: but they still maintained their ground within the intrenchments on the right, from whence they annoyed the assailants both with musketry and cannon. In half an hour, an occasional bridge being made, the English troops passed the river, in order to attack this post, which the enemy abandoned with precipitation; notwithstanding all their haste, however, about seventy were taken prisoners, and among these some of the most considerable inhabitants of the island. This advantage cost the English two officers and thirteen men killed, and above fifty wounded.

The roads being mended for the passage of the artillery, the troops advanced towards Petitbourg, harassed in their march by flying bodies of the enemy, and arrived late at night on the banks of the river Mauv's. Lizarde, the only ford of which the French had fortified with strong intrenchments, protected by a battery of four cannon, erected on a rising ground in their rear. Colonel Clavering, while he amused them all night at this place by a constant fire into their lines, transported in two canoes, which he launched about a mile and a half farther down the river, a sufficient number of troops by daybreak, to attack them on the other side in flank, while he advanced in front at the head of his little army; but they did not think proper to sustain the assault. On the contrary, they no sooner perceived his intention, than they forsook the post, and fled without order. Colonel Clavering, having passed the river, pursued them to Petitbourg, which they had also fortified; and here he found Captain Uvedale, of the Grenada bomb-ketch, throwing shells into the redoubt. He forthwith sent detachments to occupy the neighbouring heights; a circumstance which the enemy no sooner observed, than they deserted the place, and retired with great expedition. On the fifteenth day of April, Captain Steel destroyed a battery at Gonoyave, a strong post, which, though it might have been defended against an army, the French abandoned at his approach, after having made a hasty discharge of their artillery. At the same time Colonel Crump was detached with seven hundred men to the bay of Mahaut, where he burned the town and batteries, which he found abandoned, together with a vast quantity of provisions,

He takes
Petitbourg
and St.
Mauv's.
The island
capitulates.

which had been brought from the island of St. Eustatia. Colonel Clavering, having left a small garrison at Petitbourg, began his march on the twentieth day of the month towards St. Mary's, where he understood the enemy had collected their whole force, thrown up intrenchments, and raised barricadoes: but they had left their rear unguarded. The English commander immediately detached Colonel Barlow, with a body of troops, to attack them from that quarter, while he himself advanced against the front of their intrenchment. They stood but one cannon-shot, and then fled to their lines and batteries at St. Mary's, the flanks of which were covered with woods and precipices. When they perceived the English troops endeavouring to surmount these difficulties, and turn their lines, they quitted them, in order to oppose the design; and were immediately attacked with such vivacity, in the face of a severe fire of musketry and cannon, that they abandoned their ground, and fled in the utmost confusion, leaving the field and all their artillery to the victors, who took up their quarters for that night at St. Mary's. Next day they entered the charming country of Capesterre, where eight hundred and seventy negroes belonging to one planter surrendered at discretion. Here Colonel Clavering was met by Messieurs de Clainvilliers and Duqueruy, deputed by the principal inhabitants of the island to know what capitulation would be granted. These he conducted to Petitbourg, where they were presented to General Barrington; who, considering the absence of the fleet, the small number of his forces daily diminishing, the difficulty of the country, and the possibility of the enemy's being reinforced from Martinique, wisely took the advantage of the present panic, and settled terms of capitulation without delay. The sanity of this resolution soon appeared. The inhabitants had just signed the agreement, when a messenger arrived in their camp, with information that M. de Beauharnois, the general of the French islands, had landed at St. Anne's to the windward, with a reinforcement from Martinique, consisting of six hundred regulars from Europe, about fifteen hundred volunteers, besides a great number of the militia drafted from the companies of Martinique, with a great supply of arms and ammunition, mortars and artillery, under convoy of the squadron commanded by M. de Bompard; who no sooner learned that the capitulation was signed, than he re-embarked the troops and stores

with all possible expedition, and returned to Martinique. Thus we see the conquest of this important island, which is said to produce a greater quantity of sugar than is made in any of the English plantations, was as much owing to accident as to the valour of the troops and the conduct of the general; for, had the reinforcement arrived an hour sooner than it actually landed, in all probability the English would have found it impracticable to finish the reduction of Guadaloupe. Be that as it may, the natives certainly deserved great commendation, not only for persevering so gallantly in defence of their country, but also for their fortitude in bearing every species of distress. They now quitted the Dos d'Ane, and all their other posts, and returned to their respective habitations. The town of Basseterre being reduced to a heap of ashes, the inhabitants began to clear away the rubbish, and erect occasional sheds, where they resumed their several occupations with that good-humour so peculiar to the French nation; and General Barrington humanely indulged them with all the assistance in his power.

The small islands of Deseada, Los Santos, and Petitterre, were comprised in the capitulation of Guadaloupe. The inhabitants of Marigalante, which lies about three leagues to the south-east of Grandeterre, extending twenty miles in length, fifteen in breadth, flat and fertile, but poorly watered and ill fortified, having refused to submit when summoned by the squadron to surrender, General Barrington resolved to reduce them by force. He embarked a body of troops on board of transports, which sailed thither under convoy of three ships of war and two bomb-vessels from Prince Rupert's Bay, and at their appearance the islanders submitting, received an English garrison. Before this period, Commodore Moore having received intelligence that M. de Bompard had sailed from Martinique, with a design to land a reinforcement on Guadaloupe, and that his squadron was seen seven leagues to windward of Marigalante, he sailed from Prince Rupert's Bay, and turned to windward. After having been beating about for five days to very little purpose, he received notice from one of his cruisers, that the French admiral had returned to Martinique; upon which information he retired quietly to his former station in the bay of Dominique, the people of which were so insolent as to affirm, in derision,

Island of
Marigalante
taken by
General
Barrington.

that the English squadron sailed on one side of the island, and the French upon the other, that they might be sure of not meeting; but this, without doubt, was an impudent calumny.*

General Barrington, having happily finished the conquest of Guadaloupe, gave notice to the commodore that ^{He returns} he intended to send back part of the troops, with ^{to England.} the transports, to England, about the beginning of July. In consequence of this intimation, Mr. Moore sailed with his squadron to Basseterre-road, where he was next day joined by two ships of the line from England, which rendered him greatly superior in strength to the commander of the French squadron, who had retired to the island of Grenada, lying about eight leagues from Guadaloupe. Here he was discovered by the ship Rippon, whose captain returned immediately to Basseterre, to make the commodore acquainted with this circumstance: but before he could weigh anchor a frigate arrived, with information that Bompard had quitted Grenada, and was supposed to have directed his course to Hispaniola. The commodore immediately despatched the Ludlow Castle with this intelligence to Admiral Coats, who commanded the squadron at Jamaica. General Barrington having made a tour of the island, in order to visit and repair such fortifications as he thought necessary to be maintained, and the affairs relating to the inhabitants being entirely settled, he sent the Highlanders, with a body of drafts, to North America, under convoy: he garrisoned the principal strengths of the island, and left the chief command to Colonel Crump, who had for some time acted as brigadier-general; Colonel Clavering having been sent home to England with the account of the capitulation. Colonel Melville, who had signalized himself in a remarkable manner ever since their first landing, continued governor of the citadel at Basseterre; and the command at Grandeterre was conferred on Colonel Delgarno. Three complete regiments were allotted as a sufficient guard for the whole island, and the other three were embarked for

* The commodore declared that he carried a press-sail night and day, in order to come up with the French squadron, and took every step that could be devised for that purpose. He says, if he had pursued any other course, the French commander might have run into the road of St Kit's, and destroyed or taken a great number of merchant-ships which were then loading with sugar for England.

He says he tried every stratagem he could contrive for bringing M. de Bompard to action. He even sent away part of his squadron out of sight of the inhabitants of Dominique, that they might represent to their friends at Martinique his force much inferior to what it really was, but this expedient had no effect upon M. de Bompard, who made the best of his way to Cape François, on the island of Hispaniola.

England. General Barrington himself went on board the *Roebuck* in the latter end of June, and took his departure for England. About a month after, the transports, under convoy of Captain Hughes, with a small squadron, set sail for Great Britain; while Commodore Moore, with his large fleet, directed his course to Antigua.

While this armament had been employed in the conquest of Guadaloupe, North America exhibited still more sanguinary scenes of war and devastation; which, in order properly to introduce, it will be necessary to explain the steps that were taken on this continent previous to this campaign. In October of the preceding year, a grand assembly was held at Easton, about ninety miles from Philadelphia; and there peace was established, by a formal treaty, between Great Britain and the several nations of Indians inhabiting the country between the Apalachian mountains and the lakes. The *Twightwees*, however, settled between the river Ohio and the lakes, did not assist at this treaty, though some steps had been taken towards an alliance with that people. The conferences were managed by the governors of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, accompanied by Sir William Johnson's deputy for Indian affairs, four members of the council of Pennsylvania, six members of the assembly, two agents for the province of New Jersey, a great number of planters and citizens of Philadelphia, chiefly Quakers. They were met by the deputies and chiefs of the *Mohawks*, *Oneidoes*, *Onondagoes*, *Cayugas*, *Senecas*, *Tuscaroras*, *Nanticoques*, and *Conoys*; the *Tuteloos*, *Chugnues*, *Delawares*, and *Unamies*; the *Minisinks*, *Mohicons*, and *Wappingers*; the whole number, including their women and children, amounting to five hundred. Some of the Six Nations, thinking themselves aggrieved by the British colonists, who had imprisoned certain individuals of their nation, and had killed a few, and treated others with contempt, did not fail to express their resentment, which had been artfully fomented by the French emissaries, even into an open rupture. The *Delawares* and *Minisinks*, in particular, complained that the English had encroached upon their lands, and on that account were provoked to hostilities: but their chief, *Teedyuscung*, had made overtures of peace; and, in the character of ambassador from all the Ten Nations, had been very instrumental in forming this assembly. The chiefs of the Six Nations, though very well disposed to peace, took

rage at the importance assumed by one of the Delawares, whom, as their descendants, they exercise a kind of mental authority; and on this occasion they made no ple to disclose their dissatisfaction. The business, therefore, of the English governors at this congress was to ascertain the limits of the lands in dispute, reconcile the Six nations with their nephews the Delawares, remove every ie of misunderstanding between the English and the ians, detach these savages entirely from the French inst, establish a firm peace, and induce them to exert their ience in persuading the Twightwees to accede to this ty. Those Indians, though possessed of few ideas, circumb in their mental faculties, stupid, brutal, and ferocious, luct themselves, nevertheless, in matters of importance he community, by the general maxims of reason and ice; and their treaties are always founded upon good se, conveyed in a very ridiculous manner. Their language is guttural, harsh, and polysyllabical; and their speech sists of hyperbolical metaphors and similes, which invest ith an air of dignity, and heighten the expression. They age their conferences by means of wampum, a kind of d, formed of a hard shell, either in single strings, or sewed road belts of different dimensions, according to the imtance of the subject. Every proposition is offered, every wer made, every promise corroborated, every declaration sted, and every treaty confirmed, by producing and in- hancing these belts of wampum. The conferences were tinued from the eighth to the twenty-sixth day of Oc- er, when every article was settled to the mutual satisfac- of all parties. The Indian deputies were gratified with aluable present, consisting of looking-glasses, knives, to- co-boxes, sleeve-buttons, thimbles, shears, gun-locks, ivory ibs, shirts, shoes, stockings, hats, caps, handkerchiefs, ead, clothes, blankets, gartering, serges, watch-coats, and w suits of laced clothes for their chieftains. To crown ir happiness, the stores of rum were opened: they drank mselves into a state of brutal intoxication, and next day rned in peace to their respective places of habitation. This treaty with the Indians, who had been debauched n the interest of Great Britain, auspiciously Plan of the ed the way for those operations which had been campaign- jected against the French settlements in Canada. Instead employing the whole strength of the British arms in

North America against one object, the ministry proposed to divide the forces, and make impressions on three different parts at once, that the enemy might be divided, distracted, and weakened, and the conquest of Canada completed in one campaign. That the success might be the more certain, the different expeditions were planned in such a manner as to co-operate with each other, and even join occasionally; so practicable was it thought for them to maintain such a correspondence as would admit of a junction of this nature. The project of this campaign imported, that General Wolfe, who had distinguished himself so eminently in the siege of Louisbourg, should proceed up the river St. Lawrence, as soon as the navigation should be clear of ice, with a body of eight thousand men, and a considerable squadron of ships from England, to undertake the siege of Quebec, the capital of Canada: that General Amherst, who commanded in chief, should, with another army of regular troops and provincials, amounting to twelve thousand men, reduce Ticonderoga and Crown Point, cross the Lake Champlain, and, proceeding along the river Richelieu to the banks of the river St. Lawrence, join General Wolfe in the siege of Quebec: that Brigadier-General Prideaux, with a third body, reinforced with a considerable number of friendly Indians, assembled by the influence and under the command of Sir William Johnson, should invest the French fort erected by the fall or cataract of Niagara, which was certainly the most important post of all French America, as it in a manner commanded all the interior parts of that vast continent. It overawed the whole country of the Six Nations, who were cajoled into a tame acquiescence in its being built on their territory: it secured all the inland trade, the navigation of the great lakes, the communication between Canada and Louisiana, and opened a passage for inroads into the colonies of Great Britain. It was proposed that the British forces, having reduced Niagara, should be embarked on the Lake Ontario, fall down the river St. Lawrence, besiege and take Montreal, and then join or co-operate with Amherst's army. Besides these larger armaments, Colonel Stanwix commanded a smaller detachment for reducing smaller forts, and scouring the banks of the Lake Ontario. How far this project was founded on reason and military knowledge may be judged by the following particulars, of which the projectors were not ignorant. The navigation of the river St. Lawrence is

dangerous and uncertain. The city of Quebec was remarkably strong from situation and fortification, from the bravery of the inhabitants, and the number of the garrison. Monsieur de Montcalm, an officer of great courage and activity, kept the field between Montreal and Quebec, with a body of eight or ten thousand men, consisting of regular troops and disciplined militia, reinforced by a considerable number of armed Indians; and another body of reserve hovered in the neighbourhood of Montreal, which was the residence of Monsieur de Vaudreuil, governor-general of Canada. The garrison of Niagara consisted of above six hundred men; the march to it was tedious and embarrassed; and Monsieur de Levi scoured the country with a flying detachment, well acquainted with all the woods and passes. With respect to General Amherst's share of the plan, the forts of Ticonderoga and Crown Point stood in his way. The enemy were masters of the Lake Champlain, and possessed the strong fort of Chambly, by the fall of the river Richelieu, which defended the pass to the river St. Lawrence. Even had these obstacles been removed, it was hardly possible that he and Mr. Wolfe should arrive in Quebec at the same instant of time. The first that reached it, far from being in a condition to undertake the siege of Quebec, would have run the risk of being engaged and defeated by the covering army; in which case the other body must have been exposed to the most imminent hazard of destruction in the midst of an enemy's country, far distant from any place of safety to which it could retreat. Had these disasters happened, (and according to the experience of war, they were the natural consequences of the scheme,) the troops at Niagara would, in all probability, have fallen an easy sacrifice, unless they had been so fortunate as to receive intelligence time enough to accomplish their retreat before they could be intercepted. The design would, we apprehend, have been more justifiable, or at least not so liable to objection, had Mr. Amherst left two or three regiments to protect the frontiers of New York, and, joining Mr. Wolfe with the rest, sailed up the river St. Lawrence to besiege Quebec. Even in that case the whole number of his troops would not have been sufficient, according to the practice of war, to invest the place, and cope with the covering enemy. Nevertheless, had the enterprise succeeded, Montcalm must either have hazarded an engagement against great odds, or retired farther into the

country: then the route would have been open by land and water to Montreal, which could have made little resistance. The two principal towns being taken, and the navigation of the river St. Lawrence blocked up, all the dependent forts must have surrendered at discretion, except Niagara, which there was a bare possibility of supplying at an incredible trouble and expense, from the distant Mississippi; but, even then, it might have been besieged in form, and easily reduced. Whatever defects there might have been in the plan, the execution, though it miscarried in some essential points, was attended with surprising success. The same good fortune that prospered the British arms so remarkably in the conquest of Guadaloupe, seemed to interpose still more astonishingly in their favour at Quebec, the siege of which we shall record in its proper place. At present we must attend the operations of General Amherst, whose separate army was first in motion, though such impediments were thrown in his way as greatly retarded the progress of his operations; impediments said to have arisen from the pride, insolence, and obstinacy of certain individuals, who possessed great influence in that part of the world, and employed it all to thwart the service of their country.

The summer was already far advanced before General Amherst could pass Lake George with his forces, although they met with no opposition, and reach the neighbourhood of Ticonderoga, where, in the preceding year, the British troops had sustained such a terrible disaster. At first the enemy seemed determined to defend this fortress; but perceiving the English commander resolute, cautious, and well prepared for undertaking the siege; having, moreover, orders to retreat from place to place, towards the centre of operations at Quebec, rather than run the least risk of being made prisoners of war, they, in the night of July the twenty-seventh, abandoned the post, after having in some measure dismantled the fortifications; and retired to Crown Point, a fort situated on the verge of Lake Champlain. General Amherst having taken possession of this important post, which effectually covered the frontiers of New York, and secured to himself a safe retreat in case of necessity, ordered the works to be repaired, and allotted a strong garrison for its defence. This acquisition, however, was not made without the loss of a brave accomplished young officer, Colonel Roger Towns-

Ticonderoga
and Crown
Point abandoned by
the French.

hend, who, in reconnoitring the fort, was killed with a cannon-shot, and fell near the same spot which in the former year had been enriched with the blood of the gallant Lord Howe, whom he strongly resembled in the circumstances of birth, age, qualifications, and character.

While the general superintended the repairs of Ticonderoga, and the men were employed in preparing batteaux and other vessels, his scouting parties hovered in the neighbourhood of Crown Point, in order to watch the motions of the enemy. From one of these detachments he received intelligence, on the first day of August, that the enemy had retired from Crown Point. He immediately detached a body of rangers before him to take possession of the place: then he embarked with the rest of the army; and on the fourth day of the month landed at the fort, where the troops were immediately encamped. His next care was to lay the foundation of a new fort, to be maintained for the further security of the British dominions in that part of the country; and particularly for preventing the inroads of scalping parties, by whom the plantations had been dreadfully infested. Here information was received that the enemy had retired to the Isle aux Noix, at the other end of the Lake Champlain, five leagues on the hither side of St. John's; that their force encamped in that place, under the command of M. de Burlemaque, consisted of three battalions and five piquets of regular troops, with Canadians and marines, amounting in the whole to three thousand five hundred effective men, provided with a numerous artillery; and that the lake was occupied by four large vessels, mounted with cannon, and manned with piquets of different regiments, under the command and direction of M. le Bras, a captain in the French navy, assisted by M. de Rigal, and other sea officers. In consequence of this intimation, General Amherst, who had for some time employed Captain Loring to superintend the building of vessels at Ticonderoga, being resolved to have the superiority on the lake, directed the captain to build with all possible expedition a sloop of sixteen guns, and a radeau eighty-four feet in length, capable of carrying six large cannon. These, together with a brigantine, being finished, victualled, and manned by the eleventh day of October, the general embarked with the whole of the troops in batteaux, in order to attack the enemy; but next day, the weather

General
Amherst
embarks
on Lake
Champlain.

growing tempestuous, was obliged to take shelter in a bay on the western shore, where the men were landed for refreshment. In the mean time, Captain Loring, with his small squadron, sailing down the lake, gave chase to a French schooner, and drove three of their ships into a bay, where two of them were sunk, and the third run aground by their own crew, who escaped: one, however, was repaired and brought away by Captain Loring, so that now the French had but one schooner remaining. General Amherst, after having been some days wind-bound, re-embarked his forces, and proceeded down the lake; but the storm, which had abated, beginning to blow with redoubled fury, so as to swell the waves mountain high, the season for action being elapsed, and winter setting in with the most rigorous severity, he saw the impossibility of accomplishing his design, and was obliged to desist. Returning to the same bay where he had been sheltered, he landed the troops, and began his march for Crown Point, where he arrived on the twenty-first day of October. Having secured a superiority on the lake, he now employed all his attention in rearing the new fortress at Crown Point, together with three small outforts for its better defence; in opening roads of communication with Ticonderoga, and the governments of Massachusetts and New Hampshire; and in making dispositions for the winter-quarters of his troops, so as to protect the country from the inroads of the enemy.

During this whole summer he received not the least intelligence of Mr. Wolfe's operations, except a few hints Niagara reduced. in some letters relating to the exchange of prisoners, that came from the French general Montcalm, who gave him to understand that Mr. Wolfe had landed in the neighbourhood of Quebec, and seemed determined to undertake the siege of that city; that he had honoured him (the French general) with several notes, sometimes couched in a soothing strain, sometimes filled with threats; that the French army intended to give him battle, and a few days would determine the fate of Quebec. Though Mr. Amherst was ignorant of the proceedings of the Quebec squadron, his communication continued open with the forces which undertook the siege of Niagara; and he received an account of their success before he had quitted the lines of Ticonderoga. General Prideaux, with his body of troops, reinforced by the Indian auxiliaries under Sir William Johnson, advanced

to the cataract of Niagara, without being exposed to the least inconvenience on his march; and investing the French fortress about the middle of July, carried on his approaches with great vigour till the twentieth day of that month, when, visiting the trenches, he was unfortunately slain by the bursting of a cohorn. Mr. Amherst was no sooner informed of his disaster, than he detached Brigadier-General Gage from Ticonderoga, to assume the command of that army. In the mean time, it devolved on Sir William Johnson, who happily prosecuted the plan of his predecessor with all the success that could have been desired. The enemy, alarmed with the apprehension of losing a place of such importance, resolved to exert their endeavours for its relief. They assembled a body of regular troops, amounting to twelve hundred men, drawn from Detroit, Venango, and Presque Isle; and these, with a number of Indian auxiliaries, were detached, under the command of Monsieur d'Aubry, on an attempt to reinforce the garrison of Niagara. Sir William Johnson having received intelligence of their design, made a disposition to intercept them in their march. In the evening he ordered the light infantry and piquets to post themselves to the left, on the road leading from Niagara falls to the fortress: these were reinforced in the morning with the grenadiers, and part of the forty-sixth regiment, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Massey; and another regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Farquhar, was posted at the tail of the works, in order to support the guard of the trenches. About eight in the morning, the enemy being in sight, the Indians in the English army advanced to speak with their countrymen who served under the French banners; but this conference was declined by the enemy. Then the French Indians having uttered the horrible scream called the war-whoop, which, by this time, had lost its effect among the British forces, the enemy began the action with impetuosity; but they met with such a hot reception in front, while the Indian auxiliaries fell upon their flanks, that in a little more than half an hour their whole army was routed, their general, with all his officers, taken, and the pursuit continued through the woods for several miles with considerable slaughter. This battle, which happened on the twenty-fourth day of July, having been fought in sight of the French garrison at Niagara, Sir William Johnson sent Major Harvey with a trumpet to the commanding

officer, to present him with a list of seventeen officers t in the engagement, and to exhort him to surrender b more blood was shed, while he had it in his power t strain the Indians. The commandant, having certified self of the truth, by sending an officer to visit the priso agreed to treat, and in a few hours the capitulation ratified. The garrison, consisting of six hundred and s effective men, marched out with the honours of war, in c to be embarked in vessels on the lake, and conveyed in most expeditious manner to New York. They laid c their arms when they embarked; but were permitte keep their baggage, and by proper escorts protected the savage insolence and rapacity of the Indians. Al women were conducted, at their own request, to Mont and the sick and wounded, who could not bear the fa of travelling, were treated with humanity. This was second complete victory obtained on the continent of N America, in the course of the same war, by Sir Wi Johnson, who, without the help of a military educ succeeded so signally in the field by dint of innate cou and natural sagacity. What remarkably characterizes battles, is the circumstance of his having taken in bot commanders of the enemy. Indeed, the war in general be distinguished by the singular success of this gentle and the celebrated Lord Clive, two self-taught gene who, by a series of shining actions, have demonstrated uninstructed genius can, by its own internal light and cacy, rival, if not eclipse, the acquired art of discipline experience. Sir William Johnson was not more servic to his country by his valour and conduct in the field, by the influence and authority which his justice, benevol and integrity had acquired among the Indian tribes o Six Nations, whom he not only assembled at Niagara the number of eleven hundred, but also restrained within bounds of good order and moderation.

The reduction of Niagara, and the possession of C Point, were exploits much more easily achieved the conquest of Quebec, the great object to whic these operations were subordinate. Of that we come to give the detail, fraught with singular ventures and surprising events, in the course of whi noble spirit of enterprise was displayed, and the scene war were exhibited in all the variety of desolation. It

Introduc-
tion to the
expedition
against
Quebec.

about the middle of February that a considerable squadron sailed from England for Cape Breton, under the command of Admirals Saunders and Holmes, two gentlemen of worth and probity, who had, on several occasions, signalized their courage and conduct in the service of their country. By the twenty-first day of April they were in sight of Louisbourg; but the harbour was blocked up with ice in such a manner, that they were obliged to bear away for Halifax in Nova Scotia. From hence Rear-Admiral Durell was detached, with a small squadron, to sail up the river St. Lawrence as far as the Isle de Coudres, in order to intercept any supplies from France intended for Quebec: he accordingly took two store ships; but he was anticipated by seventeen sail, laden with provision, stores, and some recruits, under convoy of three frigates, which had already reached the capital of Canada. Meanwhile, Admiral Saunders arrived at Louisbourg; and the troops being embarked, to the number of eight thousand, proceeded up the river without further delay. The operations by land were intrusted to the conduct of Major-General James Wolfe, whose talents had shone with such superior lustre at the siege of Louisbourg; and his subordinates in command were the Brigadiers Monckton, Townshend, and Murray; all four in the flower of their age, who had studied the military art with equal eagerness and proficiency, and though young in years, were old in experience. The first was a soldier by descent, the son of Major-General Wolfe, a veteran officer of acknowledged capacity: the other three resembled each other, not only in years, qualifications, and station, but also in family rank, all three being the sons of noblemen. The situation of Brigadier Townshend was singular: he had served abroad in the last war with reputation, and resigned his commission during the peace, in disdain at some hard usage he had sustained from his superiors. That his military talents, however, might not be lost to his country, he exercised them with equal spirit and perseverance in projecting and promoting the plan of a national militia. When the command and direction of the army devolved to a new leader, so predominant in his breast was the spirit of patriotism and the love of glory, that, though heir-apparent to a British peerage, possessed of a very affluent fortune, remarkably dear to his acquaintance, and solicited to a life of quiet by every allurements of domestic felicity, he waived these considerations; he burst from all

entanglements ; proffered his services to his sovereign ; exposed himself to the perils of a disagreeable voyage, to the rigours of a severe climate, and the hazard of a campaign peculiarly fraught with toil, danger, and difficulty.

The armament intended for Quebec sailed up the river St. Lawrence, without having met with any interruption, or having perceived any of those difficulties and perils with which it had been reported that the navigation of it was attended. Their good fortune in this particular, indeed, was owing to some excellent charts of the river, which had been found in vessels taken from the enemy. About the latter end of June, the land-forces were disembarked in two divisions upon the isle of Orleans, situated a little below Quebec, a large fertile island, well cultivated, producing plenty of grain, abounding with people, villages, and plantations. General Wolfe no sooner landed on the island of Orleans than he distributed a manifesto among the French colonists, giving them to understand that the king his master, justly exasperated against the French monarch, had equipped a considerable armament in order to humble his pride, and was determined to reduce the most considerable French settlements in America. He declared it was not against the industrious peasants, their wives and children, nor against the ministers of religion, that he intended to make war ; on the contrary, he lamented the misfortunes to which they must be exposed by the quarrel ; he offered them his protection ; and promised to maintain them in their temporal possessions, as well as in the free exercise of their religion, provided they would remain quiet, and take no part in the difference between the two crowns. He observed that the English were masters of the river St. Lawrence, so as to intercept all succours from Europe ; and had, besides, a powerful army on the continent, under the command of General Amherst. He affirmed that the resolution they ought to take was neither difficult nor doubtful ; as the utmost exertion of their valour would be useless, and serve only to deprive them of the advantages which they might reap from their neutrality. He reminded them, that the cruelties exercised by the French upon the subjects of Great Britain in America would excuse the most severe reprisals ; but Britons were too generous to follow such barbarous examples. He again offered to the Canadians the sweets of peace amidst the horrors of war ; and left

General
Wolfe lands
on the
island of
Orleans.

it to themselves to determine their own fate by their own conduct. He expressed his hope that the world would do him justice, should they oblige him, by rejecting these favourable terms, to adopt violent measures. He expatiated upon the strength and power, as well as upon the generosity of Great Britain, in thus stretching out the hand of humanity ; a hand ready to assist them on all occasions, even when France was, by her weakness, compelled to abandon them in the most critical conjuncture. This declaration produced no immediate effect ; nor indeed did the Canadians depend upon the sincerity and promised faith of a nation, whom their priests had industriously represented as the most savage and cruel enemy on earth. Possessed of these notions, which prevailed even among the better sort, they chose to abandon their habitations, and expose themselves and families to certain ruin, in provoking the English by the most cruel hostilities, rather than be quiet, and confide in the general's promise of protection. Instead of pursuing this prudent plan of conduct, they joined the scalping parties¹ of Indians, who skulked among the woods ; and falling upon the English stragglers by surprise, butchered them with the most inhuman barbarity. Mr. Wolfe, whose nature revolted against this wanton and perfidious cruelty, sent a letter to the French general, representing that such enormities were contrary to the rules of war observed among civilized nations, dishonourable to the service of France, and disgraceful to human nature ; he therefore desired the French colonists and Indians might be restrained within due bounds, otherwise he would burn their villages, desolate their plantations, and retaliate upon the persons of his prisoners whatever cruelties should, in the sequel, be committed on the soldiers or subjects of his master. In all probability the French general's authority was not sufficient to bridle the ferocity of the savages, who continued to scalp and murder, with the most brutal appetite for blood and revenge ; so

¹ The operation of scalping, which, to the shame of both nations, was encouraged both by French and English, the savages performed in this manner :—The hapless victim being disabled, or disarmed, the Indian, with a sharp knife provided and worn for the purpose, makes a circular incision to the bone round the upper part of the head, and tears off the scalp with his fingers. Previous to this execution, he generally despatches the prisoner by repeated blows on the head with the hammer-side of the instrument called a tomahawk ; but sometimes they save themselves the trouble, and sometimes the blows prove ineffectual ; so that the miserable patient is found alive, groaning in the utmost agony of torture. The Indian strings the scalps he has procured, to be produced as a testimony of his prowess, and receives a premium for each from the nation under whose banners he has been enlisted.

that Mr. Wolfe, in order to intimidate the enemy into a cessation of these outrages, found it necessary to connive at some irregularities in the way of retaliation.

M. de Montcalm, who commanded the French troops, ^{And takes} though superior in number to the invaders, very ^{Point Levi.} wisely resolved to depend upon the natural strength of the country, which appeared almost insurmountable, and had carefully taken all his precautions of defence. The city of Quebec was tolerably fortified, secured with a numerous garrison, and plentifully supplied with provision and ammunition. Montcalm had reinforced the troops of the colony with five regular battalions formed of the best of the inhabitants, completely disciplined all the Canadians of the neighbourhood capable of bearing arms, and several tribes of savages. With this army he had taken the field in a very advantageous situation, encamped along the shore of Beaufort, from the river St. Charles to the falls of Montmorenci, every accessible part being deeply intrenched. To undertake the siege of Quebec against such odds and advantages was not only a deviation from the established maxims of war, but a rash enterprise, seemingly urged in diametrical opposition to the dictates of common sense. Mr. Wolfe was well acquainted with all the difficulties of the undertaking; but he knew at the same time that he should always have it in his power to retreat, in case of emergency, while the British squadron maintained its station in the river; he was not without hope of being joined by General Amherst; and he was stimulated by an appetite for glory, which the prospect of accumulated dangers could not allay. Understanding that there was a body of the enemy posted with cannon, at the point of Levi, on the south shore, opposite to the city of Quebec, he detached against them Brigadier Monckton, at the head of four battalions, who passed the river at night; and next morning, having skirmished with some of the enemy's irregulars, obliged them to retire from that post, which the English immediately occupied. At the same time, Colonel Carlton, with another detachment, took possession of the western point of the island of Orleans; and both these posts were fortified, in order to anticipate the enemy, who, had they kept possession of either, might have rendered it impossible for any ship to lie at anchor within two miles of Quebec. Besides, the point of Levi was within cannon-shot of the city, against which a battery of mortars

and artillery was immediately erected. Montcalm, foreseeing the effect of this manœuvre, detached a body of sixteen hundred men across the river, to attack and destroy the works, before they were completed; but the detachment fell into disorder, fired upon each other, and retired in confusion. The battery being finished without further interruption, the cannon and mortars began to play with such success, that in a little time the upper town was considerably damaged, and the lower town reduced to a heap of rubbish.

In the mean time, the fleet was exposed to the most imminent danger. Immediately after the troops had been landed on the island of Orleans, the wind increased to a furious storm, which blew with such violence, that many transports ran foul of one another, and were disabled. A number of boats and small craft foundered, and divers large ships lost their anchors. The enemy, resolving to take advantage of the confusion which they imagined this disaster must have produced, prepared seven fire-ships; and at midnight sent them down from Quebec among the transports, which lay so thick as to cover the whole surface of the river. The scheme, though well-contrived and seasonably executed, was entirely defeated by the deliberation of the British admiral and the dexterity of his mariners, who resolutely boarded the fire-ships, and towed them fast aground, where they lay burning to the water's edge, without having done the least prejudice to the English squadron. On the very same day of the succeeding month, they sent down a raft of fire-ships, or radeaux, which were likewise consumed without producing any effect.

The works for the security of the hospital and the stores, on the island of Orleans, being finished, the British forces crossed the north channel in boats; and, landing under cover of two sloops, encamped on the side of the river of Montmorenci, which divided them from the left of the enemy. Next morning, a company of rangers, posted in a wood to cover some workmen, were attacked by the French Indians, and totally defeated; however, the nearest troops advancing, repulsed the Indians in their turn with considerable loss. The reasons that induced General Wolfe to choose this situation by the falls of Montmorenci, in which he was divided from Quebec by this, and

English fleet
damaged by
a storm.

General
Wolfe en-
camps near
the falls of
the river
Montmo-
renci.

another river called St. Charles, he explained in a letter to the secretary of state. He observed, that the ground which he had chosen was high, and in some measure commanded the opposite side on which the enemy was posted ; that there was a ford below the falls passable in every tide for some hours at the latter part of the ebb and beginning of the flood ; and he hoped that means might be found of passing the river higher up, so as to fight the Marquis de Montcalm upon less disadvantageous terms than those of directly attacking his intrenchments. Accordingly, in reconnoitring the river Montmorenci, a ford was discovered about three miles above ; but the opposite banks, which were naturally steep and covered with woods, the enemy had intrenched in such a manner as to render it almost inaccessible. The escort was twice attacked by the Indians, who were as often repulsed ; but these rencounters cost the English about forty men killed and wounded, including some officers. Some shrewd objections might be started to the general's choice of ground on this occasion. He could not act at all without passing the river Montmorenci at a very great disadvantage, and attacking an enemy, superior to himself in number, secured by redoubts and intrenchments. Had he even, by dint of extraordinary valour, driven them from these strong posts, the success must have cost him a great number of officers and men ; and the enemy might have retreated behind the river St. Charles, which he also must have passed under the same disadvantages, before he could begin his operations against the city of Quebec. Had his good fortune enabled him to surmount all these difficulties, and after all to defeat the enemy in a pitched battle, the garrison of Quebec might have been reinforced by the wreck of their army ; and he could not with any probability of success, have undertaken the siege of an extensive fortified place, which he had not troops sufficient to invest, and whose garrison would have been nearly equal in number to the sum total of the troops he commanded. At any rate the chance of a fair engagement in the open field was what he had little reason to expect in that situation, from the known experience and the apparent conduct of the French general. These objections appeared so obvious and important, that General Wolfe would not determine to risk an attack until he had surveyed the upper part of the river St. Lawrence, in hopes of finding some place more favourable for a descent.

On the eighteenth day of July, the admiral, at his request, sent two ships of war, two armed sloops, and some transports with troops on board, up the river; and they passed the city of Quebec without having sustained any damage. The general, being on board of this little armament, carefully observed the banks on the side of the enemy, which were extremely difficult from the nature of the ground; and these difficulties were redoubled by the foresight and precaution of the French commander. Though a descent seemed impracticable between the city and Cape Rouge, where it was intended, General Wolfe, in order to divide the enemy's force and procure intelligence, ordered a detachment, under the command of Colonel Carlton, to land higher up, at the Point-au-Tremble, to which place he was informed a great number of the inhabitants of Quebec had retired with their most valuable effects. This service was performed with little loss; and some prisoners were brought away, but no magazine was discovered. The general, thus disappointed in his expectation, returned to Montmorenci, where Brigadier Townshend had, by maintaining a superior fire across that river, prevented the enemy from erecting a battery, which would have commanded the English camp; and now he resolved to attack them, though posted to great advantage, and every where prepared to give him a warm reception. His design was first to reduce a detached redoubt, close to the water's edge, seemingly situated without gun-shot of the intrenchment on the hill. Should this fortification be supported by the enemy, he foresaw that he should be able to bring on a general engagement: on the contrary, should they remain tame spectators of its reduction, he could afterwards examine their situation at leisure, and determine the place at which they could be most easily attacked. Preparations were accordingly made for storming the redoubt. On the last day of July, in the forenoon, part of Brigadier Monckton's brigade was embarked in the boats of the fleet, to be transported from the point of Levi. The two brigades, commanded by the Brigadiers Townshend and Murray, were drawn out, in order to pass the ford when it should be necessary. To facilitate their passage, the admiral had stationed the Centurion ship of war in the channel, to check the fire of the lower battery, by which the ford was commanded; a numerous train of artillery was placed upon the eminence, to batter

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and enfilade the left of the enemy's intrenchments; and two flat-bottomed armed vessels, prepared for the purpose, were run aground near the redoubt, to favour the descent of the forces. The manifest confusion produced among the French by these previous measures, and by the fire of the Centurion, which was well directed and sustained, determined Mr. Wolfe to storm this intrenchment without further delay. Orders were issued that the three brigadiers should put their troops in motion at a certain signal, which was accordingly made at a proper time of the tide. Many of the boats from Point Levi ran aground upon a ledge that runs off a considerable distance from the shore; and this accident occasioned a disorder, by which so much time was lost, that the general was obliged to stop the march of Brigadier Townshend's corps, which he perceived to be in motion. In the mean time, the boats were floated, and ranged in proper order, though exposed to a severe fire of shot and shells; and the general in person, sounding the shore, pointed out the place where troops might disembark with the least difficulty. Thirteen companies of grenadiers, and two hundred men of the second American battalion, were the first who landed. They had received orders to form in four distinct bodies, and begin the attack, supported by the corps of Brigadier Monckton, as soon as the other troops should have passed the ford, and be near enough to contribute to their assistance. These instructions, however, were entirely neglected. Before Mr. Monckton had landed, and while Brigadier Townshend was on his march at a considerable distance, the grenadiers, without waiting to be drawn up in a regular form, impetuously rushed towards the enemy's intrenchments in the utmost disorder. Their courage served only to increase their misfortune. The first fire they received did such execution among them, that they were obliged to shelter themselves under the redoubt which the French had abandoned at their approach. In this uncomfortable situation they remained some time, unable to form under so hot a fire, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of many gallant officers, who lavishly exposed and even lost their lives in the honourable discharge of their duty.^m The general, seeing all their

^m The following anecdote is so remarkable, and tends so much to the honour of the British soldiery, that we insert it without fear of the reader's disapprobation.— Captain Ochterlony and Ensign Peyton belonged to the regiment of Brigadier-General Monckton. They were nearly of an age, which did not exceed thirty: the first was a North Briton, the other a native of Ireland. Both were agreeable in person, and unblemished in character,

endeavours abortive, ordered them to retreat, and form behind Monckton's brigade, which was by this time landed,

and connected together by the ties of mutual friendship and esteem. On the day that preceded the battle, Captain Ochterlony had been obliged to fight a duel with a German officer, in which, though he wounded and disarmed his antagonist, yet he himself received a dangerous hurt under the right arm, in consequence of which his friends insisted on his remaining in camp during the action of the next day, but his spirit was too great to comply with this remonstrance. He declared it should never be said that a scratch, received in a private rencounter, had prevented him from doing his duty when his country required his service; and he took the field with a fusil in his hand, though he was hardly able to carry his arms. In leading up his men to the enemy's intrenchment, he was shot through the lungs with a musket-ball; an accident which obliged him to part with his fusil; but he still continued advancing, until, by loss of blood, he became too weak to proceed farther. About the same time, Mr. Peyton was lamed by a shot which shattered the small bone of his left leg. The soldiers, in their retreat, earnestly begged, with tears in their eyes, that Captain Ochterlony would allow them to carry him and the ensign off the field. But he was so bigoted to a severe point of honour, that he would not quit the ground, though he desired they would take care of his ensign. Mr. Peyton, with a generous disdain, rejected their good offices, declaring that he would not leave his captain in such a situation: and in a little time they remained the sole survivors on that part of the field.

Captain Ochterlony sat down by his friend; and, as they expected nothing but immediate death, they took leave of each other. Yet they were not altogether abandoned by the hope of being protected as prisoners; for the captain, seeing a French soldier with two Indians approach, started up, and accosting them in the French language, which he spoke perfectly well, expressed his expectation that they would treat him and his companion as officers, prisoners, and gentlemen. The two Indians seemed to be entirely under the conduct of the Frenchman, who, coming up to Mr. Peyton, as he sat on the ground, snatched his laced hat from his head, and robbed the captain of his watch and money. This outrage was a signal to the Indians for murder and pillage. One of them, clubbing his firelock, struck at him behind, with a view to knock him down; but the blow missing his head, took place upon his shoulders. At the same instant the other Indian poured his shot into the breast of this unfortunate young gentleman, who cried out, "Oh! Peyton, the villain has shot me." Not yet satiated with cruelty, the barbarian sprung upon him, and stabbed him in the belly with his scalping-knife. The captain, having parted with his fusil, had no weapon for his defence, as none of the officers wore swords in the action. The three ruffians, finding him still alive, endeavoured to strangle him with his own sash; and he was now upon his knees, struggling against them with surprising exertion. Mr. Peyton, at this juncture, having a double-barrelled musket in his hand, and seeing the distress of his friend, fired at one of the Indians, who dropped dead upon the spot. The other thinking the ensign would now be an easy prey, advanced towards him; and Mr. Peyton, having taken good aim at the distance of four yards, discharged his piece the second time, but it seemed to take no effect. The savage fired in his turn, and wounded the ensign in the shoulder; then, rushing upon him, thrust his bayonet through his body. He repeated the blow, which Mr. Peyton attempting to parry, received another wound in his left hand; nevertheless, he seized the Indian's musket with the same hand, pulled him forwards, and with his right drawing a dagger which hung by his side, plunged it into the barbarian's side. A violent struggle ensued, but at length Mr. Peyton was uppermost, and, with repeated strokes of his dagger, killed his antagonist outright. Here he was seized with an unaccountable emotion of curiosity, to know whether or not his shot had taken place on the body of the Indian: he accordingly turned him up, and stripping off his blanket, perceived that the ball had penetrated quite through the cavity of the breast. Having thus obtained a dear-bought victory, he started up on one leg; and saw Captain Ochterlony standing at the distance of sixty yards, close by the enemy's breastwork, with the French soldier attending him. Mr. Peyton then called aloud—"Captain Ochterlony, I am glad to see you have at last got under protection. Beware of that villain, who is more barbarous than the savages. God bless you, my dear captain! I see a party of Indians coming this way, and expect to be murdered immediately." A number of those barbarians had for some time been employed on the left, in scalping and pillaging the dying and the dead that were left on the field of battle, and above thirty of them were in full march to destroy Mr. Peyton. This gentleman knew he had no mercy to expect; for, should his life be spared for the present, they would have afterwards insisted upon sacrificing him to the manes of their brethren whom he had slain, and in that case he would have been put to death by the most excruciating tortures. Full of this idea, he

and drawn up on the beach in order. They accordingly retired in confusion, leaving a considerable number lying on the field, to the barbarity of the Indian savages, who massacred the living, and scalped the dead, even in the sight of their indignant companions. This unhappy accident occasioned a new delay, and the day was already far advanced. The wind began to blow with uncommon violence, and the tide to make; so that, in case of a second repulse, the retreat of Brigadier Townshend might have been rendered hazardous and uncertain; Mr. Wolfe, therefore, thought proper to desist, and returned without further molestation to the other side of the river Montmorenci. The admiral ordered the two vessels which were aground to be set on fire, that they might not fall into the hands of the enemy. The advantages that favoured an attack in this part consisted of the following particulars:—All the artillery could be used with good effect; all the troops could act at once; and, in case of a miscarriage, the retreat was secure and open, at least for a certain time of the tide. These, however, seemed to be overbalanced by other considerations. The enemy were posted on a commanding eminence; the beach was covered with deep mud, slippery, and broken into holes and gullies; the hill was steep, and in some places impracticable; the enemy were numerous, and poured in a very severe fire from their intrenchments. Had the attack succeeded, the loss of the English must have been very heavy, and that of the French inconsiderable, because the neighbouring woods

snatched up his musket, and, notwithstanding his broken leg, ran about forty yards without halting; feeling himself now totally disabled, and incapable of proceeding one step farther, he loaded his piece, and presented it to the two foremost Indians, who stood aloof, waiting to be joined by their fellows; while the French, from their breastworks, kept up a continual fire of cannon and small arms upon this poor, solitary, maimed gentleman. In this uncomfortable situation he stood, when he discerned at a distance a Highland officer, with a party of his men, skirting the plain towards the field of battle. He forthwith waved his hand in signal of distress, and, being perceived by the officer, he detached three of his men to his assistance. These brave fellows hastened to him through the midst of a terrible fire, and one of them bore him off on his shoulders. The Highland officer was Captain Macdonald, of Colonel Fraser's battalion; who, understanding that a young gentleman, his kinsman, had dropped on the field of battle, had put himself at the head of this party, with which he penetrated to the middle of the field, drove a considerable number of the French and Indians before him, and finding his relation still unscalped, carried him off in triumph. Poor Captain Ochterlony was conveyed to Quebec, where, in a few days, he died of his wounds. After the reduction of that place, the French surgeons who attended him declared, that in all probability he would have recovered of the two shots he had received in his breast, had he not been mortally wounded in the belly by the Indian's scalping-knife.

As this very remarkable scene was acted in sight of both armies, General Townshend, in the sequel, expostulated with the French officers upon the inhumanity of keeping up such a severe fire against two wounded gentlemen who were disabled, and destitute of all hope of escaping. They answered, that the fire was not made by the regulars, but by the Canadians and savages, whom it was not in the power of discipline to restrain.

afforded them immediate shelter. Finally, the river St. Charles still remained to be passed, before the town could be invested.

Immediately after this mortifying check, in which above five hundred men, and many brave officers, were lost, the general detached Brigadier Murray, with twelve hundred men, in transports, above the town, to co-operate with Rear-Admiral Holmes, whom the admiral had sent up with some force against the French shipping, which he hoped to destroy. The brigadier was likewise instructed to seize every opportunity of fighting the enemy's detachments, and even of provoking them to battle. In pursuance of these directions, he twice attempted to land on the north shore, but these attempts were unsuccessful. The third effort was more fortunate. He made a sudden descent at Chambaud, and burned a considerable magazine, filled with arms, clothing, provision, and ammunition. The enemy's ships being secured in such a manner as not to be approached, and nothing else occurring that required the brigadier's longer stay, he returned to the camp, with intelligence obtained from his prisoners, that the fort of Niagara was taken, Crown Point abandoned, and General Amherst employed in making preparations to attack the corps at the Isle aux Noix, commanded by M. Burlemaque. The disaster at the falls of Montmorenci made a deep impression on the mind of General Wolfe, whose spirit was too great to brook the most distant prospect of censure or disgrace. He knew the character of the English people—rash, impatient, and capricious; elevated to exultation by the least gleam of success, dejected even to despondency by the most inconsiderable frown of adverse fortune; sanguine, even to childish hyperbole, in applauding those servants of the public who have prospered in their undertakings; clamorous, to a degree of persecution, against those who have miscarried in their endeavours, without any investigation of merit, without any consideration of circumstances. A keen sense of these vexatious peculiarities, conspiring with the shame of disappointment, and eager desire of retrieving the laurel that he might by some be supposed to have lost at the falls of Montmorenci, and the despair of finding such an occasion, excited an internal agitation, which visibly affected his external frame, and disordered his whole constitution, which was naturally delicate and tender.

Among those who shared his confidence, he was often seen to sigh, he was often heard to complain; and even in the transports of his chagrin declare, that he would never return without success, to be exposed, as other unfortunate commanders had been, to the censure and reproach of an ignorant and ungrateful populace. This tumult of the mind, added to the fatigues of the body he had undergone, produced a fever and dysentery, by which, for some time, he was totally disabled.

Before he recovered any degree of strength, he desired the general officers to consult together for the public utility. It was their opinion that, the points of Levi and Orleans being left in a proper state of defence, the rest of the troops should be conveyed up the river, with a view to draw the enemy from their present situation, and bring them, if possible, to an engagement. This measure, however, was not adopted, until the general and admiral had reconnoitred the town of Quebec, with a view to a general assault; and concluded from their own observations, reinforced by the opinion of the chief engineer, who was perfectly well acquainted with the interior of the place, that such an attack could not be hazarded with any prospect of success. The ships of war, indeed, might have silenced the batteries of the lower town, but they could not affect the upper works, from which they must have sustained considerable damage. When we consider the situation of this place, and the fortifications with which it was secured; the natural strength of the country; the great number of vessels and floating batteries they had provided for the defence of the river; the skill, valour, superior force, and uncommon vigilance of the enemy; their numerous bodies of savages continually hovering about the posts of the English, to surprise parties, and harass detachments; we must own that there was such a combination of difficulties as might have discouraged and perplexed the most resolute and intelligent commander.

In consequence of the resolution taken to quit the camp at Montmorenci, the troops and artillery were re-embarked, and landed at Point Levi: they afterwards passed up the river in transports; while Admiral Holmes made a movement with his ships to amuse the enemy posted on the north shore; and the men being much crowded on board, the general ordered one half of

The troops
land at the
heights of
Abraham.

them to be landed for refreshment on the other side of the river. As no possibility appeared of annoying the enemy above the town, the scheme of operations was totally changed. A plan was formed for conveying the troops farther down in boats, and landing them in the night within a league of Cape Diamond, in hopes of ascending the heights of Abraham, which rise abruptly with a steep ascent from the banks of the river, that they might take possession of the ground at the back of the city, where it was but indifferently fortified. The dangers and difficulties attending the execution of this design were so peculiarly discouraging, that one would imagine it could not have been embraced but by a spirit of enterprise that bordered on desperation. The stream was rapid; the shore shelving; the bank of the river lined with sentinels; the landing-place so narrow as to be easily missed in the dark; and the ground so difficult as hardly to be surmounted in the day-time, had no opposition been expected. If the enemy had received the least intimation from spy or deserter, or even suspected the scheme; had the embarkation been disordered in consequence of the darkness of the night, the rapidity of the river, or the shelving nature of the north shore, near which they were obliged to row; had one sentinel been alarmed, or the landing-place much mistaken; the heights of Abraham must have been instantly secured by such a force as would have rendered the undertaking abortive: confusion would necessarily have ensued in the dark: and this would have naturally produced a panic, which might have proved fatal to the greater part of the detachment. These objections could not escape the penetration of the gallant Wolfe, who nevertheless adopted the plan without hesitation, and even executed it in person; though at that time labouring under a severe dysentery and fever, which had exhausted his constitution, and reduced him almost to an extremity of weakness. The previous steps being taken, and the time fixed for this hazardous attempt, Admiral Holmes moved with his squadron farther up the river, about three leagues above the place appointed for the disembarkation, that he might deceive the enemy, and amuse M. de Bougainville, whom Montcalm had detached with fifteen hundred men to watch the motions of that squadron; but the English admiral was directed to sail down the river in the night, so as to protect the landing of the forces, and

these orders he punctually fulfilled. On the twelfth day of September, an hour after midnight, the first embarkation, consisting of four complete regiments, the light infantry, commanded by Colonel Howe, a detachment of Highlanders, and the American grenadiers, was made in flat-bottomed boats, under the immediate command of Brigadiers Monckton and Murray; though General Wolfe accompanied them in person, and was among the first who landed; and they began to fall down with the tide to the intended place of disembarkation, rowing close to the north shore, in order to find it the more easily. Without any disorder the boats glided gently along; but by the rapidity of the tide, and the darkness of the night, the boats overshot the mark, and the troops landed a little below the place at which the disembarkation was intended.ⁿ As the troops landed, the boats were sent back for the second embarkation, which was superintended by Brigadier Townshend. In the mean time

ⁿ How far the success of this attempt depended upon accident may be conceived from the following particulars:—In the twilight two French deserters were carried on board a ship of war, commanded by Captain Smith, and lying at anchor near the north shore. They told him that the garrison of Quebec expected that night to receive a convoy of provisions, sent down the river in boats from the detachment above, commanded by M. de Bougainville. These deserters, standing upon deck, and perceiving the English boats with the troops gliding down the river in the dark, began to shout and make a noise, declaring they were part of the expected convoy. Captain Smith, who was ignorant of General Wolfe's design, believing their affirmation, had actually given orders to point the guns at the British troops, when the general, perceiving a commotion on board, rowed alongside in person, and prevented the discharge, which would have alarmed the town, and entirely frustrated the attempt.

The French had posted sentries along shore, to challenge the boats and vessels, and give the alarm occasionally. The first boat that contained the English troops being questioned accordingly, a captain of Fraser's regiment, who had served in Holland, and who was perfectly well acquainted with the French language and customs, answered without hesitation to "*Qui vit?*" which is their challenging word, "*La France;*" nor was he at a loss to answer the second question, which was much more particular and difficult. When the sentinel demanded "*à quel régiment?* to what regiment?" the captain replied, "*De la Reine;*" which he knew, by accident, to be one of those that composed the body commanded by Bougainville. The soldier took it for granted this was the expected convoy, and saying "*Passe;*" allowed all the boats to proceed without further question. In the same manner the other sentries were deceived; though one, more wary than the rest, came running down to the water's edge, and called "*Pourquoi est-ce que vous ne parlez plus haut?* Why don't you speak with an audible voice?" To this interrogation, which implied doubt, the captain answered with admirable presence of mind, in a soft tone of voice, "*Tais-toi! nous serons entendus!* Hush! we shall be overheard and discovered!" Thus cautioned, the sentry retired without further altercation. The midshipman who piloted the first boat passing by the landing-place in the dark, the same captain, who knew it from his having been posted formerly with his company on the other side of the river, insisted upon the pilot's being mistaken, and commanded the rowers to put ashore in the proper place, or at least very near it.

When General Wolfe landed, and saw the difficulty of ascending the precipice, he said to the same officer, in a familiar strain, "I don't believe there is any possibility of getting up, but you must do your endeavour." The narrow path that slanted up the hill from the landing-place the enemy had broken up, and rendered impassable by cross ditches, besides the intrenchment at the top; in every other part the hill was so steep and dangerous, that the soldiers were obliged to pull themselves up by the roots and boughs of trees growing on both sides of the path.

Colonel Howe, with the light infantry and the Highlanders, ascended the woody precipices with admirable courage and activity, and dislodged a serjeant's guard, which defended a small intrenched narrow path, by which alone the rest of the forces could reach the summit. Then they mounted without further molestation from the enemy, and the general drew them up in order as they arrived. Monsieur de Montcalm no sooner understood that the English had gained the heights of Abraham, which in a manner commanded the town on its weakest part, than he resolved to hazard a battle, and began his march without delay, after having collected his whole force from the side of Beauport.

General Wolfe, perceiving the enemy crossing the river St. Charles, began to form his own line, which consisted of six battalions and the Louisbourg grenadiers; the right commanded by Brigadier Monckton, and the left by Brigadier Murray: to the rear of the left, Colonel Howe was posted with his light infantry, just returned from a four-gun battery, which they had taken without opposition. M. de Montcalm advancing in such a manner as to show his intention was to flank the left of the English, Brigadier Townshend was sent thither with the regiment of Amherst, which he formed *en potence*, presenting a double front to the enemy: he was afterwards reinforced by two battalions: and the reserve consisted of one regiment drawn up in eight subdivisions, with large intervals. The right of the enemy was composed of half the colony troops, two battalions, and a body of Canadians and savages: their centre consisted of a column formed by two other regular battalions; and on the left one battalion, with the remainder of the colony troops, was posted: the bushes and corn-fields in their front were lined with fifteen hundred of their best marksmen, who kept up an irregular galling fire, which proved fatal to many brave officers thus singled out for destruction. This fire, indeed, was in some measure checked by the advanced posts of the British line, who piqueered with the enemy for some hours before the battle began. Both armies were destitute of artillery, except two small pieces on the side of the French, and a single gun which the English seamen had made shift to draw up from the landing-place. This was very well served, and galled their columns severely. At length, about nine in the morning, the enemy advanced to the charge with great order and

vivacity, though their fire was irregular and ineffectual. On the contrary, the British forces reserved their shot until the French had approached within forty yards of their line; then they poured in a terrible discharge, and continued the fire with such deliberation and spirit, as could not fail to produce a very considerable effect. General Wolfe was stationed on the right, at the head of Bragg's regiment and the Louisbourg grenadiers, where the attack was most warm. As he stood conspicuous in the front of the line, he had been aimed at by the enemy's marksmen, and received a shot in the wrist, which, however, did not oblige him to quit the field. Having wrapped a handkerchief round his hand, he continued giving orders without the least emotion; and advanced at the head of the grenadiers, with their bayonets fixed, when another ball unfortunately pierced the breast of this young hero,* who fell in the arms of victory just as the enemy gave way. At this very instant, every separate regiment of the British army seemed to exert itself for the honour of its own peculiar character. While the right pressed on with their bayonets, Brigadier Murray briskly advanced with the troops under his command, and soon broke the centre of the enemy; then the Highlanders, drawing their broadswords, fell in among them with irresistible impetuosity, and drove them with great slaughter into the town, and the works they had raised at the bridge of the river St. Charles. On the left and rear of the English the action was not so violent. Some of the light infantry had thrown themselves into houses; where, being attacked, they defended themselves with great courage and resolution. Colonel Howe having taken post with two companies behind a small copse, sallied out frequently on the flanks of the enemy during this attack, and often drove them into heaps; while Brigadier Townshend advanced platoons against their front; so that the right wing of the French were totally prevented from executing their first intention. The brigadier himself remained with Amherst's regiment, to support this disposition, and to overawe a body of savages posted opposite to the light infantry, waiting

* When the fatal ball took place, General Wolfe, finding himself unable to stand, leaned upon the shoulder of a lieutenant, who sat down for that purpose. This officer, seeing the French give way, exclaimed, "They run! they run!"—"Who run?" cried the gallant Wolfe, with great eagerness. When the lieutenant replied, "The French,"—"What! (said he) do the cowards run already? then I die happy." So saying, the glorious youth expired.

for an opportunity to fall upon the rear of the British army. General Wolfe being slain, and at the same time Mr. Monckton dangerously wounded at the head of Lascelles' regiment, where he distinguished himself with remarkable gallantry, the command devolved on Brigadier Townshend, who hastened to the centre, and finding the troops disordered in the pursuit, formed them again with all possible expedition. This necessary task was scarcely performed, when M. de Bougainville, with a body of two thousand fresh men, appeared in the rear of the English. He had begun his march from Cape Rouge, as soon as he received intelligence that the British troops had gained the heights of Abraham, but did not come up in time to have any share in the battle. Mr. Townshend immediately ordered two battalions, with two pieces of artillery, to advance against this officer; who retired, at their approach, among woods and swamps, where General Townshend very wisely declined hazarding a precarious attack. He had already obtained a complete victory, taken a great number of French officers, and was possessed of a very advantageous situation, which it would have been imprudent to forego. The French general, M. de Montcalm, was mortally wounded in the battle, and conveyed into Quebec; from whence, before he died, he wrote a letter to General Townshend, recommending the prisoners to that generous humanity by which the British nation is distinguished. His second in command was left wounded on the field, and next day expired on board an English ship, to which he had been conveyed. About one thousand of the enemy were made prisoners, including a great number of officers; and about five hundred were slain on the field of battle. The wreck of their army, after they had reinforced the garrison of Quebec, retired to Point-au-Tremble; from whence they proceeded to Jacques Quatiers, where they remained intrenched until they were compelled by the severity of the weather to make the best of their way to Trois Rivières and Montreal. This important victory was obtained at the expense of fifty men killed, including nine officers, and of about five hundred men wounded; but the death of General Wolfe was a national loss, universally lamented. He inherited from nature an animating fervour of sentiment, an intuitive perception, an extensive capacity, and a passion for glory, which stimulated him to acquire every species of military knowledge

that study could comprehend, that actual service could illustrate and confirm. This noble warmth of disposition seldom fails to call forth and unfold the liberal virtues of the soul. Brave above all estimation of danger, he was also generous, gentle, complacent, and humane; the pattern of the officer, the darling of the soldier: there was a sublimity in his genius which soared above the pitch of ordinary minds; and had his faculties been exercised to their full extent by opportunity and action, had his judgment been fully matured by age and experience, he would without doubt have rivalled in reputation the most celebrated captains of antiquity.

Immediately after the battle of Quebec, Admiral Saunders, who, together with his subordinates Durell and Quebec taken. Holmes, had all along co-operated heartily with the land-forces for the advantage of the service, sent up all the boats of the fleet with artillery and ammunition; and on the seventeenth day of the month sailed up, with all the ships of war, in a disposition to attack the lower town, while the upper part should be assaulted by General Townshend. This gentleman had employed the time from the day of action in securing the camp with redoubts, in forming a military road for the cannon, in drawing up the artillery, preparing batteries, and cutting off the enemy's communication with the country. On the seventeenth, before any battery could be finished, a flag of truce was sent from the town with proposals of capitulation; which, being maturely considered by the general and admiral, were accepted, and signed at eight next morning. They granted the more favourable terms, as the enemy continued to assemble in the rear of the British army; as the season was become wet, stormy, and cold, threatening the troops with sickness, and the fleet with accident; and as a considerable advantage would result from taking possession of the town while the walls were in a state of defence. What rendered the capitulation still more fortunate for the British general, was the information he afterwards received from deserters, that the enemy had rallied, and were reinforced behind Cape Rouge, under the command of M. de Levy, arrived from Montreal, for that purpose, with two regular battalions: and that M. de Bougainville, at the head of eight hundred men, with a convoy of provisions, was actually on his march to throw himself into the town on the eighteenth,

that very morning on which it was surrendered. The place was not then completely invested, as the enemy had broken the bridge of boats, and posted detachments on very strong works on the other side of the river St. Charles. The capitulation was no sooner ratified, than the British forces took possession of Quebec on the land side; and guards were posted in different parts of the town, to preserve order and discipline: at the same time, Captain Palliser, with a body of seamen, entered the lower town, and took the same precautions. Next day about a thousand prisoners were embarked on board transports, which proceeded to France with the first opportunity. Meanwhile the inhabitants of the country came in great numbers, to deliver up their arms, and take the oath of fidelity to the English government. The death of Montcalm, which was indeed an incalculable loss to France, in all probability overwhelmed the enemy with consternation, and confounded all their counsels; otherwise we cannot account for the tame surrender of Quebec to a handful of troops, even after the victory they had obtained; for though the place was not regularly fortified on the land side, and most of the houses were in ruins, their walls and parapets had not yet sustained the least damage; the besiegers were hardly sufficient to complete the investiture; a fresh army was assembled in the neighbourhood, with which their communication continued open; the season was so far advanced, that the British forces in a little time must have been forced to desist by the severity of the weather, and even retire with their fleet before the approach of winter, which never fails to freeze up the river St. Lawrence.

Immediately after the action at the falls of Montmorenci, General Wolfe had despatched an officer to England, ^{Rejoicing,} with a detail of that disaster, written with such ^{in England.} elegance and accuracy as would not have disgraced the pen of a Cæsar. Though the public acquiesced in his conduct, they were exceedingly mortified at his miscarriage; and this mortification was the greater, as he seemed to despair of being able to strike any other stroke of importance for the accomplishment of their hope, which had aspired at the absolute conquest of Canada. The first transports of their chagrin were not yet subsided, when Colonel Hale arrived in the ship Alcide, with an account of the victory and surrender of Quebec; which was immediately communicated to

the people in an extraordinary gazette. The joy which this excited among the populace rose in proportion to the despondence which the former had produced: all was rapture and riot; all was triumph and exultation, mingled with the praise of the all-accomplished Wolfe, which they exalted even to a ridiculous degree of hyperbole. The king expressed his satisfaction by conferring the honour of knighthood upon Captain Douglas, whose ship brought the first tidings of this success; and gratified him and Colonel Hale with considerable presents. A day of solemn thanksgiving was appointed by proclamation through all the dominions of Great Britain. The city of London, the universities, and many other corporations of the kingdom, presented congratulatory addresses to his majesty. The Parliament was no sooner assembled than the secretary of state, in the House of Commons, expatiated upon the successes of the campaign, the transcendent merit of the deceased general, the conduct and courage of the admirals and officers who assisted in the conquest of Quebec. In consequence of this harangue, and the motion by which it was succeeded, the House unanimously resolved to present an address, desiring his majesty would order a monument to be erected in Westminster Abbey to the memory of Major-General Wolfe: at the same time they passed another resolution, that the thanks of the House should be given to the surviving generals and admirals employed in the glorious and successful expedition to Quebec. Testimonies of this kind, while they reflect honour upon the character of the nation, never fail to animate individuals to a spirited exertion of their talents in the service of the public. The people of England were so elevated by the astonishing success of this campaign, which was also prosperous on the continent of Europe, that, far from expressing the least sense of the enormous burdens which they bore, they, with a spirit peculiar to the British nation, voluntarily raised large contributions, to purchase warm jackets, stockings, shoes, coats, and blankets, for the soldiers who were exposed to the rigours of an inclement sky in Germany and America. But they displayed a more noble proof of unrestrained benevolence, extended even to foes. The French ministry, straitened in their finances, which were found scarcely sufficient to maintain the war, had sacrificed their duty to their king, and every sentiment of compassion for his unhappy subjects, to a thirst of vengeance, and sanguinary views of ambition.

They had withdrawn the usual allowance from their subjects who were detained prisoners in England ; and those wretched creatures, amounting in number to near twenty thousand, were left to the mercy of those enemies whom their sovereign had taken such pains to exasperate. The allowance with which they were indulged by the British government effectually secured them from the horrors of famine ; but still they remained destitute of other conveniences, and particularly exposed to the miseries of cold and nakedness. The generous English beheld these forlorn captives with sentiments of sympathy and compassion : they considered them as their fellow-creatures and brethren in humanity, and forgot their country while they beheld their distress. A considerable subscription was raised in their behalf ; and in a few weeks they were completely clothed by the charity of their British benefactors. This beneficent exertion was certainly one of the noblest triumphs of the human mind, which even the most inveterate enemies of Great Britain cannot but regard with reverence and admiration.—The city of Quebec being reduced, together with great part of the circumjacent country, Brigadier Townshend, who had accepted his commission with the express proviso that he should return to England at the end of the campaign, left a garrison of five thousand effective men, victualled from the fleet, under the command of Brigadier Murray ; and, embarking with Admiral Saunders, arrived in Great Britain about the beginning of winter. As for Brigadier Monckton, he was conveyed to New York, where he happily recovered of his wound.

CHAPTER XXXII.

SIEGE OF MADRAS. — COLONEL FORDE DEFEATS THE MARQUIS DE CONFLANS NEAR GOLAPPOOL. — CAPTAIN KNOX TAKES RAJAMUNDRY AND NARSIPORE. — COLONEL FORDE TAKES MASULIPATAM. — SURAT TAKEN BY THE ENGLISH. — UNSUCCESSFUL ATTACK UPON WANDEWASH. — ADMIRAL POCOCKE DEFEATS MONS. D'APCHÉ. — HOSTILITIES OF THE DUTCH ON THE RIVER OF BENGAL. — COLONEL COOTE TAKES WANDEWASH — DEFEATS GENERAL LALLY — AND CONQUERS THE PROVINCE OF ARCOOT. — STATE OF THE BELLIGERENT POWERS IN EUROPE. — FRANKFORT SEIZED BY THE FRENCH. — PROGRESS OF THE HEREDITARY PRINCE OF BRUNSWICK. — PRINCE FERDINAND ATTACKS THE FRENCH AT BERGEN. — THE BRITISH MINISTRY APPOINT AN INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF THE FORAGE. — PRINCE FERDINAND RETREATS BEFORE THE FRENCH ARMY. — ANIMOSITY BETWEEN THE GENERAL OF THE ALLIED ARMY AND THE COMMANDER OF THE BRITISH FORCES. — THE FRENCH ENCAAMP AT MINDEN — AND ARE DEFEATED BY THE ALLIES. — DUKE DE BRISSAC ROUTED BY THE HEREDITARY PRINCE OF BRUNSWICK. — GENERAL IMHOFF TAKES MUNSTER FROM THE FRENCH — WHO RETREAT BEFORE PRINCE FERDINAND. — THE HEREDITARY PRINCE BEATS UP THE DUKE OF WIRTEMBERG'S QUARTERS AT FULDA. — A BODY OF PRUSSIANS MAKE AN INCURSION INTO POLAND. — PRINCE HENRY PENETRATES INTO BOHEMIA. — HE ENTERS FRANCONIA, AND OBLIGES THE IMPERIAL ARMY TO RETIRE. — KING OF PRUSSIA VINDICATES HIS CONDUCT WITH RESPECT TO HIS PRISONERS. — THE PRUSSIAN GENERAL, WEDEL, DEFEATED BY THE RUSSIANS AT ZULLICHAU. — THE KING OF PRUSSIA TAKES THE COMMAND OF GENERAL WEDEL'S CORPS. — BATTLE OF CUNERSDORF. — ADVANTAGES GAINED BY THE PRUSSIANS IN SAXONY. — PRINCE HENRY SURPRISES GENERAL VEHLA. — GENERAL FINCK, WITH HIS WHOLE CORPS OF PRUSSIANS, SURROUNDED AND TAKEN BY THE AUSTRIAN GENERAL. — DISASTER OF THE PRUSSIAN GENERAL DIERCKE. — CONCLUSION OF THE CAMPAIGN. — ARRÊT OF THE EVANGELICAL BODY AT RATISBON. — THE FRENCH MINISTRY STOP PAYMENT. — THE STATES-GENERAL SEND OVER DEPUTIES TO ENGLAND. — MEMORIAL PRESENTED TO THE STATES BY MAJOR-GENERAL YORKE. — A COUNTER MEMORIAL PRESENTED BY THE FRENCH MINISTER. — DEATH OF THE KING OF SPAIN. — HE IS SUCCEEDED BY HIS BROTHER, DON CARLOS, WHO MAKES A REMARKABLE SETTLEMENT. — DETECTION AND PUNISHMENT OF THE CONSPIRATORS AT LISBON. — SESSION OPENED IN ENGLAND. — SUBSTANCE OF THE ADDRESSES. — SUPPLIES GRANTED. — WAYS AND MEANS, ANNUITIES, &c. — BILLS FOR GRANTING SEVERAL DUTIES ON MALT, &c. — PETITIONS FOR AND AGAINST THE PROHIBITION OF THE MALT DISTILLERY. — OPPOSITION TO THE BILL FOR PREVENTING THE EXCESSIVE USE OF SPIRITUOUS LIQUORS. — BILL FOR CONTINUING THE IMPORTATION OF IRISH BEEF. — ATTEMPT TO ESTABLISH A MILITIA IN SCOTLAND. — FURTHER REGULATIONS RELATIVE TO THE MILITIA IN ENGLAND. — BILL FOR REMOVING THE POWDER MAGAZINE FROM GREENWICH. — ACT FOR IMPROVING THE STREETS OF LONDON. — BILL RELATIVE TO THE SALE OF FISH IN LONDON AND WESTMINSTER. — NEW ACT FOR ASCERTAINING THE QUALIFICATIONS OF MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT. — ACT FOR CONSOLIDATING THE ANNUITIES GRANTED IN 1759. — BILL FOR SECURING THE PAYMENT OF PRIZE AND BOUNTY MONEY APPROPRIATED FOR THE USE OF GREENWICH HOSPITAL. — ACT IN FAVOUR OF GEORGE KEITH, LATE EARL MARESCAL OF SCOTLAND. — SESSION CLOSED.

1759.
Siege of
Madrâs.

WHILE the arms of Great Britain triumphed in Europe and America, her interest was not suffered to languish in other parts of the world. This was the season of ambition and activity, in which every separate armament, every distinct corps, and every individual officer,

seemed to exert themselves with the most eager appetite of glory. The East Indies, which in the course of the preceding year had been the theatre of operations carried on with various success, exhibited nothing now but a succession of trophies to the English commanders. The Indian transactions of the last year were interrupted at that period when the French general, Lally, was employed in making preparations for the siege of Madras. In the month of October he had marched into Arcot without opposition; and in the beginning of December he advanced towards Madras. On the twelfth he marched over Choultry plain, in three divisions, cannonaded by the English artillery with considerable effect, and took post at Egmore and St. Thome. Colonel Laurence, who commanded the garrison of Madras, retired to the island, in order to prevent the enemy from taking possession of the island bridge; and at the same time ordered the posts to be occupied in the Black-town, or suburbs of Madras. In the morning of the fourteenth, the enemy marched with their whole force to attack this place; the English detachments retreated into the garrison: and within the hour a grand sally was made, under the command of Colonel Draper, a gallant officer, who signalized himself remarkably on this occasion. He attacked the regiment of Lorrain with great impetuosity; and in all probability would have beat them off, had they not been sustained by the arrival of a fresh brigade. After a very warm dispute, in which many officers and a great number of men were killed on each side, Colonel Draper was obliged to retreat, not altogether satisfied with the conduct of his grenadiers. As the garrison of Madras was not very numerous, nothing farther was attempted on their side without the works. In the mean time, the enemy used all their diligence in erecting batteries against the fort and town; which being opened on the sixth day of January, they maintained a continual discharge of shot and shells for twenty days, advancing their trenches all the time under cover of this fire, until they reached the breast of the glacis. There they erected a battery of four pieces of cannon, and opened it on the last day of the month; but for five days successively they were obliged to close their embrasures by the superior fire of the fort, and at length to abandon it entirely: nevertheless, they still maintained a severe fire from the first grand battery, which was placed at the distance of four hundred and fifty yards from the

defences. This artillery was so well served as to disable twenty-six pieces of cannon, three mortars, and effect an inconsiderable breach. Perhaps they might have had more success had they battered in breach from the beginning; but M. Lally, in order to intimidate the inhabitants, had cruelly bombarded the town, and demolished the houses; he was, however, happily disappointed in his expectation by the wise and resolute precautions of Governor Pigot; by the vigilance, conduct, and bravery of the Colonels Laurence and Draper, seconded by the valour and activity of Major Breton, and the spirit of the inferior officers. The artillery of the garrison was so well managed, that from the fifth day of February, the fire of the enemy gradually decreased from twenty-three to six pieces of cannon: nevertheless, they advanced their sap along the sea-side, so as to embrace entirely the north-east angle of the covered way, from whence their musketry drove the besieged. They likewise endeavoured to open a passage into the ditch by a mine; but sprung it so injudiciously, that they could make no advantage of it, as it lay exposed to the fire of several cannon. While these preparations were carried on before the town, Major Caillaud and Captain Preston, with a body of sepoys, some of the country horse, and a few Europeans drawn from the English garrisons of Trichenapally and Chingalaput, hovered at the distance of a few miles, blocking up the roads in such a manner, that the enemy were obliged, four several times, to send large detachments against them, in order to open the communication: thus the progress of the siege was in a great measure retarded. On the sixteenth day of February, in the evening, the Queenborough ship of war, commanded by Captain Kempenfeldt, and the company's ship the *Revenge*, arrived in the road of Madras, with a reinforcement of six hundred men belonging to Colonel Draper's regiment, and part of them was immediately disembarked. From the beginning of the siege the enemy had discovered a backwardness in the service, very unsuitable to their national character. They were ill supplied by their commissaries and contractors: they were discouraged by the obstinate defence of the garrison, and all their hopes of success vanished at the arrival of this reinforcement. After a brisk fire, they raised the siege that very night, abandoning forty pieces of cannon; and having destroyed the

powder mills at Ogmores, retreated to the territory of Arcot.^a

M. Lally having weakened his forces that were at Masulipatam, under the conduct of the Marquis de Conflans, in order to strengthen the army with which he undertook the siege of Madras, the Rajah of Visanapore drove the French garrison from Vizagapatam, and hoisted English colours in the place. The marquis having put his troops in motion

^a The chagrin and mortification of Lally are strongly marked in the following intercepted letter to M. de Legret, dated from the camp before Madras :

"A good blow might be struck here : there is a ship in the road of twenty guns, laden with all the riches of Madras, which it is said will remain there till the 20th. The expedition is just arrived, but M. Goulin is not a man to attack her; for she has made him run away once before. The Bristol, on the other hand, did but just make her appearance before St. Thomas; and, on the vague report of thirteen ships coming from Porto Novo, she took fright; and after landing the provisions with which she was laden, she would not stay long enough even to take on board twelve of her own guns, which she had lent us for the siege.

"If I was the judge of the point of honour of the company's officers, I would break him like glass, as well as some others of them.

"The Fidelle, or the Harlem, or even the aforesaid Bristol, with her twelve guns restored to her, would be sufficient to make themselves masters of the English ship, if they could manage so as to get to windward of her in the night. Maugendre and Tremillier are said to be good men, and were they employed only to transport two hundred wounded men that we have here, their service would be of importance.

"We remain still in the same position; the breach made these fifteen days; all the time within fifteen toises of the wall of the place, and never holding up our heads to look at it.

"I reckon we shall, on our arrival at Pondicherry, endeavour to learn some other trade, for this of war requires too much patience.

"Of one thousand five hundred sepoys which attended our army, I reckon near eight hundred are employed upon the road to Pondicherry, laden with sugar, pepper, and other goods; and as for the Coulis, they are all employed for the same purpose, from the first day we came here.

"I am taking my measures from this day to set fire to the Black-town, and to blow up the powder-mills.

"You will never imagine that fifty French deserters, and one hundred Swiss, are actually stopping the progress of two thousand men of the king's and company's troops which are still here existing, notwithstanding the exaggerated accounts that every one makes here, according to his own fancy, of the slaughter that has been made of them; and you will be still more surprised if I tell you that, were it not for the combats and four battles we sustained, and for the batteries which failed, or to speak more properly, which were unskilfully made, we should not have lost fifty men, from the commencement of the siege to this day. I have written to M. de Larche, that if he persists in not coming here, let who will raise money upon the Poleagers for me, I will not do it; and I renounce (as I informed you a month ago I would do) meddling directly or indirectly with anything whatever that may have relation to your administration, whether civil or military. For I had rather go and command the Caffees of Madagascar, than remain in this Sodom; which it is impossible but the fire of the English must destroy sooner or later, even though that from heaven should not.

"I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

"Signed LALLY.

"P.S. I think it necessary to apprise you, that as M. de Soupire has refused to take upon him the command of this army, which I have offered to him, and which he is empowered to accept, by having received from the court a duplicate of my commission, you must of necessity, together with the council, take it upon you. For my part, I undertake only to bring it back either to Arcotte or Sadrastra. Send, therefore, your orders, or come yourselves to command it; for I shall quit it upon my arrival there."

to revenge this insult, the rajah solicited succour from Colonel Clive at Calcutta; and, with the consent of the council, a body of troops was sent under the command of Colonel Forde to his assistance. They consisted of five hundred Europeans, including a company of artillery, and sixteen hundred Sepoys; with about fifteen pieces of cannon, one howitzer, and three mortars. The forces of Conflans were much more considerable. On the twentieth day of October Colonel Forde arrived at Vizagapatam, and made an agreement with the rajah, who promised to pay the expense of the expedition, as soon as he should be put in possession of Rajamundry, a large town and fort possessed by the French. It was stipulated, that he should have all the inland country belonging to the Indian powers in the French interest, and at present in arms; and that the English company should retain all the conquered sea-coast from Vizagapatam to Masulipatam. On the first of November Colonel Forde proceeded on his march; and on the third joined the rajah's army, consisting of between three and four thousand men. On the third of December they came in sight of the enemy, near the village of Tallapool: but the French declining battle, the colonel determined to draw them from their advantageous situation, or march round, and get between them and Rajamundry. On the seventh, before daybreak, he began his march, leaving the rajah's forces on their ground; but the enemy beginning to cannonade the Indian forces, he, at the request of the rajah, returned, and took them under his protection. Then they marched together to the village of Golapool, and halted on a small plain about three miles from their encampment. About nine he formed the line of battle. About ten the enemy were drawn up, and began the cannonade. The firing on both sides having continued about forty minutes, the enemy's line advanced to the charge with great resolution; and were so warmly received, that, after several spirited efforts, at eleven they gave way, and retreated in disorder towards Rajamundry. During this conflict, the rajah's forces stood as idle spectators, nor could their horse be prevailed upon to pursue the fugitives. This victory cost the English forty-four Europeans killed and wounded, including two captains and three lieutenants. The French lost above three times the number, together with their whole

Col. Forde
defeats the
Marquis de
Conflans
near Gola-
pool. Cap-
tain Knox
takes Raja-
mundry and
Naisipore.

camp, baggage, thirty-two pieces of cannon, and all their ammunition. A great number of black forces fell on both sides. The Marquis de Conflans did not remain at Rajamundry, but proceeded to Masulipatam; while Captain Knox, with a detachment from the English army, took possession of the fort of Rajamundry, which is the barrier and key to the country of Vizagapatam. This was delivered to the rajah on his paying the expense of the expedition; and Captain Knox being detached with a battalion of Sepoys, took possession of the French factory at Narsipore. This was also the fate of a small fort at Coucate, which surrendered to Captain Maclean, after having made an obstinate defence. In the mean time, however, the French army of observation made shift to retake Rajamundry, where they found a considerable quantity of money, baggage, and effects, belonging to English officers.

Colonel Forde advancing to the neighbourhood of Masulipatam, the Marquis de Conflans with his forces retired within the place, which on the seventh day of March was invested. By the seventh day of April the ammunition of the besiegers being almost expended, Colonel Forde determined to give the assault, as two breaches were already made, and made his disposition accordingly. The attack was begun in the night, and the assailants arrived at the ditch before they were discovered. But here they underwent a terrible discharge of grape-shot and musketry, notwithstanding which they entered the breaches, and drove the enemy from bastion to bastion. At length, the Marquis de Conflans sent an officer to demand quarter for the garrison, which was granted as soon as he ordered his men to cease firing. Thus, with about three hundred and forty European soldiers, a handful of seamen, and seven hundred Sepoys, Colonel Forde took by assault the strong town of Masulipatam, garrisoned by five hundred and twenty-two Europeans, two thousand and thirty-nine Caffrees, Topasses, and Sepoys; and here he found above one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, with a great quantity of ammunition. Salabatzing, the Subah of Decan, perceiving the success of the English here, as well as at Madras, being sick of his French alliance, and in dread of his brother Nizam Allee, who had set up a separate interest, and taken the field against him, made advances to the company, with which he forthwith concluded a treaty to the following

Col Forde
takes M-
sulipatam.

effect: "The whole of the circar of Masulipatam shall be given to the English company. Salabatzing will not suffer the French to have a settlement in this country, nor keep them in his service, nor give them any assistance. The English, on their part, will not assist nor give protection to the subah's enemies."—In a few days after Masulipatam was reduced, two ships arrived in the road, with a reinforcement of four hundred men to the Marquis de Conflans; but, understanding the fate of the place, made the best of their way to Ganjam.

The merchants residing at Surat, finding themselves exposed to numberless dangers, and every species of oppression, by the sidee who commanded the castle on one hand, by the governor of the city on the other, and by the Mahrattas, who had a claim to a certain share of the revenue, made application to the English presidency at Bombay, desiring they would equip an expedition for taking possession of the castle and tanka, and settle the government of the city upon Pharass Cawn, who had been naib or deputy-governor under Meah Atchund, and regulated the police to the satisfaction of the inhabitants. The presidency embraced the proposal; Admiral Pococke spared two of his ships for this service. Eight hundred and fifty men, artillery and infantry, with fifteen hundred Sepoys, under the command of Captain Richard Maitland, of the royal regiment of artillery, were embarked on board the company's armed vessels commanded by Captain Watson, who sailed on the ninth day of February. On the fifteenth they were landed at a place called Dentiloury, about nine miles from Surat; and here they were encamped for refreshment: in two days he advanced against the French garden, in which a considerable number of the sidee's men were posted, and drove them from thence, after a very obstinate dispute. Then he erected a battery, from which he battered the wall in breach; but this method appearing tedious, he called a council of war, composed of the land and sea officers, and laid before them the plan of a general attack, which was accordingly executed next morning. The company's grab, and the bomb-ketches, being warped up the river in the night, were ranged in a line of battle opposite to the Bundar, which was the strongest fortification that the enemy possessed; and under the fire of these, the troops being landed, took the Bundar by assault. The outward town

Surat taken
by the
English.

being thus gained, he forthwith began to bombard the inner town and castle with such fury, that next morning they both surrendered, on condition of being allowed to march out with their effects; and Captain Maitland took possession without further dispute. Meah Atchund was continued governor of Surat, and Pharass Cawn was appointed naib. The artillery and ammunition found in the castle were secured for the company, until the mogul's pleasure was known; and in a little time a phirmaund, or grant, arrived from Delhi, appointing the English company admiral to the mogul; so that the ships and stores belonged to them of course, as part of the tanka; and they were now declared legal possessors of the castle. This conquest, which cost above two hundred men, including a few officers, was achieved with such expedition, that Captain Watson returned to Bombay by the ninth day of April.

The main body of the English forces which had been centered at Madras, for the preservation of that important settlement, took the field after the siege was raised, and possessed themselves of Conjeveram, a place of great consequence; which, with the fort of Schengelpel, commanded all the adjacent country, and secured the British possessions to the northward. M. Lally, sensible of the importance of the post, took the same route, in order to dislodge them; but finding all his attempts ineffectual, he retired towards Wandewash, where his troops were put into quarters of cantonment. No other operations ensued till the month of September; when Major Brereton, who commanded the English forces, being joined by Major Gordon with three hundred men of Colonel Coote's battalion, resolved to attack the enemy in his turn. On the fourteenth day of the month he began his march from Conjeveram for Wandewash, at the head of four hundred Europeans, seven thousand Sepoys, seventy European and three hundred black horse, with fourteen pieces of artillery. In his march he invested and took the fort of Trivitar; from whence he proceeded to the village of Wandewash, where the French, to the number of one thousand, were strongly encamped under the guns of a fort commanded by a rajah, mounting twenty cannon, under the direction of a French gunner. On the thirteenth day of September, at two in the morning, the English attacked the village in three different places, and drove them from it after a very obstinate dispute; but

Unsuccessful
attack
upon Wan-
dewash.

this advantage they were not able to maintain. The black pioneers ran away during the attack, so that proper traverses could not be made in the streets; and at daybreak the fort poured in upon them a prodigious discharge of grape-shot with considerable effect. The enemy had retired to a dry ditch, which served as an intrenchment, from whence they made furious sallies; and a body of three hundred European horse were already in motion, to fall upon and complete their confusion. In this emergency, they retired in disorder; and might have been entirely ruined, had not the body of reserve effectually covered their retreat; yet this could not be effected without the loss of several officers; and above three hundred men killed and wounded. After this mortifying check, they encamped a few days in sight of the fort; and, the rainy season setting in, returned to Conjeveram. The fort of Wandewash was afterwards garrisoned by French and Sepoys; and the other forces of the enemy were assembled by Brigadier-General de Bussy, at Arcot.

During these transactions by land, the superiority at sea was still disputed between the English and French admirals. On the first day of September, Vice-Admiral Pococke sailed from Madras to the southward in quest of the enemy; and next day descried the French fleet, consisting of fifteen sail, standing to the northward. He forthwith threw out the signal for a general chase, and stood towards them with all the sail he could carry; but the wind abating, he could not approach near enough to engage. During the three succeeding days, he used his utmost endeavours to bring them to a battle, which they still declined, and at last they disappeared. He then directed his course to Pondicherry, on the supposition that they were bound to that harbour; and on the eighth day of the month perceived them standing to the southward; but he could not bring them to an engagement till the tenth, when M. d'Apché, about two in the afternoon, made the signal for battle, and the cannonading began without further delay. The British squadron did not exceed nine ships of the line; the enemy's fleet consisted of eleven; but they had a still greater advantage in number of men and artillery. Both squadrons fought with great impetuosity till about ten minutes after four, when the enemy's rear began to give way: this example was soon followed by their centre; and finally the van, with the whole squadron, bore

Admiral
Pococke
defeats
d'Apche.

to the south-south-east, with all the canvass they could spread. The British squadron was so much damaged in their masts and rigging that they could not pursue; so that M. d'Apché retreated at his leisure unmolested. On the fifteenth Admiral Pococke returned to Madras, where his squadron being repaired by the twenty-sixth, he sailed again to Pondicherry, and in the road saw the enemy lying at anchor in line of battle. The wind being off shore, he made the line of battle ahead, and for some time continued in this situation. At length the French admiral weighed anchor, and came forth; but, instead of bearing down upon the English squadron, which had fallen to leeward, he kept close to the wind, and stretched away to the southward. Admiral Pococke finding him averse to another engagement, and his own squadron being in no condition to pursue, he, with the advice of his captains, desisted, and measured back his course to Madras. On the side of the English above three hundred men were killed in the engagement, including Captain Miche, who commanded the Newcastle, Captain Gore of the marines, two lieutenants, a master, gunner, and boatswain; the Captains Somerset and Brereton, with about two hundred and fifty men, were wounded; and many of the ships considerably damaged. The loss of the enemy must have been much more considerable, because the English in battle always fire at the body of the ship; because the French squadron was crowded with men; because they gave way and declined a second engagement; and, finally, because they now made the best of their way to the island of Mauritius, in order to be refitted, having on board General Lally, and some other officers. Thus they left the English masters of the Indian coast; a superiority still more confirmed by the arrival of Rear-Admiral Cornish with four ships of the line, who had set sail from England in the beginning of the year, and joined Admiral Pococke at Madras on the eighteenth day of October.

The French were not the only enemies with whom the English had to cope in the East Indies. The great extension of their trade in the kingdom of Bengal had excited the envy and avarice of the Dutch factory, who possessed a strong fort at Chinchura, on the river of Bengal; and resolved, if possible, to engross the whole saltpetre branch of commerce. They had, without doubt, tampered with the new subah, who lay under such

Hostilities
of the
Dutch on
the river
of Bengal.

obligations to the English, and probably secured his connivance. Their scheme was approved by the governor of Batavia, who charged himself with the execution of it; and, for that purpose, chose the opportunity when the British squadron had retired to the coast of Malabar. On pretence of reinforcing the Dutch garrisons in Bengal, he equipped an armament of seven ships, having on board five hundred European troops, and six hundred Malayese, under the command of Colonel Russel. This armament, having touched at Negapatam, proceeded up the bay, and arrived in the river of Bengal about the beginning of October. Colonel Clive, who then resided at Calcutta, had received information of their design, which he was resolved at all events to defeat. He complained to the subah; who, upon such application, could not decently refuse an order to the director and council of Hughley, implying that this armament should not proceed up the river. The colonel, at the same time, sent a letter to the Dutch commodore, intimating that, as he had received intimation of their design, he could not allow them to land forces, and march to Chinchura. In answer to this declaration, the Dutch commodore, whose whole fleet had not yet arrived, assured the English commander that he had no intention to send any forces to Chinchura; and begged liberty to land some of his troops for refreshment; a favour that was granted, on condition that they should not advance. Notwithstanding the subah's order, and his own engagement to this effect, the rest of the ships were no sooner arrived, than he proceeded up the river to the neighbourhood of Tannah-fort, where his forces being disembarked, began their march to Chinchura. In the mean time, by way of retaliating the affront he pretended to have sustained, in being denied a passage to their own factory, he took several small vessels on the river belonging to the English company; and the Calcutta Indiaman, commanded by Captain Wilson, homeward bound, sailing down the river, the Dutchman gave him to understand, that if he presumed to pass he would sink him without further ceremony. The English captain, seeing them run out their guns as if really resolved to put their threats in execution, returned to Calcutta, where two other India ships lay at anchor, and reported his adventure to Colonel Clive, who forthwith ordered the three ships to prepare for battle, and attack the Dutch armament. The ships being properly manned, and

their quarters lined with saltpetre, they fell down the river, and found the Dutch squadron drawn up in line of battle, in order to give them a warm reception, for which indeed they seemed well prepared; for three of them were mounted with thirty-six guns each, three of them with twenty-six, and the seventh carried sixteen. The Duke of Dorset, commanded by Captain Forrester, being the first that approached them, dropped anchor close to their line, and began the engagement with a broadside, which was immediately returned. A dead calm unfortunately intervening, this single ship was for a considerable time exposed to the whole fire of the enemy; but a small breeze springing up, the *Calcutta* and the *Hardwicke* advanced to her assistance, and a severe fire was maintained on both sides, till two of the Dutch ships, slipping their cables, bore away, and a third was driven ashore. Their commodore, thus weakened, after a few broadsides, struck his flag to Captain Wilson, and the other three followed his example. The victory being thus obtained without the loss of one man on the side of the English, Captain Wilson took possession of the prizes, the decks of which were strewed with carnage; and sent the prisoners to Colonel Clive at *Calcutta*. The detachment of troops which they had landed, to the number of eleven hundred men, was not more fortunate in their progress. Colonel Clive no sooner received intelligence that they were in full march to *Chinchura*, than he detached Colonel Forde, with five hundred men, from *Calcutta*, in order to oppose and put a stop to their march at the French gardens. He accordingly advanced to the northward, and entered the town of *Chander-nagore*, where he sustained the fire of a Dutch party sent out from *Chinchura* to join and conduct the expected reinforcement. These being routed and dispersed, after a short action, Colonel Forde, in the morning, proceeded to a plain in the neighbourhood of *Chinchura*, where he found the enemy prepared to give him battle on the twenty-fifth day of November. They even advanced to the charge with great resolution and activity; but found the fire of the English artillery and battalion so intolerably hot that they soon gave way and were totally defeated. A considerable number were killed, and the greater part of those who survived the action were taken prisoners. During this contest the nabob, at the head of a considerable army, observed a suspicious neutrality; and in all likelihood would have declared for

the Dutch had they proved victorious, as he had reason to believe they would, from their great superiority in number. But fortune no sooner determined in favour of the English, than he made a tender of his service to the victor, and even offered to reduce Chinchura with his own army. In the mean time, proposals of accommodation being sent to him by the directors and council of the Dutch factory at Chinchura, a negotiation ensued, and a treaty was concluded to the satisfaction of all parties. Above three hundred of the prisoners entered into the service of Great Britain: the rest embarked on board their ships, which were restored as soon as the peace was ratified, and set out on their return for Batavia. After all, perhaps, the Dutch company meant nothing more than to put their factory of Chinchura on a more respectable footing; and, by acquiring greater weight and consequence among the people of the country than they formerly possessed, the more easily extend their commerce in that part of the world. At any rate, it will admit of a dispute among those who profess the law of nature and nations, whether the Dutch company could be justly debarred the privilege of sending a reinforcement to their own garrisons. Be that as it will, the ships were not restored until the factory at Chinchura had given security to indemnify the English for the damage they had sustained on this occasion.

The success of the English army was still more conspicuous on the coast of Coromandel. The governor and council of Madras having received information that the French general, Lally, had sent a detachment of his army to the southward, taken Syringham, and threatened Trichenapally with a siege, it was determined that Colonel Coote, who had lately arrived from England, should take the field and endeavour to make a diversion to the southward. He accordingly began his march at the head of seventeen hundred Europeans, including cavalry, and three thousand blacks, with fourteen pieces of cannon and one howitzer. On the twenty-seventh day of November, he invested the fort of Wandewash: having made a practicable breach, the garrison, consisting of near nine hundred men, surrendered prisoners of war; and he found in the place forty-nine pieces of cannon, with a great quantity of ammunition. Then he undertook the siege of Carangoly, a fortress commanded by Colonel O'Kennely, at the head of one hundred Europeans, and five hundred Sepoys. In a few

Colonel
Coote takes
Wandewash.

days he dismounted the greater part of their guns; and they submitted, on condition that the Europeans should be allowed to march out with the honours of war: but the Sepoys were disarmed and dismissed.

General Lally, alarmed at the progress of this brave, vigilant, and enterprising officer, assembled all his forces at Arcot, to the number of two thousand two hundred Europeans, including horse; three hundred Caffrees, and ten thousand black troops, or Sepoys, with five-and-twenty pieces of cannon. Of these he assumed the command in person; and on the tenth day of January began his march in order to recover Wandewash. Colonel Coote, having received intelligence on the twelfth that he had taken possession of Conjeveram, endeavoured, by a forced march, to save the place; which they accordingly abandoned at his approach, and pursuing their march to Wandewash, invested the fort without delay. The English commander passed the river Palla, in order to follow the same route; and on the twenty-first day of the month, understanding that a breach was already made, resolved to give them battle without further delay. The cavalry being formed, and supported by five companies of Sepoys, he advanced against the enemy's horse, which being at the same time galled by two pieces of cannon, retired with precipitation. Then Colonel Coote, having taken possession of a tank which they had occupied, returned to the line, which was by this time formed in order of battle. Seeing the men in high spirits, and eager to engage, he ordered the whole army to advance; and by nine in the morning they were within two miles of the enemy's camp, where they halted about half an hour. During this interval, the colonel reconnoitred the situation of the French forces, who were very advantageously posted, and made a movement to the right, which obliged them to alter their disposition. They now advanced, in their turn, within three quarters of a mile of the English line, and the cannonading began with great fury on both sides. About noon their European cavalry coming up with a resolute air to charge the left of the English, Colonel Coote brought up some companies of Sepoys, and two pieces of cannon, to sustain the horse, which were ordered to oppose them; and these, advancing on their flank, disturbed them so much that they broke, and were driven by the English cavalry above a mile

Defeats
General
Lally.

from the left, upon the rear of their own army. Meanwhile, both lines continued advancing to each other; and about one o'clock the firing with small arms began with great vivacity. One of the French tumbrils being blown up by an accidental shot, the English commander took immediate advantage of their confusion. He ordered Major Brereton to wheel Draper's regiment to the left, and fall upon the enemy's flank. This service was performed with such resolution and success, that the left wing of the French was completely routed, and fell upon their centre, now closely engaged with the left of the English. About two in the afternoon their whole line gave way, and fled towards their own camp: which, perceiving themselves closely pursued, they precipitately abandoned, together with twenty-two pieces of cannon. In this engagement they lost about eight hundred men killed and wounded, besides about fifty prisoners, including Brigadier-General de Bussy, the Chevalier Godeville, quarter-master general, Lieutenant-Colonel Murphy, three captains, five lieutenants, and some other officers. On the side of the English, two hundred and sixty-two were killed or wounded; and among the former, the gallant and accomplished Major Brereton, whose death was a real loss to his country.

General Lally having retreated with his broken troops to Pondicherry, the Baron de Vasserot was detached towards the same place, with a thousand horse and three hundred Sepoys, to ravage and lay waste the French territory. In the mean time the indefatigable Colonel Coote undertook the siege of Chilliput, which in two days was surrendered by the Chevalier de Tilly; himself and his garrison remaining prisoners of war. Such also was the fate of fort Timmery; which being reduced, the colonel prosecuted his march to Arcot, the capital of the province, against the fort of which he opened his batteries on the fifth day of February. When he had carried on his approaches within sixty yards of the crest of the glacis, the garrison, consisting of two hundred and fifty Europeans, and near three hundred Sepoys, surrendered as prisoners of war; and here the English commander found two-and-twenty pieces of cannon, four mortars, and a great quantity of all kinds of military stores. Thus the campaign was gloriously finished with the conquest of Arcot; after the French army had been routed and ruined by the diligence of Colonel Coote,

And conquers the province of Arcot.

whose courage, conduct, and activity, cannot be sufficiently admired. The reader will perceive that, rather than interrupt the thread of such an interesting narration, we have ventured to encroach upon the annals of the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty.

Having thus followed the British banners through the glorious tracts they pursued in different parts of Asia and America, we must now convert our attention to the continent of Europe, where the English ^{State of the belligerent powers in Europe} arms, in the course of this year, triumphed with equal lustre and advantage. But first it may be necessary to sketch out the situation in which the belligerent powers were found at the close of winter. The vicissitudes of fortune with which the preceding campaign had been chequered, were sufficient to convince every potentate concerned in the war, that neither side possessed such a superiority, in strength or conduct, as was requisite to impose terms upon the other. Battles had been fought with various success; and surprising efforts of military skill had been exhibited, without producing one event which tended to promote a general peace, or even engender the least desire of accommodation; on the contrary, the first and most violent transports of animosity had by this time subsided into a confirmed habit of deliberate hatred; and every contending power seemed more than ever determined to protract the dispute; while the neutral states kept aloof, without expressing the least desire of interposing their mediation. Some of them were restrained by considerations of conveniency; and others waited in suspense for the death of the Spanish monarch, as an event which they imagined would be attended with very important consequences in the southern part of Europe. With respect to the maintenance of the war, whatever difficulties might have arisen in settling funds to support the expense, and finding men to recruit the different armies, certain it is, all these difficulties were surmounted before the opening of the campaign. The court of Vienna, though hampered by the narrowness of its finances, still found resources in the fertility of its provinces, in the number and attachment of its subjects, who, more than any other people in Europe, acquiesce in the dispositions of their sovereign; and when pay cannot be afforded, willingly contribute free quarters for the subsistence of the army. The czarina, though she complained that the stipulated subsidies were ill paid, never-

theless persisted in pursuing those favourite aims which had for some time influenced her conduct; namely, her personal animosity to the King of Prussia, and her desire of obtaining a permanent interest in the German empire. Sweden still made a show of hostility against the Prussian monarch, but continued to slumber over the engagements she had contracted. France, exhausted in her finances, and abridged of her marine commerce, maintained a resolute countenance; supplied fresh armies for her operations in Westphalia; projected new schemes of conquest; and cajoled her allies with fair promises, when she had nothing more solid to bestow. The King of Prussia's dominions were generally drained, or in the hands of the enemy; but to balance these disadvantages, he kept possession of Saxony; and enjoyed his annual subsidy from Great Britain, which effectually enabled him to maintain his armies on a respectable footing, and open the campaign with equal eagerness and confidence.

The Hanoverian army, commanded by Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, was strengthened by fresh reinforcements from England, augmented with German recruits regularly paid, and well supplied with every comfort and convenience which foresight could suggest, or money procure; yet, in spite of all the precautions that could be taken, they were cut off from some resources which the French, in the beginning of the year, opened to themselves by a flagrant stroke of perfidy, which even the extreme necessities of a campaign can hardly excuse. On the second day of January, the French regiment of Nassau presented itself before the gates of Frankfort on the Main, a neutral imperial city; and, demanding a passage, it was introduced and conducted by a detachment of the garrison through the city, as far as the gate of Saxen-hausen, where it unexpectedly halted, and immediately disarmed the guards. Before the inhabitants could recover from the consternation into which they were thrown by this outrageous insult, five other French regiments entered the place; and here their general, the Prince de Soubise, established his head-quarters. How deeply soever this violation of the laws of the empire might be resented by all honest Germans, who retained affection for the constitution of their country, it was a step from which the French army derived a very manifest and important advantage; for it secured to them the course of

Frankfort
seized by
the French.

the Maine and the Upper Rhine, by which they received, without difficulty or danger, every species of supply from Mentz, Spire, Worms, and even the country of Alsace; while it maintained their communication with the chain formed by the Austrian forces and the army of the empire.

The scheme of operation for the ensuing campaign was already formed between the King of Prussia and Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick; and before the armies took the field, several skirmishes were fought and quarters surprised. In the latter end of February, the Prince of Ysembourg detached Major-General Urst with four battalions and a body of horse; who, assembling in Rhotenbourg, surprised the enemy's quarters in the night between the first and second day of March, and drove them from Hirschfeld, Vacha, and all the Hessian bailiwicks of which they had taken possession; but the Austrians soon returning in greater numbers, and being supported by a detachment of French troops from Frankfort, the allies fell back in their turn. In a few days, however, they themselves retreated again with great precipitation, though they did not all escape. The hereditary Prince of Brunswick, with a body of Prussian hussars, fell upon them suddenly at Molrichstadt, where he routed and dispersed a regiment of Hohenzollern cuirassiers, and a battalion of the troops of Wurtzburg. He next day, which was the first of April, advanced with a body of horse and foot to Meinungen, where he found a considerable magazine, took two battalions prisoners, and surprised a third posted at Wafungen, after having defeated some Austrian troops that were on their march to its relief. While the hereditary prince was thus employed, the Duke of Holstein, with another body of the confederates, dislodged the French from the post of Freyinstenau.

But the great object was to drive the enemy from Frankfort before they should receive the expected reinforcements. Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, being determined upon this enterprise, assembled all his forces near Fulda, to the amount of forty thousand choice troops, and began his march on the tenth day of April. On the thirteenth he came in sight of the enemy, whom he found strongly encamped about the village of Bergen, between Frankfort and Hanau. Their general, the Duke de Broglie, counted one of the best officers in France

Progress of
the heredi-
tary Prince
of Brun-
wick.

Prince
Ferdinand
attacks the
French at
Bergen.

with respect to conduct and intrepidity, having received intelligence of the prince's design, occupied this post on the twelfth; the right of his army being at Bergen, and his centre and flanks secured in such a manner, that the allies could not make their attack any other way but by the village. Notwithstanding the advantage of their situation, Prince Ferdinand resolved to give them battle, and made his dispositions accordingly. About ten in the morning the grenadiers of the advanced guard began the attack on the village of Bergen with great vivacity; and sustained a most terrible fire from eight German battalions, supported by several brigades of French infantry. The grenadiers of the allied army, though reinforced by several battalions under the command of the Prince of Ysembourg, far from dislodging the enemy from the village, were, after a very obstinate dispute, obliged to retreat in some disorder, but rallied again behind a body of Hessian cavalry. The allies being repulsed in three different attacks, their general made a new disposition; and brought up his artillery, with which the village, and different parts of the French line, were severely cannonaded. They were not slow in retorting an equal fire, which continued till night; when the allies retreated to Windekin, with the loss of five pieces of cannon, and about two thousand men, including the Prince of Ysembourg, who fell in the action. The French, by the nature of their situation, could not suffer much; but they were so effectually amused by the artful disposition of Prince Ferdinand, that, instead of taking measures to harass him in his retreat, they carefully maintained their situation, apprehensive of another general attack. Indeed they had great reason to be satisfied with the issue of this battle, without risking, in any measure, the advantage which they had gained. It was their business to remain quiet until their reinforcements should arrive; and this plan they invariably pursued. On the other hand, the allies, in consequence of their miscarriage, were reduced to the necessity of acting upon the defensive, and encountering a great number of difficulties and inconveniences during great part of the campaign, until the misconduct of the enemy turned the scale in their favour. In the mean time the prince thought proper to begin his retreat in the night towards Fulda, in which his rear suffered considerably from a body of the enemy's light troops, under the command of M. de Blaisel, who surprised two squadrons

of dragoons, and a battalion of grenadiers. The first were taken or dispersed; the last escaped with the loss of their baggage. The allied army returned to their cantonments about Munster; and the prince began to make preparations for taking the field in earnest.

While the French enjoyed plenty in the neighbourhood of Dusseldorp and Creveldt, by means of the Rhine, the allies laboured under a dearth and scarcity of every species of provision: because the country which they occupied was already exhausted, and all the supplies were brought from an immense distance. The single article of forage occasioned such enormous expense, as alarmed the administration of Great Britain; who, in order to prevent mismanagement and fraud for the future, nominated a member of Parliament inspector-general of the forage, and sent him over to Germany, in the beginning of the year, with the rank and appointments of a general officer; that the importance of his character, and the nature of his office, might be a check upon those who were suspected of iniquitous appropriations. This gentleman is said to have met with such a cold reception, and so many mortifications in the execution of his office, that he was in a very little time sick of his employment. An inquiry into the causes of his reception, and of the practices which rendered it necessary to appoint such a superintendent, may be the province of some future historian, when truth may be investigated freely, without any apprehension of pains and penalties.

The British ministry appoint an inspector-general of the forage.

While great part of the allied army remained in cantonments about Munster, the French armies on the Upper and Lower Rhine, being put in motion, joined on the third day of June near Marburg, under the command of the Mareschal de Contades, who advanced to the northward, and fixed his headquarters at Corbach: from whence he detached a body of light troops to take possession of Cassel, which at his approach was abandoned by General Imhoff. The French army being encamped at Stadtberg, the Duke de Broglio, who commanded the right wing, advanced from Cassel into the territories of Hanover, where he occupied Gottingen without opposition; while the allied army assembled in the neighbourhood of Lipstadt, and encamped about Soest and Werle. Prince Ferdinand, finding himself inferior to the united forces of the enemy, was obliged to retire as they ad-

Prince Ferdinand retreats before the French army.

vanced, after having left strong garrisons in Lipstadt, Retberg, Munster, and Minden. These precautions, however, seemed to produce little effect in his favour. Retberg was surprised by the Duke de Broglie, who likewise took Minden by assault, and made General Zastrow, with his garrison of fifteen hundred men, prisoners of war; a misfortune considerably aggravated by the loss of an immense magazine of hay and corn, which fell into the hands of the enemy. They likewise made themselves masters of Munster, invested Lipstadt, and all their operations were hitherto crowned with success. The regency of Hanover, alarmed at their progress, resolved to provide for the worst, by sending their chancery and most valuable effects to Stade; from whence, in case of necessity, they might be conveyed by sea to England. In the mean time they exerted all their industry in pressing men for recruiting and reinforcing the army under Prince Ferdinand, who still continued to retire; and on the eleventh day of July removed his head-quarters from Osnabruck to Bompte, near the Weser. Here having received advice that Minden was taken by the French, he sent forwards a detachment to secure the post of Soltznau on that river, where on the fifteenth he encamped.

The general of the allied army had for some time exhibited marks of animosity towards Lord George Sackville, the second in command, whose extensive understanding, penetrating eye, and inquisitive spirit, could neither be deceived, dazzled, nor soothed into tame acquiescence. He had opposed, with all his influence, a design of retiring towards the frontiers of Brunswick, in order to cover that country. He supported his opposition by alleging that it was the enemy's favourite object to cut off their communication with the Weser and the Elbe; in which, should they succeed, it would be found impossible to transport the British troops to their own country, which was at that time threatened with an invasion. He therefore insisted on the army's retreating, so as to keep the communication open with Stade; where, in case of emergency, the English troops might be embarked. By adhering tenaciously to this opinion, and exhibiting other instances of a prying disposition, he had rendered himself so disagreeable to the commander-in-chief, that, in all appearance, nothing was so eagerly desired as an opportunity of removing him from the station he filled.

Animosity
between the
general of
the allied
army and
the com-
mander of
the British
forces.

Meanwhile the French general, advancing to Minden, encamped in a strong situation ; having that town on his right, a steep hill on his left, a morass in front, and a rivulet in rear. The Duke de Broglio commanded a separate body between Hansbergen and Minden, on the other side of the Weser ; and a third under the Duke de Brissac, consisting of eight thousand men, occupied a strong post by the village of Coveldt, to facilitate the route of the convoys from Paderborn. Prince Ferdinand, having moved his camp from Soltznau to Petershagen, detached the hereditary prince on the twenty-eighth day of July to Lubeke, from whence he drove the enemy, and proceeding to Rimsel was joined by Major-General Drevcs, who had retaken Osnabruck, and cleared all that neighbourhood of the enemy's parties : then he advanced towards Hervorden, and fixed his quarters at Kirchlinneger, to hamper the enemy's convoys from Paderborn. During these transactions, Prince Ferdinand marched with the allied army in three columns from Petershagen to Hille, where it encamped, having a morass on the right, the village of Fredewalde on the left, and in front those of Northemmern and Holtzenhausen. Fifteen battalions and nineteen squadrons, with a brigade of heavy artillery, were left under the command of General Wangenheim, on the left, behind the village of Dodenhausen, which was fortified with some redoubts, defended by two battalions. Colonel Luckner, with the Hanoverian hussars, and a brigade of hunters, sustained by two battalions of grenadiers, was posted between Buckebourg and the Weser, to observe the body of troops commanded by the Duke de Broglio on the other side of the river.

The French
encamp at
Minden.

On the last day of July the Mareschal de Contades, resolving to attack the allied army, ordered the corps of Broglio to repossess the river ; and advancing in eight columns, about midnight passed the rivulet of Barta, that runs along the morass, and falls into the Weser at Minden. At daybreak he formed his army in order of battle ; part of it fronting the corps of General Wangenheim at Dodenhausen, and part of it facing Hille ; the two wings consisting of infantry, and the cavalry being stationed in the centre. At three in the morning, the enemy began to cannonade the prince's quarters at Hille from a battery of six cannon, which they had raised in the preceding evening on the dyke of Eickhorst. This was probably the first inti-

And are
defeated by
the allies.

mation he received of their intention. He forthwith caused two pieces of artillery to be conveyed to Hille; and ordered the officer of the piquet-guard posted there to defend himself to the last extremity: at the same time he sent orders to General Giesen, who occupied Lubeke, to attack the enemy's post at Eickhorst: and this service was successfully performed. The Prince of Anhalt, lieutenant-general for the day, took possession with the rest of the piquets of the village of Halen, where Prince Ferdinand resolved to support his right. It was already in the hands of the enemy, but they soon abandoned it with precipitation. The allied army being put in motion, advanced in eight columns, and occupied the ground between Halen and Hemmern, while General Wangenheim's corps filled up the space between this last village and Dodenhausen. The enemy made their principal effort on the left, intending to force the infantry of Wangenheim's corps, and penetrate between it and the body of the allied army. For this purpose the Duke de Broglie attacked them with great fury; but was severely checked by a battery of thirty cannon, prepared for his reception by the Count de Buckebourg, grand-master of the artillery, and served with admirable effect under his own eye and direction. About five in the morning both armies cannonaded each other; at six the fire of musquetry began with great vivacity; and the action became very hot towards the right, where six regiments of English infantry, and two battalions of Hanoverian guards, not only bore the whole brunt of the French carbineers and gendarmerie, but absolutely broke every body of horse and foot that advanced to attack them on the left and in the centre. The Hessian cavalry, with some regiments of Holstein, Prussian, and Hanoverian dragoons, posted on the left, performed good service. The cavalry on the right had no opportunity of engaging. They were destined to support the infantry of the third line: they consisted of the British and Hanoverian horse, commanded by Lord George Sackville, whose second was the Marquis of Granby. They were posted at a considerable distance from the first line of infantry, and divided from it by a scanty wood that bordered on a heath. Orders were sent, during the action, to bring them up; but whether these orders were contradictory, unintelligible, or imperfectly executed, they did not arrive in time to have any share in the action;^b nor,

^b That the general was not pleased with the behaviour of Lord George Sackville, may

indeed, were they originally intended for that purpose; nor was there the least occasion for their service; nor could they have come up in time and condition to perform effectual service, had the orders been explicit and consistent, and the commander acted with all possible expedition. Be that as it will, the enemy were repulsed in all their attacks with considerable loss: at length they gave way in every part; and about noon, abandoning the field of battle, were pursued to the ramparts of Minden. In this action they lost a great number of men, with forty-three large cannon, and many colours and standards; whereas the loss of the allies was very inconsiderable, as it chiefly fell upon a few regiments of British infantry, commanded by the Major-Generals Waldegrave and Kingsley. To the extraordinary prowess of those gallant brigades, and the fire of the British artillery, which was admirably served by the Captains Philips, Macbean, Drummond, and Foy, the victory was in a great measure ascribed. The same night the enemy passed the Weser, and burned the bridges over that river. Next day the garrison of Minden surrendered at discretion; and here the victors found a great number of French officers wounded.

be gathered from the following compliment to the Marquis of Granby, implying a severe reflection upon his superior in command.

Orders of his Serene Highness Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, relative to the behaviour of the troops under him at the famous battle near Minden, on the first of August, 1759.

"His serene highness orders his greatest thanks to be given to the whole army for their bravery and good behaviour yesterday, particularly to the English infantry, and the two battalions of Hanoverian guards; to all the cavalry of the left wing; and to General Wangenheim's corps, particularly the regiment of Holstein, the Hessian cavalry, the Hanoverian regiment du corps, and Hammerstein's; the same to all the brigades of heavy artillery. His serene highness declares publicly, that next to God he attributes the glory of the day to the intrepidity and extraordinary good behaviour of these troops, which he assures them he shall retain the strongest sense of as long as he lives; and if ever, upon any occasion, he shall be able to serve these brave troops, or any of them in particular, it will give him the utmost pleasure. His serene highness orders his particular thanks to be likewise given to General Sporken, the Duke of Holstein, Lieutenant-Generals Imhoff and Ulf. His serene highness is extremely obliged to the Count de Buckebourg, for his extraordinary care and trouble in the management of the artillery, which was served with great effect; likewise to the commanding officers of the several brigades of artillery, viz. Colonel Brown, Lieutenant-Colonel Hutte, Major Hasse, and the three English captains, Philips, Drummond, and Foy. His serene highness thanks himself infinitely obliged to Major-Generals Waldegrave and Kingsley, for their great courage, and the good order in which they conducted their brigades. His serene highness further orders it to be declared to Lieutenant-General the Marquis of Granby, that he is persuaded that, if he had had the good fortune to have had him at the head of the cavalry of the right wing, his presence would have greatly contributed to make the decision of that day more complete and more brilliant. In short, his serene highness orders that those of his suite whose behaviour he most admired be named, as the Duke of Richmond, Colonel Fitzoy, Captain Ligonier, Colonel Watson, Captain Wilson, aide-du camp to Major-General Waldegrave, Adjutant-Generals Erstoff, Burlow, Durendolle, the Count Tobe, and Malerli; his serene highness having much reason to be satisfied with their conduct. And his serene highness desires and orders the generals of the army, that upon all occasions when orders are brought to them by his aides-du-camp, that they may be obeyed punctually, and without delay."

At last the Mareschal de Contades seemed inclined to retreat through the defiles of Wittekendstein to Paderborn; but he was fain to change his resolution, in consequence of his having received advice, that, on the very day of his own defeat, the Duke de Brissac was vanquished by the hereditary prince in the neighbourhood of Coveldt, so that the passage of the mountains was rendered impracticable. The Duke de Brissac had been advantageously encamped, with his left to the village of Coveldt, having the Werra in his front, and his right extending to the salt-pits. In this advantageous situation he was attacked by the hereditary prince and General de Kilmanseg, with such vivacity and address, that his troops were totally routed, with the loss of six cannon, and a considerable number of men killed, wounded, or taken prisoners. After the battle of Minden, Colonel Freytag, at the head of the light troops, took, in the neighbourhood of Detmold, all the equipage of the Mareschal de Contades, the Prince of Condé, and the Duke de Brissac, with part of their military chest and chancery, containing papers of the utmost consequence.*

* The following extracts of letters from the Duke de Belleisle to the Mareschal de Contades, will convey some idea of the virtue, policy, and necessities of the French ministry :

"I am still afraid that Fischer sets out too late : it is, however, very important, and very essential that we should raise large contributions. I see no other resource for our most urgent expenses, and for refitting the troops, but in the money we may draw from the enemy's country ; from whence we must likewise procure subsistence of all kinds, (independently of the money,) that is to say, hay, straw, oats for the winter, bread, corn, cattle, horses, even men to recruit our foreign troops. The war must not be prolonged ; and perhaps it may be necessary, according to the events which may happen between this time and the end of September, to make a downright desert before the lines of the quarters which it may be thought proper to keep during the winter, in order that the enemy may be under a real impossibility of approaching us : at the same time reserving for ourselves a bare subsistence on the route which may be the most convenient for us to take, in the middle of winter, to beat up or seize upon the enemy's quarters. That this object may be fulfilled, I cause the greatest assiduity to be used in preparing what is necessary for having all your troops, without exception, well clothed, well armed, well equipped, and well refitted, in every respect, before the end of November, with new tents ; in order that, if it should be advisable for the king's political and military affairs, you may be able to assemble the whole or part of your army, to act offensively and with vigour, from the beginning of January ; and that you may have the satisfaction to show your enemies, and all Europe, that the French know how to act and carry on war, in all seasons, when they have such a general as you are, and a minister of the department of war that can foresee and concert matters with the general.

"You must be sensible, sir, that what I say to you may become not only useful and honourable, but perhaps even necessary, with respect to what you know, and of which I shall say more in my private letter.

"M. Duc de BELLEISLE."

"After observing all the formalities due to the magistrates of Cologne, you must seize on their great artillery by force, telling them that you do so for their own defence against the common enemy of the empire ; that you will restore them when their city

Prince Ferdinand having garrisoned Minden, marched to Hervorden; and the hereditary prince passed the Weser at Hamelen, in order to pursue the enemy, who retreated to Cassel, and from thence by the way of Marpurgh as far as Giessen. In a word, they were continually harassed by that enterprising prince, who seized every opportunity of making an impression upon their army; took the greatest part of their baggage; and compelled them to abandon every place they possessed in Westphalia. The number of his prisoners amounted to fifteen hundred men, besides the garrison left at Cassel, which surrendered at discretion. He likewise surprised a whole battalion, and defeated a considerable detachment under the command of M. d'Armentieres. In the mean time, the allied army advanced in regular marches; and Prince Ferdinand, having taken possession of Cassel, detached General Imhoff, with a body of troops, to reduce the city of Munster, which

General
Imhoff
takes Mun-
ster from
the French.

has nothing further to fear, &c. After all, you must take everything you have occasion for, and give them receipts for it.

"You must, at any rate, consume all sorts of subsistence on the higher Lippe, Paderborn, and Waisburg; you must destroy every thing which you cannot consume, so as to make a desert of all Westphalia, from Lipstadt and Munster, as far as the Rhine, on one hand; and on the other, from the higher Lippe and Paderborn, as far as Cassel; that the enemy may find it quite impracticable to direct their march to the Rhine, or the Lower Roer; and this with regard to your army, and with regard to the army under M. de Soubise, that they may not have it in their power to take possession of Cassel, and much less to march to Marpurgh, or to the quarters which he will have along the Lahn, or to those which you will occupy, from the lower part of the left side of the Roer, and on the right side of the Rhine, as far as Dusseldorp, and at Cologn.

"You know the necessity of consuming or destroying, as far as is possible, all the subsistence, especially the forage, betwixt the Weser and the Rhine on the one hand, and on the other betwixt the Lippe and the bishoprick of Paderborn, the Dymel, the Fulda, and the Nerra; and so to make a desert of Westphalia and Hesse.

"Although the Prince of Waldeck appears outwardly neutral, he is very ill-disposed, and deserves very little favour. You ought, therefore, to make no scruple of taking all you find in that territory; but this must be done in an orderly manner, giving receipts, and observing the most exact discipline. All the subsistence you leave in this country will fall to the enemy's share, who will, by that means, be enabled to advance to the Lahn, and towards the quarters which you are to occupy on the left side of the Roer. It is therefore a precaution become in a manner indispensably necessary, to carry it all away from thence.

"The question now is, what plan you shall think most proper for accomplishing, in the quickest and surest manner, our great purpose; which must be to consume, carry off, or destroy, all the forage and subsistence of the country which we cannot keep possession of.

"The upper part of the Lippe, and the country of Paderborn, are the most plentiful; they must, therefore, be cut to the very roots.

"You did mighty well to talk in the most absolute tone with regard to the necessities Racroth and Dunsbourg must furnish our troops; it is necessary to speak in that tone to Germans; and you will find your account in using the same to the regencies of the Elector of Cologn, and still more to that of the Palatine.

"After using all becoming ceremony, as we have the power in our hands, we must make use of it, and draw from the country of Bergue what shall be necessary for the subsistence of the garrison of Dusseldorp, and of the light troops, and reserve what may be brought thither from Alsace and the bishopricks for a case of necessity."

he accordingly began to bombard and cannonade ; but d'Armentieres, being joined by a fresh body of troops from the Lower Rhine, advanced to its relief, and compelled Imhoff to raise the siege. It was not long, however, before this general was also reinforced ; then he measured back his march to Munster, and the French commander withdrew in his turn. The place was immediately shut up by a close blockade ; which, however, did not prevent the introduction of supplies. The city of Munster being an object of importance was disputed with great obstinacy. Armentieres received reinforcements, and the body commanded by Imhoff was occasionally augmented ; but the siege was not formally undertaken till November, when some heavy artillery being brought from England, the place was regularly invested, and the operations carried on with such vigour, that in a few days the city surrendered on capitulation.

Prince Ferdinand having possessed himself of the town and castle of Marburg, proceeded with the army to Neidar-Weimar, and there encamped ; while Contades remained at Giessen, on the south side of the river Lahn, where he was joined by a colleague in the person of the Mareschal d'Estrées. By this time he was become very unpopular among the troops, on account of the defeat at Minden, which he is said to have charged on the misconduct of Broglio, who recriminated on him in his turn, and seemed to gain credit at the court of Versailles. While the two armies lay encamped in the neighbourhood of each other, nothing passed but skirmishes among the light troops, and little excursive expeditions. The French army was employed in removing their magazines, and fortifying Giessen, as if their intention was to retreat to Frankfort on the Maine, after having consumed all the forage, and made a military desert between the Lahn and that river. In the beginning of November, the Mareschal Duke de Broglio returned from Paris, and assumed the command of the army, from whence Contades and d'Estées immediately retired, with several other general officers that were senior to the new commander.

The Duke of Wirtemberg having taken possession of Fulda, the hereditary Prince of Brunswick resolved to beat up his quarters. For this purpose he selected a body of troops, and began his march from Marburg early in the morning on the twenty-eighth day of November. Next

night they lay at Augerbach, where they defeated the volunteers of Nassau; and at one o'clock in the morning of the thirtieth they marched directly to Fulda; where the Duke of Wirtemberg, far from expecting such a visit, had invited all the fashionable people in Fulda to a sumptuous entertainment. The hereditary prince, having reconnoitred the avenues in person, took such measures, that the troops of Wirtemberg, who were scattered in small bodies, would have been cut off, if they had not hastily retired into the town, where, however, they found no shelter. The prince forced open the gates; and they retreated to the other side of the town, where four battalions of them were defeated and taken; while the duke himself, with the rest of his forces, filed off on the other side of the Fulda. Two pieces of cannon, two pair of colours, and all their baggage, fell into the hands of the victors; and the hereditary prince advanced as far as Rupertenrade, a place situated on the right flank of the French army. Perhaps this motion hastened the resolution of the Duke de Broglio to abandon Giessen, and fall back to Friedberg, where he established his head-quarters. The allied army immediately took possession of his camp at Kleinlinnes and Heuchelam, and seemed to make preparations for the siege of Giessen.

The hereditary prince beats up the Duke of Wirtemberg's quarters at Fulda.

While both armies remained in this position, the Duke de Broglio received the staff as Mareschal of France, and made an attempt to beat up the quarters of the allies. Having called in all his detachments, he marched up to them on the twenty-fifth day of December; but found them so well disposed to give him a warm reception, that he thought proper to lay aside his design, and nothing but a mutual cannonade ensued: then he returned to his former quarters. From Kleinlinnes the allied army removed to Corsdoff, where they were cantoned till the beginning of January, when they fell back as far as Marpurg, where Prince Ferdinand established his head-quarters. The enemy had by this time retrieved their superiority, in consequence of the hereditary prince being detached with fifteen thousand men to join the King of Prussia at Freyberg, in Saxony. Thus, by the victory at Minden, the dominions of Hanover and Brunswick were preserved, and the enemy obliged to evacuate great part of Westphalia. Perhaps they might have been driven to

A body of Prussians make an incursion into Poland.

the other side of the Rhine, had not the general of the allies been obliged to weaken his army for the support of the Prussian monarch, who had met with divers disasters in the course of this campaign. It was not to any relaxation or abatement of his usual vigilance and activity, that this warlike prince owed the several checks he received. Even in the middle of winter, his troops under General Manteuffel acted with great spirit against the Swedes in Pomerania. They made themselves masters of Damgarten, and several other places which the Swedes had garrisoned; and, the frost setting in, those who were quartered in the isle of Usedom, passed over the ice to Wolgast, which they reduced without much difficulty. They undertook the sieges of Demmen and Anclam at the same time; and the garrisons of both surrendered themselves prisoners of war, to the number of two thousand seven hundred men, including officers. In Demmen they found four-and-twenty pieces of cannon, with a large quantity of ammunition. In Anclam there was a considerable magazine, with six-and-thirty cannon, mortars, and howitzers. A large detachment under General Knobloch surprised Erfurth, and raised considerable contributions at Gotha, Isenach, and Fulda; from whence also they conveyed all the forage and provisions to Saxe-Naumberg. In the latter end of February, the Prussian Major-General Wobersnow marched with a strong body of troops from Glogau, in Silesia, to Poland; and, advancing by the way of Lissa, attacked the castle of the Prince Sulkowski, a Polish grandee, who had been very active against the interest of the Prussian monarch. After some resistance he was obliged to surrender at discretion, and was sent prisoner, with his whole garrison, to Silesia. From hence Wobersnow proceeded to Posna, where he made himself master of a considerable magazine, guarded by two thousand Cossacks, who retired at his approach; and having destroyed several others, returned to Silesia. In April, the fort of Penamunde, in Pomerania, was surrendered to Manteuffel; and about the same time a detachment of Prussian troops bombarded Schwerin, the capital of Mecklenburgh. Meanwhile, reinforcements were sent to the Russian army in Poland, which in April began to assemble upon the Vistula. The court of Petersburg had likewise begun to equip a large fleet, by means of which the army might be supplied with military stores and provisions; but this armament was

retarded by an accidental fire at Revel, which destroyed all the magazines and materials for ship-building to an immense value.

About the latter end of March the King of Prussia assembled his army at Rhonstock, near Strigau; and advancing to the neighbourhood of Landshut, encamped at Bolchenhayne. On the other hand, the Austrian army, under the command of Mareschal Daun, was assembled at Munchengratz, in Bohemia; and the campaign was opened by an exploit of General Beck, who surprised and made prisoners a battalion of Prussian grenadiers, posted under Colonel Duringsheven, at Griefenberg, on the frontiers of Silesia. This advantage, however, was more than counterbalanced by the activity and success of Prince Henry, brother to the Prussian king, who commanded the army which wintered in Saxony. About the middle of April he marched in two columns towards Bohemia, forced the pass of Peterswalde, destroyed the Austrian magazine at Assig, burned their boats upon the Elbe, seized the forage and provision which the enemy had left at Lowositz and Leutmeritz, and demolished a new bridge which they had built for their convenience. At the same time General Hulsen attacked the pass of Passberg, guarded by General Reynard, who was taken, with two thousand men, including fifty officers; then he advanced to Satz, in hopes of securing the Austrian magazines; but these the enemy consumed, that they might not fall into his hands, and retired towards Prague with the utmost precipitation.

Prince Henry, having happily achieved these adventures, and filled all Bohemia with alarm and consternation, returned to Saxony, and distributed his troops in quarters of refreshment, in the neighbourhood of Dresden. In a few days, however, they were again put in motion, and marched to Obelgeburgen; from whence he continued his route through Voightland, in order to attack the army of the empire in Franconia. He accordingly entered this country by the way of Hoff, on the seventh of May, and next day sent a detachment to attack General Macguire, who commanded a body of imperialists at Asch, and sustained the charge with great gallantry; but finding himself in danger of being overpowered by numbers, he retired in the night towards Egra. The army of the empire, commanded by the Prince de Deux-Ponts, being unable to

Prince
Henry pene-
trates into
Bohemia.

He enters
Franconia,
and obliges
the imperial
army to
retire.

cope with the Prussian general in the field, retired from Cullembach to Bamberg, and from thence to Nuremberg, where, in all probability, they would not have been suffered to remain unmolested, had not Prince Henry been recalled to Saxony. He had already taken Cronach and the castle of Rotenberg, and even advanced as far as Bamberg, when he received advice that a body of Austrians, under General Gemingen, had penetrated into Saxony. This diversion effectually saved the army of the empire, as Prince Henry immediately returned to the electorate, after having laid the bishopric of Bamberg and the marquisate of Cullembach under contribution, destroyed all the magazines provided for the imperial army, and sent fifteen hundred prisoners to Leipsic. A party of imperialists, under Count Palfy, endeavoured to harass him in his retreat; but they were defeated near Hoff, with considerable slaughter: nevertheless, the imperial army, though now reduced to ten thousand men, returned to Bamberg; and as the Prussians approached the frontiers of Saxony, the Austrian general, Gemingen, retired into Bohemia. During all these transactions, the Mareschal Count Daun remained with the grand Austrian army at Schurtz, in the circle of Koningsgratz; while the Prussians, commanded by the king in person, continued quietly encamped between Landshut and Schweidnitz. General Fouquet commanded a large body of troops in the southern part of Silesia; but these being mostly withdrawn, in order to oppose the Russians, the Austrian general, De Fille, who hovered on the frontiers of Moravia with a considerable detachment, took advantage of this circumstance; and advancing into Silesia, encamped within sight of Neiss.

As mutual calumny and recrimination of all kinds were not spared on either side, during the progress of this war, the enemies of the Prussian monarch did not fail to charge him with cruelties committed at Schwerin, the capital of Mecklenburgh, which his troops had bombarded, plundered of its archives, cannon, and all its youth fit to carry arms, who were pressed into his service: he besides taxed the duchy at seven thousand men, and a million of crowns, by way of contribution. He was also accused of barbarity, in issuing an order for removing all the prisoners from Berlin to Spandau; but this step he justified in a letter to his ministers at foreign courts,

King of
Prussia vin-
dicates his
conduct
with respect
to his pri-
soners.

declaring that he had provided for all the officers that were his prisoners the best accommodation, and permitted them to reside in his capital; that some of them had grossly abused the liberty they enjoyed, by maintaining illicit correspondence, and other practices equally offensive, which had obliged him to remove them to the town of Spandau: he desired, however, that the town might not be confounded with the fortress of that name, from which it was entirely separated, and in which they would enjoy the same ease they had found at Berlin, though under more vigilant inspection. His conduct on this occasion, he said, was sufficiently authorized, not only by the law of nations, but also by the example of his enemies; inasmuch as the empress-queen had never suffered any of his officers, who had fallen into her hands, to reside at Vienna; and the court of Russia had sent some of them as far as Casan. He concluded with saying, that as his enemies had let slip no opportunity of blackening his most innocent proceedings, he had thought proper to acquaint his ministers with his reasons for making this alteration with regard to his prisoners, whether French, Austrians, or Russians.

In the beginning of June, the King of Prussia, understanding that the Russian army had begun their march from the Vistula, ordered the several bodies of his troops, under Hulsen and Wobersnow, reinforced by detachments from his other armies, to join the force under Count Dohna, as general-in-chief, and march into Poland. Accordingly, they advanced to Meritz, where the count having published a declaration,^a he

The Prussian general Wedel defeated by the Russians at Zullichau.

^a *The following declarations were published by Count Dohna, the Prussian general, on his entering Poland with a body of Prussian troops.*

On the 15th of June.

His Prussian majesty, finding himself under the necessity to cause part of his armies to enter the territories of the republic of Poland, in order to protect them against the threatened invasion of the enemy, declares, that

It must not be understood that his majesty, by this step taken, intends to make any breach in the regard he has always had for the illustrious republic of Poland, or to lessen the good understanding which has hitherto subsisted between them; but, on the contrary, to strengthen the same, in expectation that the illustrious republic will, on its part, act with the like neighbourly and friendly good-will as is granted to the enemy, than which nothing more is desired.

The nobility, gentry, and magistracy, in their respective districts, between the frontiers of Prussia, so far as beyond Posen, are required to furnish all kinds of provisions, corn, and forage, necessary to support an army of 40,000 men with the utmost despatch, with an assurance of being paid ready money for the same. But if, contrary to expectation, any deficiency should happen in supplying this demand, his majesty's troops will be obliged to forage, and use the same means as those taken by the enemy for their subsistence.

In confidence, therefore, that the several jurisdictions upon the Prussian frontiers,

continued his march towards Posna, where he found the Russian army under Count Soltikoff strongly encamped, having in their rear that city and the river Warta, and in their front a formidable intrenchment mounted with a great number of cannon. Count Dohna, judging it impracticable to attack them in this situation with any prospect of success, endeavoured to intercept their convoys to the eastward; but, for want of provision, was in a little time obliged to return towards the Oder; then the Russians advanced to Zulichau, in Silesia. The King of Prussia thinking Count Dohna had been rather too cautious, considering the emergency of his affairs, gave him leave to retire for the benefit of his health; and conferred his command upon General Wedel, who resolved to give the Russians battle without delay. Thus determined, he marched against them in two columns; and on the twenty-third day of July attacked them at Kay, near Zulichau, where, after a very obstinate engagement he was repulsed with great loss, Wobersnow being killed and Mantuffel wounded in the action; and in a few days the Russians made themselves masters of Frankfort upon the Oder.

within the territories of Poland, will exert themselves to comply with this demand as soon as possible, for the subsistence of the royal army of Prussia, they are assured that thereby all disorders will be prevented, and whatever is delivered will be paid for in ready money.

On the 17th of June.

It was with the greatest astonishment that the king, my most gracious lord and master, heard that several of his own subjects had suffered themselves to be seduced from their allegiance so far as to enter into the service of a potentate with whom he is at war; his majesty, therefore, makes known by these presents, that all of his subjects serving in the enemy's armies, who shall be taken with arms in their hands, shall, agreeably to all laws, be sentenced to be hanged without mercy, as traitors to their king and country. Of which all whom it may concern are desired to take notice, &c.

On the 22nd of June.

We invite and desire that the nobility, archbishops, bishops, abbeyes, convents, seignories, magistrates, and inhabitants of the republic of Poland, on the road to Posnamia, and beyond it, would repair in person, or by deputies, in the course of this week, or as soon after as possible, to the Prussian head-quarters, there to treat with the commander-in-chief, or the commissary at war, for the delivery of forage and provisions for the subsistence of the army, to be paid for with ready money.

We promise and assure ourselves, that no person in Poland will attempt to seduce the Prussian troops to desert; that no assistance will be given them in such perfidious practices; that they will neither be sheltered, concealed, nor lodged; which would be followed by very disagreeable consequences: we expect, on the contrary, that persons of all ranks and conditions will stop any runaway or deserter, and deliver him up at the first advanced post, or at the head-quarters; and all expenses attending the same shall be paid, and a reasonable gratification superadded.

If any one hath inclination to enter into the King of Prussia's service, with an intention to behave well and faithfully, he may apply to the head-quarters, and be assured of a capitulation for three or four years.

If any prince or member of the republic of Poland be disposed to assemble a body of men, and to join in a troop, or in a company of the Prussian army, to make a common cause with it, he may depend on a gracious reception, and that due regard will be shown to his merit, &c.

By this time the armies of Count Daun and the King of Prussia had made several motions. The Austrians having quitted their camp at Schurtz, advanced towards Zittau in Lusatia, where, having halted a few days, they resumed their march, and encamped at Gorklithayn, between Sudenberg and Mark-Dissau. His Prussian majesty, in order to observe their motions, marched by the way of Hertzberg to Lahn; and his vanguard skirmished with that of the Austrians commanded by Laudohn, who entered Silesia by the way of Griffenberg. The Austrian general was obliged to retreat with loss; while the king penetrated into Silesia, that he might be at hand to act against the Russians, whose progress was now become the chief object of his apprehension. He no sooner received intimation that Wedel had been worsted, than he marched with a select body of ten thousand men from his camp in Silesia, in order to take upon him the command of Wedel's army, leaving the rest of his forces strongly encamped, under the direction of his brother Prince Henry, who had joined him before this event. Count Daun being apprised of the king's intention, and knowing the Russians were very defective in cavalry, immediately detached a body of twelve thousand horse to join them, under the command of Laudohn; and these, penetrating in two columns through Silesia and Lusatia, with some loss, arrived in the Russian camp at a very critical juncture. Meanwhile the King of Prussia joined General Wedel on the fourth day of August at Muhlrose, where he assumed the command of the army; but finding it greatly inferior to the enemy, he recalled General Finck, whom he had detached some time before, with a body of nine thousand men, to oppose the progress of the imperialists in Saxony; for when Prince Henry joined his brother in Silesia, the army of the empire had entered that electorate. Thus reinforced, the number of the king's army at Muhlrose did not exceed fifty thousand; whereas the Russians were more numerous by thirty thousand. They had chosen a strong camp at the village of Cunersdorf, almost opposite to Frankfort upon the Oder, and increased the natural strength of their situation by intrenchments mounted with a numerous artillery. In other circumstances it might have been deemed a rash and ridiculous enterprise, to attack such an army under such complicated disadvantages; but here was no room for hesitation. The

The King of Prussia takes the command of General Wedel's corps.

king's affairs seemed to require a desperate effort ; and perhaps he was partly impelled by self-confidence and animosity.

Having determined to hazard an attack, he made his dis-
Battle of Cunersdorf. position, and on the twelfth day of August, at two in the morning, his troops were in motion. The army, being formed in a wood, advanced towards the enemy ; and about eleven the action was begun with a severe cannonade. This having produced the desired effect, he charged the left wing of the Russian army with his best troops formed in columns. After a very obstinate dispute, the enemy's intrenchments were forced with great slaughter, and seventy pieces of cannon fell into the hands of the Prussians. A narrow defile was afterwards passed, and several redoubts that covered the village of Cunersdorf were taken by assault, one after another : one half of the task was not yet performed : the Russians made a firm stand at the village ; but they were overborne by the impetuosity of the Prussians, who drove them from post to post up to the last redoubts they had to defend. As the Russians kept their ground until they were hewn down in their ranks, this success was not acquired without infinite labour, and a considerable expense of blood. After a furious contest of six hours, fortune seemed to declare so much in favour of the Prussians, that the king despatched the following billet to the queen at Berlin : "Madam, we have driven the Russians from their intrenchments. In two hours expect to hear of a glorious victory." This intimation was premature, and subjected the writer to the ridicule of his enemies. The Russians were staggered, not routed. General Soltikoff rallied his troops, and reinforced his left wing under cover of a redoubt, which was erected on an eminence called the Jews' Burying-ground ; and here they stood, in order of battle, with the most resolute countenance ; favoured by the situation, which was naturally difficult of access, and now rendered almost impregnable by the fortification, and a numerous artillery still greatly superior to that of the Prussians. Had the king contented himself with the advantage already gained, all the world would have acknowledged he had fought against terrible odds with astonishing prowess ; and that he judiciously desisted, when he could no longer persevere without incurring the imputation of being actuated by frenzy or despair. His troops had not only suffered severely from the enemy's fire, which was close, deliberate, and well

directed, but they were fatigued by the hard service, and fainting with the heat of the day, which was excessive. His general officers are said to have reminded him of all these circumstances; and to have dissuaded him from hazarding an attempt attended with such danger and difficulty as even an army of fresh troops could hardly hope to surmount. He rejected this salutary advice, and ordered his infantry to begin a new attack; which being an enterprise beyond their strength, they were repulsed with great slaughter. Being afterwards rallied, they returned to the charge: they miscarried again, and their loss was redoubled. Being thus rendered unfit for further service, the cavalry succeeded to the attack, and repeated their unsuccessful efforts until they were almost broken and entirely exhausted. At this critical juncture, the whole body of the Austrian and Russian cavalry, which had hitherto remained inactive, and were therefore fresh and in spirits, fell in among the Prussian horse with great fury, broke their line at the first charge, and forcing them back upon the infantry, threw them into such disorder as could not be repaired. The Prussian army being thus involved in confusion, was seized with a panic, and in a few minutes totally defeated and dispersed, notwithstanding the personal efforts of the king, who hazarded his life in the hottest parts of the battle, led on his troops three times to the charge, had two horses killed under him, and his clothes in several parts penetrated with musket-balls. His army being routed, and the greater part of his generals either killed or disabled by wounds, nothing but the approach of night could have saved him from total ruin. When he abandoned the field of battle, he despatched another billet to the queen couched in these terms: "Remove from Berlin with the royal family. Let the archives be carried to Potsdam. The town may make conditions with the enemy." The horror and confusion which this intimation produced at Berlin may be easily conceived: horror the more aggravated, as it seized them in the midst of their rejoicings, occasioned by the first despatch; and this was still more dreadfully augmented by a subsequent indistinct relation, importing that the army was totally routed, the king missing, and the enemy in full march to Berlin. The battle of Cunersdorf was by far the most bloody action that had happened since the commencement of hostilities. The carnage was truly horrible: above twenty thousand

Prussians lay dead on the field, and among these General Putkammer. The Generals Seidlitz, Itzenplitz, Hulsen, Finck, and Wedel, the Prince of Wirtemberg, and five major-generals, were wounded. The loss of the enemy amounted to ten thousand. It must be owned, that if the king was prodigal of his own person, he was likewise very free with the lives of his subjects. At no time, since the days of ignorance and barbarity, were the lives of men squandered away with such profusion as in the course of this German war. They were not only unnecessarily sacrificed in various exploits of no consequence, but lavishly exposed to all the rigour and distemper of winter campaigns, which were introduced on the continent in despite of nature, and in contempt of humanity. Such are the improvements of warriors without feeling! such the refinements of German discipline! On the day that succeeded the defeat at Cunersdorf, the King of Prussia, having lost the best part of his army, together with his whole train of artillery, repassed the Oder, and encamped at Retwin; from whence he advanced to Fustenwalde, and saw with astonishment the forbearance of the enemy. Instead of taking possession of Berlin, and overwhelming the wreck of the king's troops, destitute of cannon, and cut off from all communication with Prince Henry, they took no step to improve the victory they had gained. Laudohn retired with his horse immediately after the battle; and Count Soltikoff marched with part of the Russians into Lusatia, where he joined Daun, and held consultations with that general. Perhaps the safety of the Prussian monarch was owing to the jealousy subsisting among his enemies. In all probability, the court of Vienna would have been chagrined to see the Russians in possession of Brandenburg, and therefore thwarted their designs upon that electorate. The King of Prussia had now reason to be convinced, that his situation could not justify such a desperate attack as that in which he had miscarried at Cunersdorf; for if the Russians did not attempt the reduction of his capital, now that he was totally defeated, and the flower of his army cut off, they certainly would not have aspired at that conquest while he lay encamped in the neighbourhood with fifty thousand veterans, inured to war, accustomed to conquer, confident of success, and well supplied with provision, ammunition, and artillery. As the victors allowed him

time to breathe, he improved this interval with equal spirit and sagacity. He reassembled and refreshed his broken troops; he furnished his camp with cannon from the arsenal at Berlin, which likewise supplied him with a considerable number of recruits: he recalled General Kleist, with five thousand men, from Pomerania, and in a little time retrieved his former importance.

The army of the empire having entered Saxony, where it reduced Leipsic, Torgau, and even took possession of Dresden itself, the king detached six thousand men, under General Wunch, to check the progress of the imperialists in that electorate; and perceiving the Russians intended to besiege Great Glogau, he, with the rest of his army, took post between them and that city, so as to frustrate their design. While the four great armies, commanded by the King of Prussia, General Soltikoff, Prince Henry, and Count Daun, lay encamped in Lusatia, and on the borders of Silesia, watching the motions of each other, the war was carried on by detachments with great vivacity. General Wunch having retaken Leipsic, and joined Finck at Eulinbourg, the united body began their march towards Dresden; and a detachment from the army of the empire, which had encamped near Dobelin, retired at their approach. As they advanced to Nossin, General Haddick abandoned the advantageous posts he occupied near Roth-Scemberg; and, being joined by the whole army of the empire, resolved to attack the Prussian generals, who now encamped at Corbitz, near Meissen; accordingly, on the twenty-first day of September, he advanced against them, and endeavoured to dislodge them by a furious cannonade, which was mutually maintained from morning to night, when he found himself obliged to retire with considerable loss; leaving the field of battle, with about five hundred prisoners, in the hands of the Prussians.

This advantage was succeeded by another exploit of Prince Henry, who, on the twenty-third day of the month, quitted his camp at Hornsdorf, near Gorlitz; and after an incredible march of eleven German miles, by the way of Rothenberg, arrived, about five in the afternoon, at Hoyerswerda, where he surprised a body of four thousand men, commanded by General Vehla, killed six hundred, and made twice that number prisoners, including the com-

Advantages
gained by
the Prus-
sians in
Saxony.

Prince Henry
surprises
General
Vehla. Ge-
neral Finch,
with his
whole corps
of Prussians,
surrounded
and taken
by the Aus-
trian general.

mander himself. After this achievement, he joined the corps of Finck and Wunch; while Mareschal Daun likewise abandoned his camp in Lusatia, and made a forced march to Dresden, in order to frustrate the prince's supposed design on that capital. The Russians, disappointed in their scheme upon Glogau, had repassed the Oder at Neusalze, and were encamped at Fraustadt; General Laudohn, with a body of Austrians, lay at Selichtingskeim; and the King of Prussia at Koben; all three on or near the banks of that river. Prince Henry, perceiving his army almost surrounded by Austrian detachments, ordered General Finck to drive them from Vogelsang, which they abandoned accordingly; and sent Wunch, with six battalions and some cavalry, across the Elbe, to join the corps of General Rebentish at Wittenberg, whither he retired from Duben at the approach of the Austrians. On the twenty-ninth day of October the Duke d'Aremberg, with sixteen thousand Austrians, decamped from Dammitz, in order to occupy the heights near Pretsch, and was encountered by General Wunch; who, being posted on two rising grounds, cannonaded the Austrians on their march with considerable effect; and the prince took twelve hundred prisoners, including Lieutenant-General Gemmington, and twenty inferior officers, with some cannon, great part of their tents, and a large quantity of baggage. The duke was obliged to change his route, while Wunch marched from Duben to Eulenburg; and General Wassersleben occupied Strehla, where, next day the whole army encamped. In this situation the prince remained till the sixteenth day of November; when, being in danger of having his communication with Torgau cut off by the enemy, he removed to a strong camp, where his left flank was covered with that city and the river Elbe; his right being secured by a wood, and great part of his front by an impassable morass. Here he was reinforced with about twenty thousand men from Silesia, and joined by the king himself, who forthwith detached General Finck, with nineteen battalions and thirty-five squadrons, to take possession of the defiles of Maxen and Ottendorf, with a view to hinder the retreat of the Austrians to Bohemia. This motion obliged Daun to retire to Plauen; and the king advanced to Wilsdorf, imagining that he had effectually succeeded in his design. Letters were sent to Berlin and Magdebourg, importing that the Count Daun would be

forced to hazard a battle, as he had now no resource but in victory. Finck had no sooner taken post on the hill near the village of Maxen, than the Austrian general sent officers to reconnoitre his situation, and immediately resolved to attack him with the corps de reserve, under the Baron de Sincere, which was encamped in the neighbourhood of Dippodeswalda. It was forthwith divided into four columns, which filed off through the neighbouring woods; and the Prussians never dreamed of their approach until they saw themselves entirely surrounded. In this emergency they defended themselves with their cannon and musketry until they were overpowered by numbers, and their battery was taken; then they retired to another rising ground, where they rallied, but were driven from eminence to eminence: until, by favour of the night, they made their last retreat to Falkenhayn. In the mean time, Count Daun had made such dispositions, that at daybreak General Finck found himself entirely enclosed, without the least possibility of escaping, and sent a trumpet to Count Daun, to demand a capitulation. This was granted in one single article; importing, that he and eight other Prussian generals, with the whole body of troops they commanded, should be received as prisoners of war. He was obliged to submit; and his whole corps, amounting to nineteen battalions and thirty-five squadrons, with sixty-four pieces of cannon, fifty pair of colours, and twenty-five standards, fell into the hands of the Austrian generals. This misfortune was the more mortifying to the King of Prussia, as it implied a censure on his conduct, for having detached such a numerous body of troops to a situation where they could not be sustained by the rest of his army. On the other hand, the court of Vienna exulted in this victory, as an infallible proof of Daun's superior talents; and, in point of glory and advantage, much more than an equivalent for the loss of the Saxon army, which, though less numerous, capitulated in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-six, after having held out six weeks against the whole power of the Prussian monarch. General Hulsén had been detached, with about nine battalions and thirty squadrons, to the assistance of Finck; but he arrived at Klingenberg too late to be of any service; and, being recalled, was next day sent to occupy the important post of Freyberg.

The defeat of General Finck was not the only disaster

which befel the Prussians at the close of this campaign. Disasters of the Prussian general Diercke, General Diercke, who was posted with seven battalions of infantry and a thousand horse on the right bank of the Elbe, opposite to Meissen, finding it impracticable to lay a bridge of pontoons across the river, on account of the floating ice, was obliged to transport his troops in boats; and when all were passed except himself, with the rear-guard, consisting of three battalions, he was, on the third day of December, in the morning, attacked by a strong body of Austrians. and taken, with all his men, after an obstinate dispute. The King of Prussia, weakened by these two successive defeats, that happened in the rear of an unfortunate campaign, would hardly have been able to maintain his ground at Freyberg, had he not been at this juncture reinforced by the body of troops under the command of the hereditary Prince of Brunswick. As for Daun, the advantages he had gained did not elevate his mind above the usual maxims of his cautious discretion. Instead of attacking the King of Prussia, respectable and formidable even in adversity, he quietly occupied the strong camp at Pirna, where he might be at hand to succour Dresden, in case it should be attacked, and maintain his communication with Bohemia.

By this time the Russians had retired to winter quarters in Poland; and the Swedes, after a fruitless excursion in the absence of Manteuffel, retreated to Stralsund and the isle of Rugen. This campaign, therefore, did not prove more decisive than the last. Abundance of lives were lost, and great part of Germany was exposed to rapine, murder, famine, desolation, and every species of misery that war could engender. In vain the confederating powers of Austria, Russia, and Sweden, united their efforts to crush the Prussian monarch. Though his army had been defeated, and he himself totally overthrown, with great slaughter, in the heart of his own dominions; though he appeared in a desperate situation, environed by hostile armies, and two considerable detached bodies of his troops were taken or destroyed; yet he kept all his adversaries at bay till the approach of winter, which proved his best auxiliary; and even maintained his footing in the electorate of Saxony, which seemed to be the prize contested between him and the Austrian general. Yet, long before the approach of winter, one would imagine, he must have

Conclusion
of the cam-
paign.

been crushed between the shock of so many adverse hosts, had they been intent upon closing him in, and heartily concurred for his destruction; but, instead of urging the war with accumulated force, they acted in separate bodies, and with jealous eye seemed to regard the progress of each other. It was not, therefore, to any compunction, or kind forbearance, in the court of Vienna, that the inactivity of Daun was owing. The resentment of the house of Austria seemed, on the contrary, to glow with redoubled indignation; and the majority of the Germanic body seemed to enter with warmth into her quarrel.*

When the Protestant states in arms against the court of Vienna were put under the ban of the empire, the evangelical body, though without the concurrence of the Swedish and Danish ministers, issued an arrêt at Ratisbon, in the month of November of the last year, and to this annexed the twentieth article of the capitulation signed by the emperor at his election, in order to demonstrate that the Protestant states claimed nothing but what was agreeable to the constitution. They declared that their association was no more than a mutual engagement, by which they obliged themselves to adhere to the laws, without suffering, under any pretext, that the power of putting under the ban of the empire should reside wholly in the emperor. They affirmed that this power was renounced, in express terms, by the capitulation; they therefore refused to admit, as legal, any sentence of the ban deficient in the requisite conditions; and inferred that, according to law, neither the Elector of Brandenburg, nor the Elector of Hanover, nor the Duke of Wolfenbuttel, nor the Landgrave of Hesse, nor the Count of Lippe-Buckebourg, ought to be

Arrêt of the
evangelical
body at
Ratisbon.

* The obstinacy of the powers in opposition to Great Britain and Prussia appeared still more remarkable in their slighting the following declaration, which Duke Louis of Brunswick delivered to their ministers at the Hague, in the month of December, after Quebec was reduced, and the fleet of France totally defeated.

"Then Britannic and Prussian majesties, moved with compassion at the mischief which the war that has been kindled for some years has already occasioned, and must necessarily produce, would think themselves wanting to the duties of humanity, and particularly to their tender concern for the preservation and well-being of their respective kingdoms and subjects, if they neglected the proper means to put a stop to the progress of so severe a calamity, and to contribute to the re-establishment of public tranquillity. In this view, and in order to manifest the purity of their intentions in this respect, their said majesties have determined to make the following declaration, viz

"That they are ready to send plenipotentiaries to the place which shall be thought most proper, in order there to treat, conjointly, of a solid and general peace with those whom the belligerent parties shall think fit to authorize, on their part, for the attaining so salutary an end."

proscribed. The imperial Protestant cities having acceded to this arrêt or declaration, the emperor, in a rescript, required them to retract their accession to the resolution of their evangelic body; which, it must be owned, was altogether inconsistent with their former accession to the resolutions of the diet against the King of Prussia. This rescript having produced no effect, the arrêt was answered in February by an imperial decree of commission carried to the dictatorship, importing, that the imperial court could not longer hesitate about the execution of the ban, without infringing that very article of the capitulation which they had specified; that the invalidity of the arrêt was manifest, inasmuch as the Electors of Brandenburg and Brunswick, the Dukes of Saxe-Gotha and Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, and the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, were the very persons who disturbed the empire; this, therefore, being an affair in which they themselves were parties, they could not possibly be qualified to concur in a resolution of this nature; besides, the number of the other states which had acceded was very inconsiderable: for these reasons the emperor could not but consider the resolution in question as an act whereby the general peace of the empire was disturbed, both by the parties that had incurred the ban, and by the states which had joined them, in order to support and favour their frivolous pretensions. His imperial majesty expressed his hope and confidence, that the other electors, princes, and states of the empire, would vote the said resolution to be null, and of no force; and never suffer so small a number of states, who were adherents of, and abettors to, the disturbers of the empire, to prejudice the rights and prerogatives of the whole Germanic body; to abuse the name of the associated states of the Augsburg confession, in order forcibly to impose a *factum* entirely repugnant to the constitution of the empire; to deprive their co-estates of the right of voting freely, and thereby endeavouring totally to subvert the system of the Germanic body. These remarks will speak for themselves to the reflection of the unprejudiced reader.

The implacability of the court of Vienna was equalled by nothing but the perseverance of the French ministry. Though their numerous army had not gained one inch of ground in Westphalia, the campaign on that

The French
ministry
stop pay-
ment.

side having ended exactly where it had begun; though the chief source of their commerce in the West Indies had fallen into the hands of Great Britain, and they had already laid their account with the loss of Quebec; though their coffers rung with emptiness, and their confederates were clamorous for subsidies; they still resolved to maintain the war in Germany: this was doubtless the most politic resolution to which they could adhere; because their enemies, instead of exerting all their efforts where there was almost a certainty of success, kindly condescended to seek them where alone their whole strength could be advantageously employed, without any great augmentation of their ordinary expense. Some of the springs of their national wealth were indeed exhausted, or diverted into other channels; but the subjects declared for a continuation of the war, and the necessities of the state were supplied by the loyalty and attachment of the people. They not only acquiesced in the bankruptcy of public credit, when the court stopped payment of the interest on twelve different branches of the national debt, but they likewise sent in large quantities of plate to be melted down, and coined into specie for the maintenance of the war. All the bills drawn on the government by the colonies were protested to an immense amount, and a stop was put to all the annuities granted at Marseilles on sums borrowed for the use of the marine. Besides the considerable savings occasioned by these acts of state-bankruptcy, they had resources of credit among the merchants of Holland, who beheld the success of Great Britain with an eye of jealousy; and were moreover inflamed against her with the most rancorous resentment, on account of the captures which had been made of their West India ships by the English cruisers.

In the month of February, the merchants of Amsterdam, having received advice that the cargoes of their West India ships, detained by the English, would, by the British courts of judicature, be declared lawful prizes, as being French property, sent a deputation, with a petition to the States-General, entreating them to use their intercession with the court of London, representing the impossibility of furnishing the proofs required in so short a time as that prescribed by the British Admiralty; and that, as the island of St. Eustatia had but one road, and

The States-General send over deputies to England.

there was no other way of taking in cargoes but that of overshippen,^f to which the English had objected, a condemnation of these ships, as legal prizes, would give the finishing stroke to the trade of the colony. Whatever remonstrances the States-General might have made on this subject to the ministry of Great Britain, they had no effect upon the proceedings of the court of Admiralty, which continued to condemn the cargoes of the Dutch ships as often as they were proved to be French property; and this resolute uniformity in a little time intimidated the subjects of Holland from persevering in this illicit branch of commerce. The enemies of England in that republic, however, had so far prevailed, that in the beginning of the year the states of Holland had passed a formal resolution to equip five-and-twenty ships of war; and orders were immediately despatched to the officers of the Admiralty to complete the armament with all possible expedition. In the month of April, the States-General sent over to London three ministers extraordinary, to make representations, and remove, if possible, the causes of misunderstanding that had arisen between Great Britain and the United Provinces. They delivered their credentials to the king with a formal harangue: they said his majesty would see, by the contents of the letter they had the honour to present, how ardently their high-mightinesses desired to cultivate the sincere friendship which had so long subsisted between the two nations, so necessary for their common welfare and preservation; they expressed an earnest wish that they might be happy enough to remove those difficulties which had for some time struck at this friendship, and caused so much prejudice to the principal subjects of the republic; who, by the commerce they carried on, constituted its greatest strength and chief support. They declared their whole confidence was placed in his majesty's equity, for which the republic had the highest regard; and in the good-will he had always expressed towards a state which, on all occasions, had interested itself in promoting his glory; a state which was the guardian of the precious trust bequeathed by a princess so dear to his affection. "Full of this confidence (said they), we presume to flatter ourselves that your majesty will be graciously pleased to listen to our just demands; and we

^f The method called overshippen is that of using French bouts to load Dutch vessels with the produce of France.

shall endeavour, during the course of our ministry, to merit your approbation, in strengthening the bonds by which the two nations ought to be for ever united." In answer to this oration, the king assured them that he had always regarded their high-mightinesses as his best friends. He said, if difficulties had arisen concerning trade, they ought to be considered as the consequences of a burdensome war which he was obliged to wage with France. He desired they would assure their high-mightinesses, that he should endeavour, on his part, to remove the obstacles in question; and expressed his satisfaction that they (the deputies) were come over with the same disposition. What representations these deputies made, further than complaints of some irregularities in the conduct of the British sea-officers, we cannot pretend to specify; but as the subject in dispute related entirely to the practice of the courts of judicature, it did not fall properly under the cognizance of the government, which hath no right to interfere with the administration of justice. In all probability, the subjects of Holland were by no means pleased with the success of this negociation, for they murmured against the English nation without ceasing. They threatened and complained by turns; and eagerly seized all opportunities of displaying their partiality in favour of the enemies of Great Britain.

In the month of September Major-General Yorke, the British minister at the Hague, presented a memorial to the States-General, remonstrating, that the merchants of Holland carried on a contraband trade in favour of France, by transporting cannon and warlike stores from the Baltic to Holland in Dutch

Memorial
presented
to the states
by Major-
General
Yorke

bottoms, under the borrowed names of private persons; and then conveying them by the inland rivers and canals, or through the Dutch fortresses, to Dunkirk, and other places of France. He desired that the king, his master, might be made easy on that head, by their putting an immediate stop to such practices, so repugnant to the connexions subsisting by treaty between Great Britain and the United Provinces, as well as to every idea of neutrality. He observed that the attention which his majesty had lately given to their representations against the excesses of the English privateers, by procuring an act of Parliament which laid them under proper restrictions, gave him a good title to the same regard on the part of their high-mightinesses. He reminded

them that their trading towns felt the good effects of these restrictions; and that the freedom of navigation, which their subjects enjoyed amidst the troubles and distractions of Europe, had considerably augmented their commerce. He observed that some return ought to be made to such solid proofs of the king's friendship and moderation; at least, the merchants, who were so ready to complain of England, ought not to be countenanced in excesses which would have justified the most rigorous examination of their conduct. He recalled to their memories that, during the course of the present war, the king had several times applied to their high-mightinesses, and to their ministers, on the liberty they had given to carry stores through the fortresses of the republic for the use of France, to invade the British dominions; and though his majesty had passed over in silence many of these instances of complaisance to his enemy, he was no less sensible of the injury; but he chose rather to be a sufferer himself, than to increase the embarrassment of his neighbours, or extend the flames of war. He took notice that even the court of Vienna had, upon more than one occasion, employed its interest with their high-mightinesses, and lent its name to obtain passes for warlike stores and provisions for the French troops, under colour of the barrier-treaty, which it no longer observed; nay, after having put France in possession of Ostend and Nieuport, in manifest violation of that treaty, and without any regard to the rights which they and the king his master had acquired in that treaty, at the expense of so much blood and treasure.

The memorial seems to have made some impression on the States-General, as they scrupled to allow the artillery and stores belonging to the French king to be removed from Amsterdam; but these scruples vanished entirely on the receipt of a counter-memorial presented by the Count d'Affry, the French ambassador, who mingled some effectual threats with his expostulation. He desired them to remember, that, during the whole course of the war, the French king had required nothing from their friendship that was inconsistent with the strictest impartiality; and if he had deviated from the engagements subsisting between him and the republic, it was only by granting the most essential and lucrative favours to the subjects of their high-mightinesses. He observed that the English, notwithstanding the insolence of their be-

A counter-memorial presented by the French minister.

haviour to the republic, had derived, on many occasions, assistance from the protection their effects had found in the territories of the United Provinces : that the artillery, stores, and ammunition belonging to Wessel were deposited in their territories, which the Hanoverian army in passing the Rhine had very little respected : that when they repassed that river, they had no other way of saving their sick and wounded from the hands of the French, than by embarking them in boats, and conveying them to places where the French left them unmolested, actuated by their respect for the neutrality of the republic : that part of their magazines was still deposited in the towns of the United Provinces ; where also the enemies of France had purchased and contracted for very considerable quantities of gunpowder. He told them, that though these and several other circumstances might have been made the subject of the justest complaints, the King of France did not think it proper to require that the freedom and independency of the subjects of the republic should be restrained in branches of commerce that were not inconsistent with its neutrality, persuaded that the faith of an engagement ought to be inviolably preserved, though attended with some accidental and transient disadvantages. He gave them to understand that the king his master had ordered the generals of his army carefully to avoid encroaching on the territory of the republic, and transferring thither the theatre of the war, when his enemies retreated that way before they were forced to pass the Rhine. After such unquestionable marks of regard, he said, his king would have the justest ground of complaint, if, contrary to expectation, he should hear that the artillery and stores belonging to him were detained at Amsterdam. Thirdly, he declared that such detention would be construed as a violation of the neutrality ; and demanded, in the name of the king his master, that the artillery and stores should without delay be forwarded to Flanders by the canals of Amsterdam and the inland navigation. This last argument was so conclusive that they immediately granted the necessary passports ; in consequence of which the cannon were conveyed to the Austrian Netherlands.

The powers in the southern parts of Europe were too much engrossed with their own concerns, to interest themselves deeply in the quarrels that distracted the German empire. The King of Spain, naturally

Death of
the king
of Spain.

of a melancholy complexion and delicate constitution, was so deeply affected with the loss of his queen, who died in the course of the preceding year, that he renounced all company, neglected all business, and immured himself in a chamber at Villa-Viciosa, where he gave loose to the most extravagant sorrow. He abstained from food and rest until his strength was quite exhausted. He would neither shift himself nor allow his beard to be shaved; he rejected all attempts of consolation; and remained deaf to the most earnest and respectful remonstrances of those who had a right to render their advice. In this case, the affliction of the mind must have been reinforced by some peculiarity in the constitution. He inherited a melancholy taint from his father, and this seems to have been dreaded as a family disease; for the infant Don Louis, who likewise resided in the palace of Villa-Viciosa, was fain to amuse himself with hunting, and other diversions, to prevent his being infected with the king's disorder, which continued to gain ground, notwithstanding all the efforts of medicine. The Spanish nation, naturally superstitious, had recourse to saints and relics; but they seemed insensible to all their devotion. The king, however, in the midst of all his distress, was prevailed upon to make his will, which was written by the Count de Valparaiso, and signed by the Duke de Bejar, high chancellor of the kingdom. The exorbitancy of his grief, and the mortifications he underwent, soon produced an incurable malady, under which he languished from the month of September in the preceding year till the tenth of August in the present, when he expired. In his will he had appointed his brother Don Carlos, King of Naples, successor to the crown of Spain; and nominated the queen dowager as regent of the kingdom until that prince should arrive. Accordingly, she assumed the reins of government; and gave directions for the funeral of the deceased king, who was interred with great pomp in the church belonging to the convent of the Visitation at Madrid.

As the death of this prince had been long expected, so the politicians of Europe had universally prognosticated that his demise would be attended with great commotions in Italy. It had been agreed among the subscribing powers to the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, that in case Don Carlos should be advanced in the course of succession to the throne of Spain, his

He is succeeded by his brother Don Carlos, who makes a remarkable settlement.

brother Don Philip should succeed him on the throne of Naples; and the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, which now constituted his establishment, should revert to the house of Austria. The King of Naples had never acceded to this article; therefore he paid no regard to it on the death of his elder brother; but retained both kingdoms, without minding the claims of the empress-queen, who he knew was at that time in no condition to support her pretensions. Thus the German war proved a circumstance very favourable to his interest and ambition. Before he embarked for Spain, however, he took some extraordinary steps, which evinced him a sound politician and sagacious legislator. His eldest son, Don Philip, who had now attained the thirteenth year of his age, being found in a state of incurable idiotism,^s he wisely and resolutely removed him from the succession, without any regard to the pretended right of the primogeniture, by a solemn act of abdication, and the settlement of the crown of the Two Sicilies in favour of his third son, Don Ferdinand. In this extraordinary act he observes, That according to the spirit of the treaties of this age, Europe required that the sovereignty of Spain

^s *Abstract of the report made to his catholic majesty by the physicians appointed to examine the prince royal, his eldest son, in consequence of which his royal highness was declared incapable of succeeding to the throne of Spain. Translated from the original, published at Naples, Sept. 27.*

1. Though his royal highness, Don Philip, is thirteen years old, he is of low stature; and yet the king his father, and the queen his mother, are both of a very proper height.

2. His royal highness has some contraction in his joints; though he can readily move, and make use of them upon all occasions.

3. His royal highness is apt to stoop and to hold down his head, as people of weak eyes often do.

4. The prince most evidently squints; and his eyes frequently water and are gummy, particularly his left eye; though we cannot say he is blind, but are rather certain of the contrary, as his royal highness can without doubt distinguish objects, both as to their colour and situation.

5. In his natural functions, and the most common sensations, he is sometimes indifferent to things that are convenient for him, and at other times is too warm and impatient. In general, his passions are not restrained by reason.

6. The prince has an obstinate aversion to some kinds of common food, such as fruits, sweetmeats, &c.

7. All sorts of noise or sound disturb or disconcert him; and it has the same effect, whether it be soft and harmonious, or harsh and disagreeable.

8. The impressions that he receives from pain or pleasure are neither strong nor lasting; and he is utterly unacquainted with all the punctilios of politeness and good breeding.

9. As to facts and places, he sometimes remembers them and sometimes not; but he seems not to have the least idea of the mysteries of our holy religion.

10. He delights in childish amusements; and those which are the most boisterous please him best. He is continually changing them, and shifting from one thing to another.

Signed by Don Francis Beniore, chief physician to the king and kingdom; Don Emmanuel de la Rosa, physician to the queen; and the physicians, Cæsar Ciribue, Don Thomas Pinto, Don Francis Sarrao, and Dominique San Severino.

should be separated from that of Italy, when such a separation could be effected without transgressing the rules of justice : that the unfortunate prince-royal having been destitute of reason and reflection ever since his infancy, and no hope remaining that he could ever acquire the use of these faculties, he could not think of appointing him to the succession, how agreeable soever such a disposition might be to nature and his paternal affection ; he was therefore constrained, by the Divine will, to set him aside, in favour of his third son, Don Ferdinand, whose minority obliged him to vest the management of these realms in a regency, which he accordingly appointed, after having previously declared his son Ferdinand from that time emancipated and freed not only from all obedience to his paternal power, but even from all submission to his supreme and sovereign authority. He then declared that the minority of the prince succeeding to the kingdom of the Two Sicilies should expire with the fifteenth year of his age, when he should act as sovereign, and have the entire power of the administration. He next established and explained the order of succession in the male and female line, on condition that the monarchy of Spain should never be united with the kingdoms of the Two Sicilies. Finally, he transferred and made over to the said Don Ferdinand these kingdoms, with all that he possessed in Italy ; and this ordinance, signed and sealed by himself and the infant Don Ferdinand, and countersigned by the councillors and secretaries of state, in quality of members of the regency, received all the usual forms of authenticity. Don Carlos, having taken these precautions for the benefit of his third son, whom he left King of Naples, embarked with the rest of his family on board a squadron of Spanish ships, which conveyed him to Barcelona. There he landed in the month of October, and proceeded to Madrid ; where, as King of Spain, he was received amidst the acclamations of his people. He began his reign, like a wise prince, by regulating the interior economy of his kingdom ; by pursuing the plan adopted by his predecessor ; by retaining the ministry under whose auspices the happiness and commerce of his people had been extended ; and, with respect to the belligerent powers, by scrupulously adhering to that neutrality from whence these advantages were in a great measure derived.

While he serenely enjoyed the blessings of prosperity, his neighbour the King of Portugal was engrossed by a species

of employment, which of all others must be the most disagreeable to a prince of sentiment who loves his people, namely, the trial and punishment of those conspirators by whose atrocious attempt his life had been so much endangered. Among these were numbered some of the first noblemen of the kingdom, irritated by disappointed ambition, inflamed by bigotry, and exasperated by revenge. The principal conspirator, Don Joseph Mascarenhas and Lencastre, Duke de Aveiro, Marquis of Torres Novas, and Conde of Santa Cruz, was hereditary lord-steward of the king's household, and president of the palace court, or last tribunal of appeal in the kingdom; so that he possessed the first office at the palace, and the second of the realm. Francisco de Assiz, Marquis of Tavora, Conde of St. John and Alvor, was general of the horse, and head of the third noble house of the Tavoras, the most illustrious family in the kingdom, deriving their origin from the ancient Kings of Leon: he married his kinswoman, who was Marchioness of Tavora in her own right, and by this marriage acquired the marquisate. Louis Bernardo de Tavora was their eldest son, who by virtue of a dispensation from the pope, had espoused his own aunt, Donna Theresa de Tavora. Joseph Maria de Tavora, his youngest brother, was also involved in the guilt of his parents. The third principal concerned was Don Jeronymo de Attaide, Conde of Attougua, himself a relation, and married to the eldest daughter of the Marquis of Tavora. The characters of all these personages were unblemished and respectable, until this machination was detected. In the course of investigating this dark affair, it appeared that the Duke de Aveiro had conceived a personal hatred to the king, who had disappointed him in a projected match between his son and a sister of the Duke de Cadaval, a minor, and prevented his obtaining some commanderies which the late Duke de Aveiro had possessed: that this nobleman, being determined to gratify his revenge against the person of his sovereign, had exerted all his art and address in securing the participation of the malecontents; that with this view he reconciled himself to the Jesuits, with whom he had been formerly at variance, knowing they were at this time implacably incensed against the king, who had dismissed them from their office of penitentiaries at court, and branded them with other marks of disgrace, on account of their illegal and

Detection
and punish-
ment of the
conspirators
at Lisbon.

rebellious practices in South America: the duke, moreover, insinuated himself into the confidence of the Marchioness of Tavora, notwithstanding an inveterate rivalship of pride and ambition which had long subsisted between the two families. Her resentment against the king was inflamed by the mortification of her pride in repeated repulses, when she solicited the title of duke for her husband. Her passions were artfully fomented and managed by the Jesuits, to whom she had resigned the government of her conscience; and they are said to have persuaded her that it would be a meritorious action to take away the life of a prince who was an enemy to the church, and a tyrant to his people. She, being reconciled to the scheme of assassination, exerted her influence in such a manner as to inveigle her husband, her sons, and son-in-law, into the same infamous design; and yet this lady had been always remarkable for her piety, affability, and sweetness of disposition. Many consultations were held by the conspirators at the colleges of the Jesuits, St. Antoa, and St. Roque, as well as at the houses of the duke and the marquis. At last they resolved that the king should be assassinated; and employed two ruffians, called Antonio Alvarez and Joseph Policarpio, for the execution of this design, the miscarriage of which we have related among the transactions of the preceding year. In the beginning of January, before the circumstances of the conspiracy were known, the Counts de Oberas and de Ribeira Grande were imprisoned in the castle of St. Julian, on a suspicion arising from their freedom of speech. The Duchess de Aveiro, the Countess of Attouguia, and the Marchioness of Alorna, with their children, were sent to different nunneries; and eight Jesuits were taken into custody. A council being appointed for the trial of the prisoners, the particulars we have related were brought to light by the torture; and sentence of death was pronounced and executed upon the convicted criminals. Eight wheels were fixed upon a scaffold raised in the square opposite to the house where the prisoners had been confined; and the thirteenth of January was fixed for the day of execution. Antonio Alvarez Ferreira, one of the assassins who had fired into the king's equipage, was fixed to a stake at one corner of the scaffold; and at the other was placed the effigy of his accomplice, Joseph Policarpio de Azevedo, who had made his escape. The Marchioness of Tavora, being brought upon

the scaffold between eight and nine in the morning, was beheaded at one stroke, and then covered with a linen cloth. Her two sons, and her son-in-law, the Count of Attouguia, with three servants of the Duke de Aveiro, were first strangled at one stake, and afterwards broken upon wheels, where their bodies remained covered; but the duke and the marquis, as chiefs of the conspiracy, were broken alive, and underwent the most excruciating torments. The last that suffered was the assassin Alvarez, who being condemned to be burnt alive, the combustibles which had been placed under the scaffold were set on fire, the whole machine, with the bodies, consumed to ashes, and these ashes thrown into the sea. The estates of the three unfortunate noblemen were confiscated, and their dwelling-houses razed to the ground. The name of Tavora was suppressed for ever by a public decree; but that of Mascarenhas spared, because the Duke de Aveiro was a younger branch of the family. A reward of ten thousand crowns was offered to any person who should apprehend the assassin who had escaped; then the embargo was taken off the shipping. The king and royal family assisted at a public *Te Deum* sung in the chapel of Nossa Senhora de Livramento; on which occasion the king, for the satisfaction of his people, waved his handkerchief with both hands, to show he was not maimed by the wounds he had received. If such an attempt upon the life of a king was infamously cruel and perfidious, it must be owned that the punishment inflicted upon the criminals was horrible to human nature. The attempt itself was attended with some circumstances that might have staggered belief, had it not appeared but too plain that the king was actually wounded. One would imagine that the Duke de Aveiro, who was charged with designs on the crown, would have made some preparation for taking advantage of the confusion and disorder which must have been produced by the king's assassination; but we do not find that any thing of this nature was premeditated. It was no more than a desperate scheme of personal revenge, conceived without caution, and executed without conduct; a circumstance the more extraordinary, if we suppose the conspirators were actuated by the counsels of the Jesuits, who have been ever famous for finesse and dexterity. Besides, the discovery of all the particulars was founded upon confession extorted by the rack, which at best is a suspicious evidence. Be that as it will, the Portuguese

government, without waiting for a bull from the pope, sequestered all the estates and effects of the Jesuits in that kingdom, which amounted to considerable sums, and reduced the individuals of the society to a very scanty allowance. Complaints of their conduct having been made to the pope, he appointed a congregation to examine into the affairs of the Jesuits in Portugal. In the mean time the court of Lisbon ordered a considerable number of them to be embarked for Italy, and resolved that no Jesuit should hereafter reside within its realms. When these transports arrived at Civita-Vecchia, they were, by the pope's order, lodged in the Dominican and Capuchin convents of that city, until proper houses could be prepared for their reception at Tivoli and Frascati. The most guilty of them, however, were detained in close prisons in Portugal, reserved, in all probability, for a punishment more adequate to their enormities.

England still continued to enjoy the blessings of peace, even amidst the triumphs of war. In the month of November the session of Parliament was opened by commission; and, the Commons attending in the House of Peers, the lord-keeper harangued the Parliament to this effect:—He gave them to understand that his majesty had directed him to assure them that he thought himself peculiarly happy in being able to convoke them in a situation of affairs so glorious to his crown, and advantageous to his kingdoms; that the king saw and devoutly adored the hand of Providence in the many signal successes both by sea and land with which his arms had been blessed in the course of the last campaign; that he reflected with great satisfaction on the confidence which the Parliament had placed in him, by making such ample provisions, and entrusting him with such extensive powers, for carrying on a war, which the defence of their valuable rights and possessions, together with the preservation of the commerce of his people, had rendered both just and necessary. He enumerated the late successes of the British arms, the reduction of Goree on the coast of Africa, the conquest of so many important places in America, the defeat of the French army in Canada, the reduction of their capital city of Quebec, effected with so much honour to the courage and conduct of his majesty's officers and forces, the important advantage obtained by the British squadron off Cape Lagos, and the effectual blocking up for so many months the principal part of the French navy in their own

Session
opened in
England.

harbours: events which must have filled the hearts of all his majesty's faithful subjects with the sincerest joy; and convinced his Parliament that there had been no want of vigilance or vigour, on his part, in exerting those means which they, with so much prudence and public-spirited zeal, had put into his majesty's hands. He observed that the national advantages had extended even as far as the East Indies, where, by the Divine blessing, the dangerous designs of his majesty's enemies had miscarried, and that valuable branch of commerce had received great benefit and protection: that the memorable victory gained over the French at Minden had long made a deep impression on the minds of his majesty's people: that if the crisis in which the battle was fought, the superior number of the enemy, the great and able conduct of his majesty's general, Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, were considered, that action must be the subject of lasting admiration and thankfulness: that if any thing could fill the breasts of his majesty's good subjects with still further degrees of exultation, it would be the distinguished and unbroken valour of the British troops, owned and applauded by those whom they overcame. He said the glory they had gained was not merely their own; but, in a national view, was one of the most important circumstances of our success, as it must be a striking admonition to our enemies with whom they have to contend. He told them that his majesty's good brother and ally, the King of Prussia, attacked and surrounded by so many considerable powers, had by his magnanimity and abilities, and the bravery of his troops, been able, in a surprising manner, to prevent the mischiefs concerted with such united force against him. He declared, by the command of his sovereign, that as his majesty entered into this war not from views of ambition, so he did not wish to continue it from motives of resentment: that the desire of his majesty's heart was to see a stop put to the effusion of Christian blood: that whenever such terms of peace could be established as should be just and honourable for his majesty and his allies; and by procuring such advantages as, from the successes of his majesty's arms, might in reason and equity be expected should bring along with them full security for the future; his majesty would rejoice to see the repose of Europe restored on such solid and durable foundations; and his faithful subjects, to whose liberal support and unshaken firmness his majesty owed so much,

happy in the enjoyment of the blessings of peace and tranquillity : but, in order to this great and desirable end, he said his majesty was confident the Parliament would agree with him, that it was necessary to make ample provision for carrying on the war, in all parts, with the utmost vigour. He assured the Commons that the great supplies they had granted in the last session of Parliament had been faithfully employed for the purposes for which they were granted ; but the uncommon extent of the war, and the various services necessary to be provided for, in order to secure success to his majesty's measures, had unavoidably occasioned extraordinary expenses. Finally, he repeated the assurances from the throne of the high satisfaction his majesty took in that union and good harmony which was so conspicuous among his good subjects ; he said his sovereign was happy in seeing it continued and confirmed ; he observed that experience had shown how much the nation owed to this union, which alone could secure the true happiness of his people.

We shall not anticipate the reader's own reflection, by pretending to comment upon either the matter or the form of this harangue, which however produced all the effect which the sovereign could desire. The Houses, in their respective addresses, seemed to vie with each other in expressions of attachment and complacency. The Peers professed their utmost readiness to concur in the effectual support of such further measures as his majesty, in his great wisdom, should judge necessary or expedient for carrying on the war with vigour, in all parts, and for disappointing and repelling any desperate attempts which might be made upon these kingdoms. The Commons expressed their admiration of that true greatness of mind which disposed his majesty's heart, in the midst of prosperities, to wish a stop put to the effusion of Christian blood, and to see tranquillity restored. They declared their entire reliance on his majesty's known wisdom and firmness, that this desirable object, whenever it should be obtained, would be upon terms just and honourable for his majesty and his allies ; and, in order to effect that great end, they assured him they would cheerfully grant such supplies as should be found necessary to sustain, and press with effect, all his extensive operations against the enemy. They did not fail to re-echo the speech as usual, enumerating the trophies of the year, and extolling

Substance
of the ad-
dresses.

the King of Prussia for his consummate genius, magnanimity, unwearied activity, and unshaken constancy of mind. Very great reason, indeed, had his majesty to be satisfied with an address of such a nature from a House of Commons, in which opposition lay strangled at the foot of the minister; in which those demagogues, who had raised themselves to reputation and renown by declaiming against continental measures, were become so perfectly reconciled to the object of their former reprobation, as to cultivate it even with a degree of enthusiasm unknown to any former administration, and lay the nation under such contributions in its behalf, as no other ministry durst ever meditate. Thus disposed, it was no wonder they admired the moderation of their sovereign, in offering to treat of peace, after above a million of men had perished by the war, and twice that number had been reduced to misery; after whole provinces had been depopulated, whole countries subdued, and the victors themselves almost crushed by the trophies they had gained.

Immediately after the addresses were presented, the Commons resolved themselves into a committee of the whole House; and having unanimously voted a supply to his majesty, began to take the particulars into consideration. This committee was continued till the twelfth of May, when that whole business was accomplished. For the service of the ensuing year they voted seventy thousand seamen, including eighteen thousand three hundred and fifty-five marines; and for their maintenance allotted three millions six hundred and forty thousand pounds. The number of land-forces, including the British troops in Germany, and the invalids, they fixed at fifty-seven thousand two hundred and ninety-four men, and granted for their subsistence one million three hundred eighty-three thousand seven hundred and forty-eight pounds and ten pence. For maintaining other forces in the plantations, Gibraltar, Guadaloupe, Africa, and the East Indies, they allowed eight hundred forty-six thousand one hundred and sixty-eight pounds, nineteen shillings; for the expense of four regiments on the Irish establishment, serving in North America, they voted thirty-five thousand seven hundred and forty-four pounds, eight shillings, and fourpence. For pay to the general and general staff-officers, and officers of the hospital for the land-forces, they assigned fifty-four thousand four hundred and fifty-four pounds, eleven shillings, and nine pence. They voted for

the expense of the militia in South and North Britain the sum of one hundred two thousand and six pounds, four shillings, and eight pence. They granted for the maintenance of thirty-eight thousand seven hundred and fifty men, being the troops of Hanover, Wolfenbuttel, Saxe-Gotha, and Buckebourg, retained in the service of Great Britain, the sum of four hundred forty-seven thousand eight hundred eighty-two pounds, ten shillings, and five pence halfpenny; and for nineteen thousand Hessian troops, in the same pay, they gave three hundred sixty-six thousand seven hundred twenty-five pounds, one shilling, and six pence. They afterwards bestowed the sum of one hundred eight thousand and twelve pounds, twelve shillings, and seven pence, for defraying the additional expense of augmentations in the troops of Hanover and Hesse, and the British army serving in the empire. For the ordinary of the navy, including half-pay to sea-officers; for carrying on the building of two hospitals, one near Gosport, and the other in the neighbourhood of Plymouth; for the support of the hospital at Greenwich; for purchasing ground, erecting wharfs, and other accommodations necessary for refitting the fleets at Halifax, in Nova Scotia; for the charge of the office of ordnance, and defraying the extraordinary expense incurred by that office in the course of the last year, they allowed seven hundred eighty-one thousand four hundred and eighty-nine pounds, six shillings, and six pence. Towards paying off the navy debt, buildings, rebuildings, and repairs of the king's ships, together with the charges of transport service, they granted one million seven hundred and one thousand seventy-eight pounds, sixteen shillings, and six pence. For defraying the extraordinary expenses of the land-forces and other services not provided for by Parliament, comprehending the pensions for the widows of reduced officers, they allotted the sum of nine hundred fifty-five thousand three hundred and forty-four pounds, fifteen shillings, and five pence halfpenny. They voted one million to empower his majesty to discharge the like sum, raised in pursuance of an act made in the last session of Parliament, and charged upon the first aids or supplies to be granted in this session of Parliament. They gave six hundred and seventy thousand pounds for enabling his majesty to make good his engagements with the King of Prussia, pursuant to a new convention between him and that monarch, concluded on the ninth day of November, in the

present year. Fifteen thousand pounds they allowed, upon account, towards enabling the principal officers of his majesty's ordnance to defray the necessary charges and expenses of taking down and removing the present magazine for gunpowder, situated in the neighbourhood of Greenwich, and of erecting it in some less dangerous situation. Sixty thousand pounds they gave, to enable his majesty to fulfil his engagements with the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, pursuant to the separate article of a treaty between the two powers, renewed in the month of November, the sum to be paid as his most serene highness should think it most convenient, in order to facilitate the means by which the landgrave might again fix his residence in his own dominions, and by his presence give fresh courage to his faithful subjects. Five hundred thousand pounds they voted upon account, as a present supply towards defraying the charges of forage, bread, bread-waggon, train of artillery, wood, straw, provisions, and contingencies of his majesty's combined army under the command of Prince Ferdinand. To the Foundling-hospital they granted five thousand pounds; and fifteen thousand for improving, widening, and enlarging the passage over and through London-bridge. To replace divers sums taken from the sinking-fund, they granted two hundred twenty-five thousand two hundred and eighty-one pounds, nineteen shillings, and four pence. For the subsistence of reduced officers, including the allowances to the several officers and private men of the two troops of horse-guards, and regiment of horse reduced, and to the superannuated gentlemen of the four troops of horse-guards, they voted thirty-eight thousand five hundred and ninety-seven pounds, nine shillings. Upon account, for the support of the colonies of Nova Scotia and Georgia, they granted twenty-one thousand six hundred ninety-four pounds, two shillings, and two pence. For enabling the king to give a proper compensation to the provinces in North America, for the expenses they might incur in levying and maintaining troops, according as the vigour and activity of those respective provinces should be thought by his majesty to merit, they advanced the sum of two hundred thousand pounds. The East India Company they gratified with twenty thousand pounds, towards enabling them to defray the expense of a military force in their settlements, in lieu of a battalion of the king's troops now returned to Ireland. Twenty-five thousand pounds were provided for the payment of the out-

pensioners of Chelsea-hospital. For subsequent augmentations of the British forces, since the first estimate of guards and garrisons for the ensuing year was presented, they allowed one hundred thirty-four thousand one hundred thirty-nine pounds, seventeen shillings, and four pence. They further voted, upon account, towards enabling the governors and guardians of the Foundling-hospital to maintain, educate, and bind apprentice the children admitted into the said charity, the sum of forty-seven thousand two hundred and eighty-five pounds. For defraying the expense of maintaining the militia in South and North Britain, to the twenty-fourth day of December of the ensuing year, they voted an additional grant of two hundred ninety thousand eight hundred and twenty-six pounds, sixteen shillings, and eight pence ; and, moreover, they granted fourscore thousand pounds, upon account, towards defraying the charge of pay and clothing of the unembodied militia for the year ending on the twenty-fifth day of March, in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty-one. For reimbursing the colony of New York their expenses in furnishing provisions and stores to the troops raised by them for his majesty's service, in the campaign of the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-six, they allowed two thousand nine hundred and seventy-seven pounds, seven shillings, and eight pence ; and for maintaining the British forts and settlements on the coast of Africa, they renewed the grant of ten thousand pounds. For the maintenance and augmentation of the troops of Brunswick in the pay of Great Britain for the ensuing year, pursuant to an ulterior convention concluded and signed at Paderborn on the fifth day of March, in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty, they granted the sum of ninety thousand seven hundred and sixty-nine pounds, eight shillings, and eleven pence farthing ; and for the troops of Hesse Cassel, in the same pay, during the same period, they allotted one hundred and one thousand ninety-six pounds, three shillings, and two pence. For the extraordinary expenses of the land-forces, and other services, incurred from the twenty-fourth day of November in the present year to the twenty-fourth of December following, and not provided for, they granted the sum of four hundred twenty thousand one hundred and twenty pounds, one shilling. To make good the deficiency of the grants for the service of this present year, one thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine,

they assigned the sum of seventy-five thousand one hundred and seventy pounds, three pence farthing. For printing the journals of the House of Commons they gave five thousand pounds; and six hundred thirty-four pounds, thirteen shillings and seven pence, as interest, at the rate of four per centum per annum, from the twenty-fifth day of August in the present year to the same day of April next, for the sum of twenty-three thousand eight hundred pounds, eleven shillings, and eleven pence, remaining in the office of ordnance, and not paid into the hands of the deputy of the king's remembrancer of the court of exchequer, as directed by an act made in the last session of Parliament, to make compensation for lands and hereditaments, purchased for his majesty's service at Chatham, Portsmouth, and Plymouth, by reason of doubts and difficulties which had arisen touching the execution of the said act. For defraying the extraordinary charge of the mint, during the present year, they allowed eleven thousand nine hundred and forty pounds, thirteen shillings, and ten pence: and two thousand five hundred pounds, upon account, for paying the debts claimed and sustained upon a forfeited estate in North Britain. They likewise allowed twelve thousand eight hundred and seventy-four pounds, fifteen shillings, and ten pence, for defraying the charge of a regiment of light dragoons, and of an additional company to the corps commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Vaughan. Finally, they voted one million, upon account, to enable the king to defray any extraordinary expenses of the war, incurred, or to be incurred, for the service of the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty; and to take all such measures as might be necessary to defeat any enterprise or design of his enemies, as the exigency of affairs might require. On the whole, the sum total granted in this session of Parliament amounted to fifteen millions five hundred three thousand five hundred and sixty-three pounds, fifteen shillings, and nine pence halfpenny; a sum so enormous, whether we consider the nation that raised it, or the purposes for which it was raised, that every Briton of a sedate mind, attached to the interest and welfare of his country, must reflect upon it with equal astonishment and concern; a sum considerably more than double the largest subsidy that was granted in the reign of Queen Anne, when the nation was in the zenith of her glory, and retained half the powers of Europe in her pay; a sum almost double of

what any former administration durst have asked ; and near double of what the most sanguine calculators, who lived in the beginning of this century, thought the nation could give without the most imminent hazard of immediate bankruptcy. Of the immense supply which we have particularized, the reader will perceive that two millions three hundred forty-four thousand four hundred and eighty-six pounds, sixteen shillings, and seven pence three farthings, were paid to foreigners for supporting the war in Germany, exclusive of the money expended by the British troops in that country, the number of which amounted, in the course of the ensuing year, to twenty thousand men ; a number the more extraordinary, if we consider they were all transported to that continent during the administration of those who declared in Parliament, (the words still sounding in our ears,) that not a man, nor even half a man, should be sent from Great Britain to Germany, to fight the battles of any foreign elector. Into the expense of the German war sustained by Great Britain, we must also throw the charge of transporting the English troops ; the article of forage, which alone amounted, in the course of the last campaign, to one million two hundred thousand pounds, besides pontage, waggons, horses, and many other contingencies. To the German war we may also impute the extraordinary expense incurred by the actual service of the militia, which the absence of the regular troops rendered in a great measure necessary ; and the loss of so many hands withdrawn from industry, from husbandry and manufacture. The loss sustained by this connexion was equally grievous and apparent ; the advantage accruing from it, either to Britain or Hanover, we have not discernment sufficient to perceive, consequently cannot be supposed able to explain.

The committee of ways and means, having duly deliberated on the articles of supply, continued sitting from the twenty-second day of November to the fourteenth of May, during which period they established the necessary funds to produce the sums which had been granted. The land-tax at four shillings in the pound, and the malt-tax, were continued, as the standing revenue of Great Britain. The whole provision made by the committee of ways and means amounted to sixteen millions one hundred thirty thousand five hundred and sixty-one pounds, nine shillings, and eight pence, exceeding the grants for the

Ways and
means, an-
nuities, &c.

service of the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty, in the sum of six hundred twenty-six thousand nine hundred ninety-seven pounds, thirteen shillings, and ten pence half-penny. This excess, however, will not appear extraordinary, when we consider that it was destined to make good the premium of two hundred and forty thousand pounds to the subscribers upon the eight million loan, as well as the deficiencies in the other grants, which never fail to make a considerable article in the supply of every session. That these gigantic strides towards the ruin of public credit were such as might alarm every well-wisher to his country, will perhaps more plainly appear in the sum total of the national debt, which, including the incumbrance of one million charged upon the civil-list revenue, and provided for by a tax upon salaries and pensions payable out of that revenue, amounted, at this period, to the tremendous sum of one hundred eight millions four hundred ninety-three thousand one hundred fifty-four pounds, fourteen shillings, and eleven pence one farthing. A comfortable reflection this to a people involved in the most expensive war that ever was waged, and already burdened with such taxes as no other nation ever bore!

It is not at all necessary to particularize the acts that were founded upon the resolutions touching the supply. We shall only observe that, in the act for the land-tax, and in the act for the malt-tax, there was a clause of credit, empowering the commissioners of the treasury to raise the money which they produced by loans on exchequer-bills, bearing an interest of four per cent. per annum, that is, one per cent. higher than the interest usually granted in time of peace. While the House of Commons deliberated on the bill for granting to his majesty several duties upon malt, and for raising a certain sum of money to be charged on the said duties, a petition was presented by the maltsters of Ipswich and parts adjacent against an additional duty on the stock of malt in hand; but no regard was paid to this remonstrance; and the bill, with several new amendments, passed through both Houses, under the title of "An act for granting to his majesty several duties upon malt, and for raising the sum of eight millions by way of annuities and a lottery, to be charged on the said duties; and to prevent the fraudulent obtaining of allowances in the gauging of corn making into

Bills for
granting
several
duties on
malt, &c.

malt; and for making forth duplicates of exchequer-bills, tickets, certificates, receipts, annuity-orders, and other orders lost, burned, or otherwise destroyed." The other three bills that turned wholly on the supply were passed in common course, without the least opposition in either House; and received the royal assent by commission at the end of the session. The first of these, entitled "A bill for enabling his majesty to raise a certain sum of money for the uses and purposes therein mentioned," contained a clause of appropriation, added to it by instruction; and the bank was enabled to lend the million, which the commissioners of the treasury were empowered by the act to borrow, at the interest of four pounds per cent. The second, granting to his majesty a certain sum of money out of the sinking-fund, for the service of the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty, comprehended a clause of credit for borrowing the money thereby granted; and another clause, empowering the bank to lend it without any limitation of interest; and the third, enabling his majesty to raise a certain sum of money towards discharging the debt of the navy, and for naval services during the ensuing year, enacted, that the exchequer-bills thereby to be issued should not be received, or pass to any receiver or collector of the public revenue, or at the receipt of the exchequer, before the twenty-sixth day of March, in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty-one.

As the act of the preceding session, prohibiting the malt distillery, was to expire at Christmas, the Commons, thinking it necessary to consider of proper methods for laying the malt distillery under such regulations as might prevent, if possible, its being prejudicial to the health and morals of the people, began as early as the month of November to deliberate on this affair; which being under agitation, petitions were presented to the House by several of the principal inhabitants of Spitalfields; the mayor and commonalty of New Sarum; the gentlemen, clergy, merchants, manufacturers, tradesmen, and other inhabitants of Colchester; the mayor, aldermen, and common-council of King's Lynn in Norfolk; the mayor and bailiffs of Berwick-upon-Tweed; representing the advantages accruing from the prohibition of the malt distillery, and praying the continuance of the act by which it was prohibited. On the other hand, counter-petitions

Petitions
for and
against the
prohibition
of the malt
distillery.

were offered by the mayor, magistrates, merchants, manufacturers, and other gentlemen of the city of Norwich; by the land-owners and holders of the south-west part of Essex; and by the freeholders of the shires of Ross and Cromartie, in North Britain; alleging, that the scarcity of corn, which had made it necessary to prohibit the malt distillery, had ceased; and that the continuing the prohibition beyond the necessity which had required it would be a great loss and discouragement to the landed interest; they therefore prayed that the said distillery might be again opened, under such regulations and restrictions as the House should think proper. These remonstrances being taken into consideration, and divers accounts perused, the House unanimously agreed that the prohibition should be continued for a limited time; and a bill being brought in pursuant to this resolution, passed through both Houses, and received the royal assent; by which means the prohibition of the malt distillery was continued till the twenty-fourth day of December, in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty, unless such continuation should be abridged by any other act to be passed in the present session.

The committee, having examined a great number of accounts and papers relating to spirituous liquors, agreed to four resolutions, importing that the present high price of spirituous liquors is a principal cause of the diminution in the home consumption thereof, and hath greatly contributed to the health, sobriety, and industry of the common people; that, in order to continue for the future the present high price of all spirits used for home consumption, a large additional duty should be laid upon all spirituous liquors whatsoever, distilled within or imported into Great Britain; that there should be a drawback of the said additional duties upon all spirituous liquors distilled in Great Britain, which should be exported; and that an additional bounty should be granted, under proper regulations, upon the exportation of all spirituous liquors drawn from corn in Great Britain. A great many accounts being perused, and witnesses examined relating to the distillery, a bill was brought in, to prevent the excessive use of spirituous liquors, by laying an additional duty thereupon; and to encourage the exportation of British made spirits. Considerable opposition was made to the bill, on the opinion that the additional duty

Opposition
to the bill
for pre-
venting the
excessive
use of
spirituous
liquors.

proposed was too small; and that among the resolutions, there was not so much as one that looked like a provision or restriction for preventing the pernicious abuse of such liquors. Nay, many persons affirmed, that what was proposed looked more like a scheme for increasing the public revenues, than a salutary measure to prevent excess. The merchants and manufacturers of the town of Birmingham petitioned for such restrictions. The lord mayor, aldermen, and common-council of London presented a petition by the hands of the two sheriffs, setting forth, that the petitioners had, with great pleasure, observed the happy consequences produced upon the morals, behaviour, industry, and health of the lower class of people, since the prohibition of the malt distillery: that the petitioners, having observed a bill was brought in to allow the distilling of spirits from corn, were apprehensive that the encouragement given to the distillers thereof would prove detrimental to the commercial interests of the nation; and they conceived the advantages proposed to be allowed upon the exportation of such spirits, being so much above the value of their commodity, would lay such a temptation for smuggling and perjury, as no law could prevent. They expressed their fears, that, should such a bill pass into a law, the excessive use of spirituous liquors would not only debilitate and enervate the labourers, manufacturers, sailors, soldiers, and all the lower class of people, and thereby extinguish industry, and that remarkable intrepidity which had lately so eminently appeared in the British nation, which must always depend on the vigour and industry of its people; but also its liberty and happiness, which cannot be supported without temperance and morality, would run the utmost risk of being destroyed. They declared themselves also apprehensive, that the extraordinary consumption of bread corn by the still would not only raise the price, so as to oppress the lower class of people, but would raise such a bar to the exportation thereof, as to deprive the nation of a great influx of money, at that time essential towards the maintaining of an expensive war, and therefore highly injure the landed and commercial interest; they therefore prayed that the present prohibition of distilling spirits from corn might be continued, or that the use of wheat might not be allowed in distillation. This remonstrance was corroborated by another to the same purpose, from several merchants, manufacturers,

and traders residing in and near the city of London; and seemed to have some weight with the Commons, who made several amendments in the bill, which they now entitled "A bill for preventing the excessive use of spirituous liquors, by laying additional duties thereon; for shortening the prohibition for making low wines and spirits from wheat; for encouraging the exportation of British-made spirits, and preventing the fraudulent relanding or importation thereof." Thus altered and amended, it passed on a division; and, making its way through the House of Lords, acquired the royal sanction. Whether the law be adequate to the purposes for which it was enacted, time will determine. The best way of preventing the excess of spirituous liquors would be to lower the excise on beer and ale, so as to enable the poorer class of labourers to refresh themselves with a comfortable liquor for nearly the same expense that will procure a quantity of geneva sufficient for intoxication; for it cannot be supposed that a poor wretch will expend his last penny upon a draught of small beer, without strength or the least satisfactory operation, when for the half of that sum he can purchase a cordial that will almost instantaneously allay the sense of hunger and cold, and regale his imagination with the most agreeable illusions. Malt was at this time sold cheaper than it was in the first year of King James I., when the Parliament enacted, that no inn-keeper, victualler, or alehouse-keeper, should sell less than a full quart of the best ale or beer, or two quarts of the small, for one penny, under the penalty of twenty shillings. It appears, then, that in the reign of King James the subject paid but four pence for a gallon of strong beer, which now costs one shilling; and, as the malt is not increased in value, the difference in the price must be entirely owing to the taxes on beer, malt, and hops, which are indeed very grievous, though perhaps necessary. The duty on small beer is certainly one of the heaviest taxes imposed upon any sort of consumption that cannot be considered as an article of luxury. Two bushels of malt, and two pounds of hops, are required to make a barrel of good small beer, which was formerly sold for six shillings; and the taxes payable on such a barrel amounted to three shillings and sixpence; so that the sum total of the imposition on this commodity was equal to a land-tax of eleven shillings and eight pence in the pound.

Immediately after the resolution relating to the prohibition of spirits from wheat, a motion was made, and leave given, to bring in a bill to continue, for a limited time, the act of the last session, permitting the importation of salted beef from Ireland. This permission was accordingly extended to the twenty-fourth day of December, in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty-one. In all probability this short and temporary continuance was proposed by the favourers of the bill, in order to avoid the clamour and opposition of prejudice and ignorance, which would have been dangerously alarmed had it been rendered perpetual. Yet as undoubted evidence had proved before the committee, while the bill was depending, that the importation had been of great service to England, particularly in reducing the price of salted beef for the use of the navy, perhaps no consideration ought to have prevented the legislature from perpetuating the law; a measure that would encourage the graziers of Ireland to breed and fatten horned cattle, and certainly put a stop to the practice of exporting salted beef from that kingdom to France, which undoubtedly furnishes the traders of that kingdom with opportunities of exporting wool to the same country.

As several lieutenants of counties had, for various reasons, suspended all proceedings in the execution of the laws relating to the militia for limited times, which suspensions were deemed inconsistent with the intent of the legislature, a bill was now brought in, to enable his majesty's lieutenants of the several counties of England and Wales to proceed in the execution of the militia laws, notwithstanding any adjournments. It was enacted, that, as the speedy execution of the laws for regulating the militia was most essentially necessary at this juncture to the peace and security of the kingdom, every lieutenant of the place where such suspension had happened should, within one month after the passing of this act, proceed as if there had been no suspension; and summon a meeting for the same purpose once in every succeeding month, until a sufficient number of officers qualified and willing to serve should be found, or until the expiration of the act for the better ordering the militia forces. The establishment of a regular militia in South Britain could not fail to make an impression upon the patriots of Scotland.

Bill for
continuing
the impor-
tation of
Irish beef.

Attempt to
establish a
militia in
Scotland.

They were convinced, from reason and experience, that nothing could more tend to the peace and security of their country than such an establishment in North Britain, the inhabitants of which had been peculiarly exposed to insurrections, which a well-regulated militia might have prevented or stifled in the birth; and their coast had been lately alarmed by a threatened invasion, which nothing but the want of such an establishment had rendered formidable to the natives. They thought themselves entitled to the same security which the legislature had provided for their fellow-subjects in South Britain, and could not help being uneasy at the prospect of seeing themselves left unarmed, and exposed to injuries both foreign and domestic, while the sword was put in the hands of their southern neighbours. Some of the members who represented North Britain in Parliament, moved by these considerations, as well as by the earnest injunctions of their constituents, resolved to make a vigorous effort, in order to obtain the establishment of a regular militia in Scotland. In the beginning of March it was moved and resolved, that the House would, on the twelfth day of the month, resolve itself into a committee, to consider of the laws in being which relate to the militia in that part of Great Britain called Scotland. The result of that inquiry was, that these laws were ineffectual. Then a motion was made for leave to bring in a bill for the better ordering of the militia forces in North Britain, and though it met with great opposition, was carried by a large majority. The principal Scottish members of the House were appointed, in conjunction with others, to prepare the bill, which was soon printed, and reinforced by petitions presented by the gentlemen, justices of the peace, and commissioners of the supply for the shire of Ayr; and by the freeholders of the shires of Edinburgh, Stirling, Perth, and Forfar. They expressed their approbation of the established militia in England, and their ardent wish to see the benefit of that wise and salutary measure extended to North Britain. This was an indulgence they had the greater reason to hope for, as by the articles of the union they were undoubtedly entitled to be on the same footing with their brethren of England; and as the legislature must now be convinced of the necessity of some such measure, by the consternation lately produced in their defenceless country, from the threatened invasion of a handful of French freebooters.

These remonstrances had no weight with the majority in the House of Commons, who, either unable or unwilling to make proper distinctions between the ill and well affected subjects of North Britain, rejected the bill, as a very dangerous experiment in favour of a people among whom so many rebellions had been generated and produced. When the motion was made for the bill's being committed, a warm debate ensued, in the course of which many Scottish members spoke in behalf of their country with great force of argument, and a very laudable spirit of freedom. Mr. Elliot, in particular, one of the commissioners of the board of Admiralty, distinguished himself by a noble flow of eloquence, adorned with all the graces of oratory, and warmed with the true spirit of patriotism. Mr. Oswald, of the treasury, acquitted himself with great honour on the occasion; ever nervous, steady, and sagacious, independent though in office, and invariable in pursuing the interests of his country. It must be owned, for the honour of North Britain, that all her representatives, except two, warmly contended for this national measure, which was carried in the negative by a majority of one hundred and six, though the bill was exactly modelled by the late act of Parliament for the establishment of the militia in England.

Even this institution, though certainly laudable and necessary, was attended with so many unforeseen difficulties, that every session of Parliament, since it was first established, has produced new acts for its better regulation. In April, leave was given to prepare a bill for limiting, confining, and better regulating the payment of the weekly allowances made by act of Parliament, for the maintenance of families unable to support themselves during the absence of militia-men embodied, and ordered out into actual service; as well as for amending and improving the establishment of the militia, and lessening the number of officers entitled to pay within that part of Great Britain called England. While this bill was under consideration, the House received a petition from the mayor, aldermen, town-clerk, sheriffs, gentlemen, merchants, clergy, tradesmen, and others, inhabitants of the ancient city of Lincoln, representing that, by an act passed relating to the militia, it was provided, that when any militia-men should be ordered out into actual service, leaving families unable to support themselves during their absence, the overseers of

Further
regulations
relative to
the militia
in England.

the parish where such families reside should allow them such weekly support as should be prescribed by any one justice of the peace, which allowance should be reimbursed out of the county stock. They alleged, that a considerable number of men, inhabitants of the said city, had entered themselves to serve in the militia of the county of Lincoln, as volunteers, for several parishes and persons; yet their families were nevertheless supported by the county stock of the city and county of the city of Lincoln. They took notice of the bill under deliberation, and prayed that, if it should pass into a law, they might have such relief in the premises as to the House should seem meet. Regard was had to this petition in the amendments to the bill,^h which passed through both Houses, and received the royal assent by commission. During the dependence of this bill another was brought in, to explain so much of the militia act passed in the thirty-first year of his majesty's reign as related to the money to be given to private militia-men, upon their being ordered out into actual service. By this law it was enacted, that the guinea which, by the former act, was due to every private man of every regiment or company of militia, when ordered out into actual service, should be paid to every man that shall afterwards be enrolled into such regiment or company whilst in actual service; that no man should be entitled to his clothes for his own use, until he should have served three years, if unembodied, or one year, if embodied, after the delivery of the clothes; and that the full pay of the militia should commence from the date of his majesty's

^h By this law it was enacted, that if any militia-man who shall have been accepted and enrolled as a substitute, hired man, or volunteer, before the passing of the act, or who shall have been chosen by lot, whether before or after the passing of the act, shall when embodied, or called out into actual service, and ordered to march, leave a family unable to support themselves, the overseers shall, by order of some one justice of the peace, pay out of the poor's rates of such parish a weekly allowance to such family, according to the usual and ordinary price of labour and husbandry there; viz. for one child under the age of ten years, the price of one day's labour; for two children under the age aforesaid, the price of two days' labour; for three or four children under the age aforesaid, the price of three days' labour; for five or more children under the age aforesaid, the price of four days' labour; and for the wife of such militia-man, the price of one day's labour; but that the families of such men only as shall be chosen by lot, and of the substitutes, hired men, and volunteers already accepted and enrolled, shall, after the passing of this act, receive any such weekly allowance. For removing the grievance complained of in the above petition, it is enacted that, where treasurers shall reimburse to overseers any money, in pursuance of this act, on account of the weekly allowance to the family of any militia-man serving in the militia of any county or place other than that wherein such family shall dwell, they are to transmit an account thereof, signed by some justice for the place where such family shall dwell, to the treasurer of the county, &c., in the militia whereof such militia-man shall serve, who is thereupon to pay him the sum so reimbursed to such overseers, and the same to be allowed in his accounts.

warrant for drawing them out. The difficulties which these successive regulations were made to obviate will be amply recompensed by the good effects of a national militia, provided it be employed in a national way, and for national purposes : but if the militia are embodied, and the different regiments that compose it are marched from the respective counties to which they belong ; if the men are detained for any length of time in actual service, at a distance from their families, when they might be employed at home in works of industry, for the support of their natural dependents ; the militia becomes no other than an addition to, or augmentation of a standing army, enlisted for the term of three years. The labour of the men is lost to the community ; they contract the idle habits and dissolute manners of the other troops ; their families are left as incumbrances on the community, and the charge of their subsistence is at least as heavy as that of maintaining an equal number of regular forces. It would not, we apprehend, be very easy to account for the government's ordering the regiments of militia to march from their respective counties, and to do duty for a considerable length of time at a great distance from their own homes, unless we suppose this measure was taken to create in the people a disgust to the institution of the militia, which was an establishment extorted from the secretary by the voice of the nation. We may add, that some of the inconveniences attending a militia will never be totally removed, while the persons drawn by lot for that service are at liberty to hire substitutes ; for it cannot be supposed that men of substance will incur the danger, fatigue, and damage of service in person, while they can hire among the lowest class of people mercenaries of desperate fortune and abandoned morals, who will greedily seize the opportunity of being paid for renouncing that labour by which they were before obliged to maintain themselves and their family connexion ; it would therefore deserve the consideration of the legislature, whether the privilege of hiring substitutes should not be limited to certain classes of men, who are either raised by their rank in life above the necessity of serving in person, or engaged in such occupations as cannot be intermitted without prejudice to the commonwealth. It must be allowed, that the regulation in this new act, by which the families of substitutes are deprived of any relief from the parish, will not only diminish

the burden of the poor's rates, but also, by raising the price of mercenaries, oblige a greater number of the better sort to serve in person. Without all doubt, the fewer substitutes that are employed, the more dependence may be placed upon the militia in the preservation of our rights and privileges, and the more will the number of the disciplined men be increased : because at the expiration of every three years the lot-men must be changed, and new militia-men chosen ; but the substitutes will, in all probability, continue for life in the service, provided they can find lot-men to hire them at every rotation. The reader will forgive our being so circumstantial upon the regulations of an institution which we cannot help regarding with a kind of enthusiastic affection.

In the latter end of November, the House of Commons received a petition from several noblemen, gentlemen, and others, inhabitants of East Greenwich and places adjacent, in Kent, representing that, in the said parish, within a quarter of a mile of the town, distinguished by a royal palace and royal hospital for seamen, there was a magazine, containing great quantities of gunpowder, frequently to the amount of six thousand barrels ; that, besides the great danger which must attend all places of that kind, the said magazine stood in an open field, unenclosed by any fortification or defence whatsoever, consequently exposed to treachery, and every other accident. They alleged that, if through treachery, lightning, or any other accident, this magazine should take fire, not only their lives and properties, but the palace and hospital, the king's yards and stores at Deptford and Woolwich, the banks and navigation of the Thames, with the ships sailing and at anchor in that river, would be inevitably destroyed, and inconceivable damage would accrue to the cities of London and Westminster. They moreover observed, that the magazine was then in a dangerous condition, supported on all sides by props that were decayed at the foundation ; that in case it should fall, the powder would, in all probability, take fire, and produce the dreadful calamities above recited : they therefore prayed that the magazine might be removed to some more convenient place, where any accident would not be attended with such dismal consequences. The subject of this remonstrance was so pressing and important, that a committee was immediately appointed to take the affair into consideration, and procure an estimate for purchasing lands,

Bill for
removing
the powder
magazine
from
Greenwich.

and erecting a powder magazine, at Purfleet, in Essex, near the banks of the river, together with a guard-house, barracks, and all other necessary conveniences. While the report of the committee lay upon the table for the perusal of the members, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, by his majesty's command, acquainted the House, that the king, having been informed of the subject-matter of the petition, recommended it to the consideration of the Commons. Leave was immediately given to prepare a bill, founded on the resolutions of the committee; which, having been duly considered, altered, and amended, passed through both Houses to the foot of the throne, where it obtained the royal sanction. The magazine was accordingly removed to Purfleet, an inconsiderable and solitary village, where there will be little danger of accident, and where no great damage would attend an explosion; but in order to render this possible explosion still less dangerous, it would be necessary to form the magazine of small distinct apartments, totally independent of each other; that, in case one should be accidentally blown up, the rest might stand unaffected. The same plan ought to be adopted in the construction of all combustible stores subject to conflagration. The marine bill, and mutiny bill, as annual regulations, were prepared in the usual form, passed both Houses without opposition, and received the royal assent.

The next affair that engrossed the deliberation of the Commons was a measure relating to the internal economy of the metropolis. The sheriffs of London delivered a petition from the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons, in common-council assembled, representing that several streets, lanes, and passages, within the city of London and liberties thereof, were too narrow and incommodious for the passing and repassing as well of foot-passengers as of coaches, carts, and other carriages, to the prejudice and inconvenience of the owners and inhabitants of houses, and to the great hindrance of business, trade, and commerce. They alleged that these defects might be remedied, and several new streets opened within the said city and liberties, to the great ease, safety, and convenience of passengers, as well as to the advantage of the public in general, if they, the petitioners, were enabled to widen and enlarge the narrow streets, lanes, and passages, to open and lay out such new streets and ways, and to purchase the several houses, buildings, and grounds which might be necessary for these

Act for
improving
the streets
of London.

purposes. They took notice that there were several houses within the city and liberties, partly erected over the ground of other proprietors; and others, of which the several floors or apartments belonged to different persons; so that difficulties and disputes frequently arose amongst the said several owners and proprietors, about pulling down or rebuilding the party-walls and premises; that such rebuilding was often prevented or delayed, to the great injury and inconvenience of those owners who were desirous to rebuild; that it would therefore be of public benefit, and frequently prevent the spreading of the fatal effects of fire, if some provision were made by law, as well for determining such disputes in a summary way, as for explaining and amending the laws then in being relating to the building of party-walls. They therefore prayed that leave might be given to bring in a bill for enabling the petitioners to widen and enlarge the several streets, lanes, and passages, and to open new streets and ways to be therein limited and prescribed; as well as for determining, in a summary way, all disputes arising about the rebuilding of houses or tenements within the said city and liberties, wherein several persons have an intermixed property; and for explaining and amending the laws in being relating to these particulars. A committee being appointed to examine the matter of this petition agreed to a report, upon which leave was given to prepare a bill, and this was brought in accordingly. Next day a great number of citizens represented, in another petition, that the pavement of the city and liberties was often damaged, by being broken up for the purposes of amending or new laying water-pipes belonging to the proprietors of water-works; and praying that provision might be made in the bill then depending, to compel those proprietors to make good any damage that might be done to the pavement by the leaking or bursting of the water-pipes, or opening the pavement for alterations. In consequence of this representation, some amendments were made in the bill, which passed through both Houses, and was enacted into a law, under the title of "An act for widening certain streets, lanes, and passages, within the city of London and liberties thereof; and for opening certain new streets and ways within the same, and for other purposes therein mentioned."¹

¹ The openings to be made, and the passages to be improved or enlarged, were ascertained by two schedules annexed to the act. With respect to the houses, buildings, and grounds to be purchased, the mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city, in common-

The inhabitants of Westminster had long laboured under the want of a fish-market, and complained that the price of this species of provision was kept up at an exorbitant rate by the fraudulent combination of a few dealers, who engrossed the whole market at Billingsgate, and destroyed great quantities of fish, in order to enhance the value of those that remained. An act of Parliament had passed in the twenty-second year of his present majesty's reign, for establishing a free market for the sale of fish in Westminster; and, seven years after that period, it was found necessary to procure a second, for explaining and amending the first; but neither effectually answered the purposes of the legislature. In the month of January of the present session, the House took into consideration a petition of the several fishermen trading to Billingsgate-market, representing the hardships to which they were exposed by the said acts; particularly forfeitures of vessels and cargoes incurred by the negligence of servants who had omitted to make the particular entries which the two acts prescribed. This petition being examined by a committee, and the report being made, leave was given to bring in a new bill, which should contain effectual provisions for the better supplying the cities of London and Westminster with fish, and for preventing the abuses of the fishmongers. It was entitled, "A bill to repeal so much of an act passed in the twenty-ninth of George II. concerning a free market for fish at Westminster, as requires fishermen to enter their fishing vessels at the office of the searcher of the customs at Gravesend, and to regulate the sale of fish at the first hand in the fish-markets in London and Westminster; and to prevent salesmen of fish buying fish to sell again on their own account; and to allow bret and turbot, brill and pearl, although under

Bill relative
to the sale
of fish in
London and
Westminster.

council assembled, or a committee appointed by them, were empowered to fix the price by agreement with the respective proprietors, or otherwise by a jury in the usual manner. With regard to party-walls, the act ordains, that the proprietor of either adjoining house may compel the proprietor of the other to agree to its being pulled down and rebuilt, and to pay a moiety of the expense, even though it should not be necessary to pull down or rebuild either of their houses; that all party-walls shall be at least two bricks and a half in thickness in the cellar, and two bricks thick upwards to the top of the garret-floor. It enacts, that if any decayed house belongs to several proprietors, any one of them, who is desirous to rebuild, may oblige the others to concur, and join with him in the expense, or purchase their shares at a price to be fixed by a jury. If any house should hereafter be presented by any inquest or grand jury, in London, as being in a ruinous condition, the court of mayor and aldermen is, by this act, empowered to pull it down at the expense of the ground-landlord. As to damaged pavements, not sufficiently repaired by the proprietors of the water-works, any justice of the peace in London is vested with power, upon their refusing or delaying to make it good, to cause it to be effectually rebuilt with good materials at their expense.

the respective dimensions mentioned in a former act, to be imported and sold; and to punish persons who shall take or sell any spawn, brood, or fry of fish, unsizeable fish, or fish out of season, or smelts under the size of five inches, and for other purposes." Though this and the former bill relating to the streets and houses of London are instances that evince the care and attention of the legislature, even to minute particulars of the internal economy of the kingdom, we can hardly consider them as objects of such dignity and importance as to demand the deliberations of the Parliament, but think they naturally fall within the cognizance of the municipal magistracy. After all, perhaps the most effectual method for supplying Westminster with plenty of fish, at reasonable rates, would be to execute with rigour the laws already enacted against forestalling and regrating, an expedient that would soon dissolve all monopolies and combinations among the traders; to increase the number of markets in London and Westminster; and to establish two general markets at the Nore, one on each side of the river, where the fishing vessels might unload their cargoes, and return to sea without delay. A number of light boats might be employed to convey fresh fish from these marts to London and Westminster, where all the different fish-markets might be plentifully supplied at a reasonable expense; for it cannot be supposed that, while the fresh fish are brought up the river in the fishing smacks themselves, which can hardly save the tides to Billingsgate, they will ever dream of carrying their cargoes above bridge; or that the price of fish can be considerably lowered, while the fishing vessels lose so much time in running up to Gravesend or Billingsgate.

The annual committee being appointed to enquire what laws were expired, or near expiring, agreed to certain resolutions; upon which a bill was prepared, and obtained the royal assent, importing a continuation of several laws, namely, the several clauses mentioned of the acts in the fifth and eighth of George I. against the clandestine running of uncustomed goods, except the clauses relating to quarantine; the act passed in the third of George II. relating to the carrying rice from Carolina; the act of the seventh of the same reign, relating to cochineal and indigo; and that of the twelfth of George II. so far as it related to the importation of printed

New act for
ascertaining
the qualifi-
cations of
members of
Parliament.

books. There was also a law enacted, to continue to the twenty-ninth day of September, in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty-seven, an act passed in the twelfth year of Queen Anne, for encouraging the making of sail-cloth, by a duty of one penny per ell laid upon all foreign-made sails and sail-cloth imported, and a bounty in the same proportion granted upon all home-made sail-cloth, and canvass fit for or made into sails, and exported; another act was passed, for continuing certain laws relating to the additional number of one hundred hackney coaches and chairs, which law was rendered perpetual. The next law we shall mention was intended to be one of the most important that ever fell under the cognizance of the legislature: it was a law that affected the freedom, dignity, and independency of Parliaments. By an act passed in the ninth year of the reign of Queen Anne, it was provided that no person should be chosen a member of Parliament who did not possess in England or Wales an estate, freehold or copyhold, for life, according to the following qualifications: for every knight of a shire six hundred pounds per annum, over and above what will satisfy all incumbrances; and three hundred pounds per annum for every citizen, burgess, and baron of the Cinque Ports. It was also decreed, that the return of any person not thus qualified should be void; and that every candidate should, at the reasonable request of any other candidate at the time of election, or of two or more persons who had a right to vote, take an oath prescribed, to establish his qualification. This restraint was by no means effectual. So many oaths of different kinds had been prescribed since the Revolution, that they began to lose the effect they were intended to have on the minds of men; and, in particular, political perjury grew so common that it was no longer considered as a crime. Subterfuges were discovered, by means of which this law relating to the qualifications of candidates was effectually eluded. Those who were not actually possessed of such estates procured temporary conveyances from their friends and patrons, on condition of their being restored and cancelled after the election. By this scandalous fraud the intention of the legislature was frustrated, the dignity of Parliament prostituted, the example of perjury and corruption extended, and the vengeance of Heaven set at defiance. Through this infamous channel the ministry had it in their power to thrust into Parliament a set of venal hangers who as they de-

pended upon their bounty, would always be obsequious to their will, and vote according to direction, without the least regard to the dictates of conscience, or to the advantage of their country. The mischiefs attending such a vile collusion, and in particular the undue influence which the crown must have acquired from the practice, were either felt or apprehended by some honest patriots, who, after divers unsuccessful efforts, at length presented to the House a bill, importing that every person who shall be elected a member of the House of Commons, shall, before he presumes to take his seat, deliver to the clerk of the House at the table, while the Commons are sitting, and the speaker in the chair, a paper or schedule, signed by himself, containing a rental or particular of the lands, tenements, or hereditaments, whereby he makes out his qualification, specifying the nature of his estate, whether messuage, land, rent, tithe, or what else; and if such estate consists of messuages, lands, or tithes, then specifying in whose occupation they are; and if in rent, then specifying the names of the owners or possessors of the lands and tenements out of which such rent is issuing, and also specifying the parish, township, or precinct and county, in which the said estate lies, and the value thereof; and every such person shall, at the same time, also take and subscribe the following oath, to be fairly written at the bottom of the paper or schedule: "I, A. B., do swear that the above is a true rental; and that I truly and *bonâ fide* have such an estate in law or equity, to and for my own use and benefit, of and in the lands, tenements, or hereditaments, above described, over and above what will satisfy and clear all incumbrances that may affect the same; and that such estate hath not been granted or made over to me fraudulently, on purpose to qualify me to be a member of this House. So help me God!" It was provided that the said paper or schedule, with the oath aforesaid, should be carefully kept by the clerk, to be inspected by the members of the House of Commons, without fee or reward; that if any person, elected to serve in any future Parliament, should presume to sit or vote as a member of the House of Commons before he had delivered in such a paper or schedule, and taken the oath aforesaid, or should not be qualified according to the true intent or meaning of this act, his election should be void; and every person so sitting and voting should forfeit a certain sum, to be recovered by such persons as should sue for the same by action of debt, bill,

plaint, or information, whereon no essoign, privilege, protection, or wager of law, should be allowed, and only one imparlance: that if any person should have delivered in, and sworn to, his qualification as aforesaid, and taken his seat in the House of Commons, yet at any time after should, during the continuance of such Parliament, sell, dispose of, alien, or any otherwise incumber the estate, or any part thereof comprised in the schedule, so as to lessen or reduce the same under the value of the qualification by law directed, every such person, under a certain penalty, must deliver in a new or further qualification, according to the true intent and meaning of this act, and swear to the same, in manner before directed, before he should again presume to sit or vote as a member of the House of Commons: that in case any action, suit, or information should be brought, in pursuance of this act, against any member of the House of Commons, the clerk of the House shall, upon demand, forthwith deliver a true and attested copy of the paper or schedule, so delivered in to him as aforesaid, by such member, to the plaintiff or prosecutor, or his attorney or agent, paying a certain sum for the same; which being proved a true copy, shall be admitted to be given in evidence upon the trial of any issue in any such action. Provided always, that nothing contained in this act shall extend to the eldest son or heir apparent of any peer or lord of Parliament, or of any person qualified to serve as knight of the shire, or to the members for either of the universities in that part of Great Britain called England, or to the members for that part of Great Britain called Scotland. Such was the substance of the bill, as originally presented to the House of Commons; but it was altered in such a manner, as we are afraid will fail in answering the salutary purposes for which it was intended by those who brought it into the House. Notwithstanding the provisions made in the act as it now stands, any minister or patron may still introduce his pensioners, clerks, and creatures into the House, by means of the old method of temporary conveyance, though the farce must now be kept up until the member shall have delivered in his schedule, taken his oath, and his seat in Parliament; then he may deliver up the conveyance, or execute a reconveyance, without running any risk of losing his seat, or of being punished for his fraud and perjury. The extensive influence of the crown, the general corruptibility of individuals, and the obstacles so industriously

thrown in the way of every scheme contrived to vindicate the independency of Parliaments, must have produced very mortifying reflections in the breast of every Briton warmed with the genuine love of his country. He must have perceived that all the bulwarks of the constitution were little better than buttresses of ice, which would infallibly thaw before the heat of ministerial influence, when artfully concentrated; that either a minister's professions of patriotism were insincere, or his credit insufficient to effect any essential alteration in the unpopular measures of government; and that, after all, the liberties of the nation could never be so firmly established, as by the power, generosity, and virtue of a patriot king. This inference could not fail to awake the remembrance of that amiable prince whom fate untimely snatched from the eager hopes and warm affection of a whole nation, before he had it in his power to manifest and establish his favourite maxim, "That a monarch's glory was inseparably connected with the happiness of his people." *

* The following declaration, made to the chiefs of the opposition, will render the memory of the late Prince of Wales dear to the latest posterity.

His royal highness has authorized Lord T. and Sir F. D. to give the most positive assurances to the gentlemen in the opposition of his upright intentions; that he is thoroughly convinced of the distresses and calamities that have befallen, and every day are more likely to befall this country; and therefore invites all well-wishers to this country and its constitution to coalesce and unite with him, and upon the following principle only:

His royal highness promises, and will declare it openly, that it is his intention totally to abolish any distinctions for the future of parties; and as far as lies in his power, and as soon as it does lie in his power, to take away for ever all proscription from any set of men whatever who are friends to the constitution; and therefore will promote for the present, and when it is in his power will immediately grant—

First, a bill to empower all gentlemen to act as justices of peace, paying land-tax for 300*l.* per annum, in any county where he intends to serve.

Secondly, his royal highness promises, in like manner, to support, and forthwith grant, whenever he shall have it in his power, a bill to create and establish a numerous and effectual militia throughout the kingdom.

Thirdly, his royal highness promises, in like manner, to promote and support, and likewise grant when it is in his power, a bill to exclude all military officers in the land service under the degree of colonels of regiments, and in the sea service under the degree of rear-admirals, from sitting in the House of Commons.

Fourthly, his royal highness promises that he will, when in his power, grant inquiries into the great number of abuses in offices, and does not doubt the assistance of all honest men, to enable him to correct the same for the future.

Fifthly, his royal highness promises, and will openly declare, that he will make no agreement with, or join in the support of, any administration whatever, without previously obtaining the above-mentioned points in behalf of the people, and for the sake of good government. Upon these conditions, and these conditions only, his royal highness thinks he has a right not to doubt of having a most cordial support from all those good men who mean their country and this constitution well, and that they will become his and his family's friends, and unite with him to promote the good government of this country; and that they will follow him upon these principles, both in court and out of court; and if he should live to form an administration, it should be composed, without distinction, of men of dignity, knowledge, and probity. His royal highness further promises to accept of no more, if offered to him, than 800,000*l.* for his civil list, by way of rent-charge.

Answer to the foregoing proposal.

The lords and gentlemen to whom a paper has been communicated, containing his

On the first day of February a motion was made, and leave given, to bring in a bill for enabling his majesty to make leases and grants of offices, lands, and hereditaments, parcel of his duchy of Cornwall, or annexed to the same: accordingly it passed through both Houses without opposition; and enacted that all leases and grants made, or to be made, by his majesty, within seven years next ensuing, in or annexed to the said duchy, under the limitations therein mentioned, should be good and effectual in law against his majesty, his heirs, and successors, and against all other persons that should hereafter inherit the said duchy, either by an act of Parliament, or any limitation whatsoever. This act appears the more extraordinary, as the Prince of Wales, who has a sort of right, by prescription, to the duchy of Cornwall, was then of age, and might have been put in possession of it by the passing of a patent. The House having perused an account of the produce of the fund established for paying annuities granted in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine, with the charge on that fund on the fifth day of January in the succeeding year, it appeared that there had been a considerable deficiency in the said fund on the fifth day of July preceding, and this had been made good out of the sinking-fund, by a resolution of the seventh of February, already particularized. They therefore instructed the committee of ways and means to consider so much of the annuity and lottery act, passed in the preceding session, as related to the three per centum annuities, amounting to the sum of seven millions five hundred and ninety thousand pounds, granted in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine; and also to consider so much of the said act as related to the subsidy of poundage upon certain goods and merchan-

royal highness the prince's gracious intentions upon several weighty and important points, of the greatest consequence to the honour and interest of his majesty's government, and absolutely necessary for the restoring and perpetuating the true use and design of Parliament, the purity of our excellent constitution, and the happiness and welfare of the whole nation, do therein with the greatest satisfaction observe, and most gratefully acknowledge, the uprightness and generosity of his royal highness's noble sentiments and resolutions. And therefore beg leave to return their most dutiful and humble thanks for the same; and to assure his royal highness that they will constantly and steadily use their utmost endeavours to support those his wise and salutary purposes, that the throne may be strengthened, religion and morality encouraged, faction and corruption destroyed, the purity and essence of Parliament restored, and the happiness and welfare of our constitution preserved.

When the above answer was returned to the prince, there were present,

The Duke of B.—The Earl of L.—The Earl of S.—The Earl of T.—The Earl of W.—The Earl of S.—Lord F.—Lord W.—Sir Wat. Wil. Wynne.—Sir John H. C.—Sir Walker B.—Sir Robert G.—Mr. F.—Mr. P.—Mr. C.

1760.
Act for con-
solidating
the annu-
ties granted
in 1759.

dise to be imported into this kingdom, and the additional inland duty on coffee and chocolate. The committee having taken these points into deliberation, agreed to the two resolutions we have already mentioned with respect to the consolidation; and a bill was brought in for adding those annuities granted in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine to the joint stock of three per centum annuities, consolidated by the acts of the twenty-fifth, twenty-eighth, twenty-ninth, and thirty-second years of his majesty's reign, and for several duties therein mentioned, to the sinking-fund. The committee was afterwards empowered to receive a clause for cancelling such lottery tickets as were made forth in pursuance of an act passed in the thirtieth year of his majesty's reign, and were not then disposed of: a clause for this purpose was accordingly added to the bill, which passed through both Houses without opposition, and received the royal assent at the end of the session.

On the twenty-ninth day of April, Lord North presented to the House a bill for encouraging the exportation of rum and spirits of the growth, produce, and manufacture of the British sugar plantations, from Great Britain, and of British spirits made from molasses; a bill which, in a little time, acquired the sanction of the royal assent. Towards the end of April, Admiral Townshend presented a bill for the more effectual securing the payment of such prize and bounty moneys as were appropriated to the use of Greenwich-hospital by an act passed in the twenty-ninth year of his majesty's reign. As by that law no time was limited, or particular method prescribed, for giving notifications of the day appointed for the payment of the shares of the prizes and bounty-money, and many agents had neglected to specify, in the notification given in the London Gazette for payment of shares of prizes condemned in the courts of Admiralty in Great Britain, the particular day or time when such payments were to commence, whereby it was rendered difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain the time when the hospital at Greenwich became entitled to the unclaimed shares, of consequence could not enjoy the full benefit of the act; the bill now prepared imported, that, from and after the first day of September in the present year, all notifications of the payment of the shares of prizes taken by any of his majesty's ships of war, and condemned in Great Bri-

Bill for securing the payment of prize and bounty money appropriated for the use of Greenwich-hospital.

tain, and from and after the first day of February in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty-one, all notifications of the payment of the shares and prizes taken and condemned in any other of his majesty's dominions in Europe, or in any of the British plantations in America; and from and after the twenty-fifth day of December, in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty-one, all notifications of the payment of the shares of prizes taken and condemned in any other of his majesty's dominions, shall be respectively given and published in the following manner:—If the prize be condemned in any court of Admiralty in Great Britain, such notification, under the agent's hand, shall be published in the London Gazette; and if condemned in any court of Admiralty in any other of his majesty's dominions, such notification shall be published in like manner in the gazette, or other newspaper of public authority, of the island or place where the prize is condemned; and if there shall be no gazette, or such newspaper, published there, then in some or one of the public newspapers of the place; and such agents shall deliver to the collector, customer, or searcher, or his lawful deputy; and if there shall be no such officer, then to the principal officer or officers of the place where the prize is condemned, or to the lawful deputy of such principal officers, two of the gazettes or other newspapers in which such notifications are inserted; and if there shall not be any public newspapers in any such island or place, the agent shall give two such notifications in writing, under his hand; and every such collector, or other officer as aforesaid, shall subscribe his name on both the said gazettes, newspapers, or written notifications; and, by the first ship which shall sail from thence to any port of Great Britain, shall transmit to the treasurer or deputy treasurers of the said royal hospital one of the said notifications, with his name so subscribed, to be there registered; and shall faithfully preserve and keep the other, with his name thereon subscribed, in his own custody; and in every notification, as aforesaid, the agent shall specify his place of abode, and the precise day of the month and year appointed for the payment of the respective shares to the captors; and all notifications with respect to prizes condemned in Great Britain shall be published in the London Gazette three days at least before any share of such prize shall be paid; and, with respect to prizes condemned in any other part of his

majesty's dominions, such notifications shall be delivered to the said collector, or other officers as aforesaid, three days at least before any share of such prizes shall be paid. It was likewise enacted, that the agents for the distribution of bounty bills should insert, and publish under their hands, in the London Gazette, three days at least before payment, public notifications of the day and year appointed for such payment, and also insert therein their respective places of abode. The bill, even as it now stands, is liable to several objections. It may be dangerous to leave the money of the unclaimed shares so long as three years in the hands of the agent, who, together with his securities, may prove insolvent before the expiration of that term: then the time prescribed to the sailors, within which their claim is limited, appears to be too short, when we consider that they may be so circumstanced, turned over to another ship, and conveyed to a distant part of the globe, that they shall have no opportunity to claim payment; and should three years elapse before they could make application to the agent, they would find their bounty or prize-money appropriated to the use of Greenwich-hospital; nay, should they die in the course of the voyage, it would be lost to their heirs and executors, who, being ignorant of their title, could not possibly claim within the time limited.

A committee having been appointed to inquire into the original standards of weights and measures in the kingdom of England, to consider the laws relating thereto, and to report their observations thereupon, together with their opinion of the most effectual means for ascertaining and enforcing uniform and certain standards of weights and measures, they prepared copies, models, patterns, and multiples, and presented them to the House; then they were locked up by the clerk of the House; and Lord Carysfort presented a bill, according to order, for enforcing uniformity of weights and measures to the standards by law to be established; but this measure, which had been so long in dependence, was not yet fully discussed, and the standards and weights were reserved to another occasion. A law was made for reviving and continuing so much of an act passed in the twenty-first year of his majesty's reign, as relates to the more effectual trial and punishment of high treason in the highlands of Scotland, and also for continuing two other acts passed in the nine-

Act in
favour of
George
Keith, late
Lieut-Mue-
schil of
Scotland.

teenth and twenty-first years of his majesty's reign, so far as they relate to the more effectual disarming the highlands of Scotland, and securing the peace thereof; and to allow further time for making affidavits of the execution of articles or contracts of clerks to attorneys or solicitors, and filing thereof. The king having been pleased to pardon George Keith, Earl-Mareschal of Scotland, who had been attainted for rebellion in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixteen, the Parliament confirmed this indulgence, by passing an act to enable the said George Keith, late earl-mareschal, to sue or entertain any action or suit, notwithstanding his attainder, and to remove any disability in him, by reason of the said attainder, to take or inherit any real or personal estate that might or should thereafter descend or come to him, or which he was entitled to in reversion or remainder before his attainder. This nobleman, universally respected for his probity and understanding, had been employed as ambassador to the court of France by the King of Prussia, and was actually at this juncture in the service of that monarch, who, in all probability, interceded with the King of England in his behalf. When his pardon had passed the seals, he repaired to London, and was presented to his majesty, by whom he was very graciously received.

These, and a good number of other bills of less importance, both private and public, were passed into laws by commission on the twenty-second day of May, when the lord-keeper of the great seal closed the session with a speech to both Houses. He began with an assurance that his majesty looked back on their proceedings with entire satisfaction. He said the duty and affection which they had expressed for the king's person and government, the zeal and unanimity they had showed in maintaining the true interest of their country, could only be equalled by what his majesty had formerly experienced from his Parliament. He told them it would have given his majesty the most sensible pleasure had he been able to assure them that his endeavours to promote a general peace had met with more suitable returns. He observed that his majesty, in conjunction with his good brother and ally the King of Prussia, had chosen to give their enemies proofs of this equitable disposition in the midst of a series of glorious victories; an opportunity the most proper to take such a step with dignity, and to manifest to all Europe the purity and moderation of his views. After

Session
closed.

such a conduct, he said, the king had the comfort to reflect, that the further continuance of the calamities of war could not be imputed to him or his allies; that he trusted in the blessing of Heaven upon the justice of his arms, and upon those ample means which the zeal of the Parliament in so good a cause had wisely put into his hands; that his future successes in carrying on the war would not fall short of the past; and that, in the event, the public tranquillity would be restored on solid and durable foundations. He acquainted them that his majesty had taken the most effectual care to augment the combined army in Germany; and at the same time to keep up such a force at home as might frustrate any attempts of the enemy to invade these kingdoms; such attempts as had hitherto ended only in their own confusion. He took notice that the royal navy was never in a more flourishing and respectable condition; and the signal victory obtained last winter over the French fleet on their own coast had given lustre to his majesty's arms, fresh spirit to his maritime forces, and reduced the naval strength of France to a very low ebb. He gave them to understand that his majesty had disposed his squadrons in such a manner as might best conduce to the annoyance of his enemies; to the defence of his own dominions, both in Europe and America; to the preserving and pursuing his conquests, as well as to the protection of the trade of his subjects, which he had extremely at heart. He told the Commons, that nothing could relieve his majesty's royal mind, under the anxiety he felt for the burdens of his faithful subjects, but the public-spirited cheerfulness with which their House had granted him such large supplies, and his conviction that they were necessary for the security and essential interest of his kingdoms; he therefore returned them his hearty thanks for these supplies, and assured them they should be duly applied to the purposes for which they had been given. Finally, he recommended to both Houses the continuance of that union and good harmony which he had observed with so much pleasure, and from which he had derived such important effects. He desired they would study to promote these desirable objects, to support the king's government, and the good order of their respective counties, and to consult their own real happiness and prosperity.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

REMARKABLE DETECTION OF A MURDER BY WILLIAM ANDREW HORNE. — POPULAR CLAMOUR AGAINST LORD GEORGE SACKVILLE. — HIS ADDRESS TO THE PUBLIC. — HE DEMANDS A COURT-MARTIAL. — SUBSTANCE OF THE CHARGE AGAINST HIM. — HIS DEFENCE. — JUDGMENT ON IT. — SENTENCE OF THE COURT-MARTIAL. — EARL FERRERS APPREHENDED FOR MURDER. — TRIED BY THE HOUSE OF PEERS — CONVICTED — AND EXECUTED AT TYBURN. — ASSASSINATION OF MR. MATTHEWS, BY ONE STIRN, A HESSIAN. — NEW BRIDGE BURNED AT BLACKFRIARS. — CONFLAGRATION IN PORTSMOUTH-YARD. — NUMBER OF SHIPS TAKEN BY THE ENEMY. — PROGRESS OF MONS. THUROT. — HE MAKES A DESCENT AT CARRICKFERGUS. — IS SLAIN, AND HIS SHIPS TAKEN. — EXPLOIT OF CAPTAIN KENNEDY. — REMARKABLE ADVENTURE OF FIVE IRISH SEAMEN. — THE RAMILLIES MAN OF WAR WRECKED UPON THE BOLT-HEAD. — TREATY WITH THE CHEROKEES. — HOSTILITIES RECOMMENCED. — THREE TOWNS DESTROYED BY COLONEL MONTGOMERY. — HIS EXPEDITION TO THE MIDDLE SETTLEMENTS. — FATE OF THE GARRISON AT FORT LOUDON. — THE BRITISH INTERLOST ESTABLISHED ON THE OHIO. — THE FRENCH UNDERTAKE THE SIEGE OF QUIBERG. — DEFEAT BRIGADIER MURRAY, AND OBLIGE HIM TO RETIRE INTO THE TOWN. — QUEBEC BESIEGED. — THE ENEMY'S SHIPPING DESTROYED. — THEY ABANDON THE SIEGE. — GENERAL AMHERST REDUCES THE FRENCH FORT AT THE ISLE ROYALE — AND TAKES MONTREAL. — FRENCH SHIPS DESTROYED IN THE BAY OF CHALEURS. — TOTAL REDUCTION OF CANADA. — DEMOLITION OF LOUISBOURG. — INSURRECTION OF THE NEGROES IN JAMAICA. — ACTION AT SEA OFF HISPANIOLA. — GALLANT BEHAVIOUR OF THE CAPTAINS ORBEN AND TAYLOR IN THE LEEWARD ISLANDS. — TRANSACTIONS IN THE EAST INDIES. — ACHIEVEMENTS IN THE BAY OF QUIBERON. — ADMIRAL RODNEY DESTROYS SOME VESSELS ON THE COAST OF FRANCE. — PREPARATIONS FOR A SECRET EXPEDITION. — ASTRONOMERS SENT TO THE EAST INDIES. — EARTHQUAKES IN SYRIA. — WISE CONDUCT OF THE CATHOLIC KING. — AFFAIRS OF PORTUGAL. — TURKISH SHIP OF THE LINE CARRIED INTO MALTA. — PATRIOTIC SCHEMIS OF THE KING OF DENMARK. — MEMORIAL PRESENTED BY THE BRITISH AMBASSADOR TO THE STATES-GENERAL. — STATE OF THE POWERS AT WAR. — DEATH OF THE LANDGRAVE OF HESSE-CASSEL. — OFFERS MADE BY THE NEUTRAL POWERS OF A PLACE FOR HOLDING A CONGRESS. — SKIRMISHES IN WESTPHALIA DURING THE WINTER. — EXACTIONS BY THE FRENCH IN WESTPHALIA. — SKIRMISH TO THE ADVANTAGE OF THE ALLIES AT VACHA. — SITUATION OF THE FRENCH ARMIES. — EXPLOIT OF COLONEL LACKNER AT BUTZBACH. — THE FRENCH ADVANCE TO NEUSTADT. — THE HEREDITARY PRINCE OF BRUNSWICK DEFEATED AT CORBACH — BUT RETRIEVES HIS HONOUR AT EXDORF. — VICTORY OBTAINED BY THE ALLIES AT WARBOURG. — THE HEREDITARY PRINCE BEATS UP THE QUARTERS OF THE FRENCH AT ZEIRENBERG. — PETTY ADVANTAGES ON BOTH SIDES. — THE HEREDITARY PRINCE MARCHES TO THE LOWER RHINE — IS WORSTED AT CAMPEN — AND RECAPTURES THE RHINE. — ATTEMPT OF THE ENEMY AGAINST HIM. — ADVANTAGES GAINED BY M. DE STAINVILLE. — THE ALLIES AND FRENCH GO INTO WINTER QUARTERS.

THE successes of the last campaign had flushed the whole nation with the most elevated hope of future conquest, and the government was enabled to take every step which appeared necessary to realize that sanguine expectation; but the war became every day more and more Germanized. Notwithstanding the immense sums that were raised for the expenses of the

1760.
Remarkable
detection of
a murder by
William
Andrew
Horne.

current year; notwithstanding the great number of land-forces maintained in the service, and the numerous fleets that filled the harbours of Great Britain; we do not find that one fresh effort was made to improve the advantages she had gained upon her own element, or for pushing the war on national principles: for the reduction of Canada was no more than the consequence of the measures which had been taken in the preceding campaign. But, before we record the progress of the war, it may be necessary to specify some domestic occurrences that for a little while engrossed the public attention. In the month of December, in the preceding year, William Andrew Horne, a gentleman of some fortune in Derbyshire, was executed at Nottingham, in the seventy-fourth year of his age, for the murder of an infant born of his own sister, in the year one thousand seven hundred and twenty-four. On the third day after the birth, this brutal ruffian thrust the child into a linen bag, and, accompanied by his own brother on horseback, conveyed it to Annesley, in Nottinghamshire, where it was next day found dead under a hay-stack. Though this cruel rustic knew how much he lay at the mercy of his brother, whom he had made privy to this affair, far from endeavouring to engage his secrecy by offices of kindness and marks of affection, he treated him as an alien to his blood; not barely with indifference, but even with the most barbarous rigour. He not only defrauded him of his right, but exacted of him the lowest menial services; beheld him starving in a cottage, while he lived himself in affluence; and refused to relieve with a morsel of charity the children of his own brother begging at his gate. It was the resentment of this pride and barbarity which, in all likelihood, first impelled the other to revenge. He pretended qualms of conscience, and disclosed the transaction of the child to several individuals. As the brother was universally hated for the insolence and brutality of his disposition, information was given against him, and a resolution formed to bring him to condign punishment. Being informed of this design, he tampered with his brother, and desired that he would retract, upon the trial, the evidence he had given before the justices. Though the brother rejected this scheme of subornation, he offered to withdraw himself from the kingdom, if he might have five pounds to defray the expense of his removal. So sordidly avaricious was the other, that he refused to ad-

vance this miserable pittance, though he knew his own life depended upon his compliance. He was accordingly apprehended, tried, and convicted on his brother's evidence; and then he confessed the particulars of his exposing the infant. He denied, indeed, that he had any thought the child would perish, and declared he intended it as a present to the gentleman at whose gate it was laid; but as he appeared to be a hardened miscreant, devoid of humanity, stained with the complicated crimes of tyranny, fraud, rapine, incest, and murder, very little credit is due to his declaration. In the course of the same month, part of Westminster was grievously alarmed by a dreadful conflagration, which broke out in the house of a cabinet-maker near Covent-garden, raged with great fury, and reduced near twenty houses to ashes. Many others were damaged, and several persons either burned in their apartments, or buried under the ruins. The bad consequences of this calamity were in a great measure alleviated by the humanity of the public, and the generous compassion of the Prince of Wales, who contributed liberally to the relief of the sufferers.

But no subject so much engrossed the conversation and passions of the public as did the case of Lord George Sackville, who had by this time resigned his command in Germany, and returned to England: the country which, of all others, it would have been his interest to avoid at this juncture, if he was really conscious of the guilt, the imputation of which his character now sustained. With the first tidings of the battle fought at Minden, the defamation of this officer arrived. He was accused of having disobeyed orders, and his conduct represented as infamous in every particular. These were the suggestions of a vague report which no person could trace to its origin; yet this report immediately gave birth to one of the most inflammatory pamphlets that ever was exhibited to the public. The first charge had alarmed the people of England, jealous in honour, sudden and rash in their resentments, and obstinately adhering to the prejudices they have espoused. The implied accusation in the orders of Prince Ferdinand, and the combustible matter superadded by the pamphlet-writer, kindled up such a blaze of indignation in the minds of the people, as admitted of no temperment or control. An abhorrence and detestation of Lord George Sackville, as a coward and a traitor, became the

Popular
clamour
against
Lord George
Sackville.
His address
to the
public.

universal passion, which acted by contagion, infecting all degrees of people from the cottage to the throne; and no individual, who had the least regard for his own character and quiet, would venture to preach up moderation, or even advise a suspension of belief, until more certain information could be received. Fresh fuel was continually thrown in by obscure authors of pamphlets and newspapers, who stigmatized and insulted with such virulent perseverance, that one would have imagined they were actuated by personal motives, not retained by mercenary booksellers, against that unfortunate nobleman. Not satisfied with inventing circumstances to his dishonour, in his conduct on the last occasion, they pretended to take a retrospective view of his character, and produced a number of anecdotes to his prejudice, which had never before seen the light, and but for this occasion had probably never been known. Not that all the writings which appeared on this subject contained fresh matter of aggravation against Lord George Sackville. Some writers, either animated by the hope of advantage, or hired to betray the cause which they undertook to defend, entered the lists as professed champions of the accused, assumed the pen in his behalf, devoid of sense, unfurnished with materials, and produced performances which could not fail to injure his character among all those who believed that he countenanced their endeavours, and supplied them with the facts and arguments of his defence. Such precisely was the state of the dispute when Lord George arrived in London. While Prince Ferdinand was crowned with laurel; while the King of Great Britain approved his conduct, and, as the most glorious mark of that approbation, invested him with the order of the garter; while his name was celebrated through all England, and extolled, in the warmest expressions of hyperbole, above all the heroes of antiquity, every mouth was opened in execration of the late commander of the British troops in Germany. He was now made acquainted with the particulars of his imputed guilt, which he had before indistinctly learned. He was accused of having disobeyed three successive orders he had received from the general, during the action at Minden, to advance with the cavalry of the right wing, which he commanded, and sustain the infantry that were engaged; and after the cavalry were put in motion, of having halted them unnecessarily, and marched so slow, that they could not reach the

place of action in time to be of any service : by which conduct the opportunity was lost of attacking the enemy when they gave way, and rendering the victory more glorious and decisive. The first step which Lord George took towards his own vindication with the public, was in printing a short address, entreating them to suspend their belief with respect to his character until the charge brought against him should be legally discussed by a court-martial ; a trial which he had already solicited, and was in hopes of obtaining.

Finding himself unable to stem the tide of popular prejudice, which flowed against him with irresistible impetuosity, he might have retired in quiet and safety, and left it to ebb at leisure. This would have been generally deemed a prudential step by all those who considered the unfavourable medium through which every particular of his conduct must have been viewed at that juncture, even by men who cherished the most candid intentions ; when they reflected upon the power, influence, and popularity of his accuser ; the danger of aggravating the resentment of the sovereign, already too conspicuous ; and the risk of hazarding his life on the honour and integrity of witnesses who might think their fortunes depended upon the nature of the evidence they should give. Notwithstanding those suggestions, Lord George, seemingly impatient of the imputation under which his character laboured, insisted upon the privilege of a legal trial, which was granted accordingly, after the judges had given it as their opinion that he might be tried by a court-martial, though he no longer retained any commissions in the service. He demands a court-martial. A court of general officers being appointed and assembled to inquire into his conduct, the judge-advocate gave him to understand, that he was charged with having disobeyed the orders of Prince Ferdinand relative to the battle of Minden. That the reader may have the more distinct idea of the charge, it is necessary to remind him that Lord George Sackville commanded the cavalry of the right wing, consisting of Hanoverian and British horse, disposed in two lines, the British being at the extremity of the right, extending to the village of Hartum ; the Hanoverian cavalry forming the left, that reached almost to an open wood or grove, which divided the horse from the line of infantry, particularly from that part of the line of infantry consisting of two brigades of British foot, the Hanoverian guards, and

Hardenberg's regiment. This was the body of troops which sustained the brunt of the battle with the most incredible courage and perseverance. They of their own accord advanced to attack the left of the enemy's cavalry, through a most dreadful fire of artillery and small arms, to which they were exposed in front and flank; they withstood the repeated attacks of the whole French gendarmerie, whom at length they totally routed, together with a body of Saxon troops on their left; and to their valour the victory was chiefly owing. The ground from which these troops advanced was a kind of heath or plain, which opened a considerable way to the left, where the rest of the army was formed in order of battle, but on the right it was bounded by the wood, on the other side of which the cavalry of the right wing was posted, having in front the village of Halen, from whence the French had been driven by the piquets in the army there posted, and in front of them a windmill, situated in the middle space between them and a battery placed on the left of the enemy.

Early in the morning Captain Malhorti had, by order of Prince Ferdinand, posted the cavalry of the right wing in the situation we have just described; the village of Hartum with enclosures on the right, a narrow wood on the left, the village of Halen in their front, and a windmill in the middle of an open plain, which led directly to the enemy. In this position Lord George Sackville was directed to remain until he should receive further orders; and here it was those orders were given which he was said to have disobeyed. Indeed he was previously charged with having neglected the orders of the preceding evening, which imported that the horses should be saddled at one in the morning, though the tents were not to be struck, nor the troops under arms, until they should receive further orders. He was accused of having disobeyed these orders, and of having come late into the field, after the cavalry was formed. Captain Winchingle, aide-du-camp to Prince Ferdinand, declared, upon oath, that while the infantry of the right wing were advancing towards the enemy for the second time, he was sent with orders to Lord George Sackville to advance with the cavalry of the right wing, and sustain the infantry, which was going to engage, by forming the horse under his command upon the heath, in a third line behind the regiments; that he delivered these orders to Lord

Substance of
the charge
against him.

George Sackville, giving him to understand that he should march the cavalry through the wood or trees on his left to the heath, where they were to be formed; that, on his return to the heath, he met Colonel Fitzroy riding at full gallop towards Lord George; and that he (Winchingshoe) followed him back, in order to hasten the march of the cavalry. Colonel Ligonier, another of the prince's aides-du-camp, deposed that he carried orders from the general to Lord George to advance with the cavalry in order to profit from the disorder which appeared in the enemy's cavalry; that Lord George made no answer to these orders, but, turning to the troops, commanded them to draw their swords, and march; that the colonel, seeing them advance a few paces on the right forwards, told his lordship he must march to the left; that, in the mean time, Colonel Fitzroy arriving with orders for the British cavalry only to advance, Lord George said the orders were contradictory; and Colonel Ligonier replied they differed only in numbers, but the destination of his march was the same, to the left. Colonel Fitzroy, the third aide-du-camp to Prince Ferdinand, gave evidence, that when he told Lord George it was the prince's order for the British cavalry to advance towards the left, his lordship observed, that it was different from the order brought by Colonel Ligonier, and he could not think the prince intended to break the line; that he asked which way the cavalry was to march, and who was to be their guide; that when he (the aide-du-camp) offered to lead the column through the wood on the left, his lordship seemed still dissatisfied with the order, saying, it did not agree with the order brought by Colonel Ligonier, and desired to be conducted in person to the prince, that he might have an explanation from his own mouth; a resolution which was immediately executed. The next evidence, an officer of rank in the army, made oath, that, in his opinion, when the orders were delivered to Lord George, his lordship was alarmed to a very great degree, and seemed to be in the utmost confusion. A certain nobleman, of high rank and unblemished reputation, declared, that Captain Winchingshoe having told him it was absolutely necessary that the cavalry should march, and form a line to support the foot, he had given orders to the second line to march; that as soon as they arrived at the place where the action began, he was met by Colonel Fitzroy, with an order for the cavalry to advance

as possible; that in marching to this place, an order to halt, until they could be joined by the first line of infantry; that afterwards, in advancing, they were again ordered by Lord George Sackville; that, in his opinion, they might have marched with more expedition, and even come in time enough to act against the enemy: some other officers, were examined on this subject, agreed with the marquis in these sentiments.

Lord George, in his defence, proved, by undeniable evidence, that he never received the orders issued on the eve of the battle, nor any sort of intimation ^{His defence.} of plan of action, although he was certainly entitled to receive such communication, as commander-in-chief of the British forces; that, nevertheless, the orders concerning the cavalry were obeyed by those who received them; that Lord George, instead of loitering or losing time while the troops were forming, prepared to put himself at the head of the cavalry on the first notice that they were in motion; that he was so eager to perform his duty, as to set out from his quarters without even waiting for an aide-du-camp to find him, and was in the field before any general officer of his division. He declared that, when Captain Winchingle delivered the order to form the cavalry into one column, making a third, to advance and sustain the infantry, neither heard him say he was to march by the left, nor did he point with his sword to the wood through which the cavalry was to pass. Neither of these directions were observed by any of the aides-du-camp or officers then present, except one gentleman, the person who bore witness to the confusion of the looks and deportment of his lordship. It was proved that the nearest and most practicable way of advancing against the enemy was by the way of the windmill, to the left of the village of Halen. It appeared that Lord George imagined this was the only way by which he should be ordered to advance; that, in this persuasion, he had sent an officer to reconnoitre the village of Halen, as an object of importance, as it would have been upon the flank of the cavalry in advancing forwards; that when he received the order from Winchingle to form the line and advance, he still imagined this was his route, and on this position immediately detached an aide-du-camp to remove a regiment of Saxe-Gotha, which was in the front; that he sent a second to observe the place where the infantry were,

and a third to reconnoitre the enemy ; that in a few minutes Colonel Ligonier coming up with an order from Prince Ferdinand to advance the cavalry, his lordship immediately drew his sword, and ordered them to march forward by the windmill. The colonel declared that, when he delivered the order, he added " by the left ;" but Lord George affirmed that he heard no such direction, nor did it reach the ears of any other person then present, except of that officer who witnessed to the same direction given by Winchingleade. It was proved that, immediately after the troops were put in motion, Colonel Fitzroy arrived with an order from Prince Ferdinand, importing that the British cavalry only should advance by the left: that Lord George declared their orders were contradictory, and seemed the more puzzled, as he understood that both these gentlemen came off nearly at the same time from the prince, and were probably directed to communicate the same order. It was therefore natural to suppose there was a mistake, as there might be danger in breaking the line, as the route by the wood appeared more difficult and tedious than that by the windmill, which led directly through open ground to the enemy ; and as he could not think that, if a body of horse was immediately wanted, the general would send for the British that were at the farthest extremity of the wing, rather than for the Hanoverian cavalry who formed the left of the line, and consequently were much nearer the scene of action. It was proved that Lord George, in this uncertainty, resolved to apply for an explanation to the prince in person, who he understood was at a small distance ; that with this view he set out with all possible expedition ; that having entered the wood, and perceived that the country beyond it opened sooner to the left than he had imagined, and Captain Smith, his aide-du-camp, advising that the British cavalry should be put in motion, he sent back that gentleman, with orders for them to advance by the left with all possible despatch ; that he rode up to the general, who received him without any marks of displeasure, and ordered him to bring up the whole cavalry of the right wing in a line upon the heath ; an order, as the reader will perceive, quite different from that which was so warmly espoused by the aide-du-camp ; that as the Marquis of Granby had already put the second line in motion according to a separate order which he had received, and the head

of his column was already in view, coming out of the wood, Lord George thought it necessary to halt the troops on the left until the right should come into the line; and afterwards sent them orders to march slower, that two regiments, which had been thrown out of the line, might have an opportunity to replace themselves in their proper stations.

With respect to the confusion which one officer affirmed was perceivable in the countenance and deportment of this commander, a considerable number of other officers then present being interrogated by his lordship, unanimously declared that they saw no such marks of confusion, but that he delivered his orders with all the marks of coolness and deliberation. The candid reader will of himself determine, whether a man's heart is to be judged by any change of his complexion, granting such a change to have happened; whether the evidence of one witness, in such a case, will weigh against the concurrent testimony of all the officers whose immediate business it was to attend and observe the commander; whether it was likely that an officer, who had been more than once in actual service, and behaved without reproach, so as to attain such an eminent rank in the army, should exhibit symptoms of fear and confusion when there was in reality no appearance of danger; for none of the orders imported that he should attack the enemy, but only advance to sustain the infantry. The time which elapsed from the first order he received by Captain Winchinglede, to the arrival of Colonel Ligonier, did not exceed eight minutes, during which his aide-du-camp, Captain Hugo, was employed in removing the Saxe-Gotha regiment from the front, by which he proposed to advance. From that period till the cavalry actually marched in consequence of an order from Lord George, the length of time was differently estimated in the opinion of different witnesses, but at a medium computed by the judge-advocate at fifteen minutes, during which the following circumstances were transacted: the troops were first ordered to advance forwards, then halted; the contradictory orders arrived and were disputed; the commander desired the two aides-du-camp to agree about which was the precise order, and he would obey it immediately: each insisting upon that which he had delivered, Lord George hastened to the general for an explanation; and as he passed the wood, sent back

Captain Smith to the right of the cavalry, which was at a considerable distance, to put the British horse in motion. We shall not pretend to determine whether the commander of such an important body may be excusable for hesitating, when he receives contradictory orders at the same time, especially when both orders run counter to his own judgment; whether in that case it is allowable for him to suspend the operation for a few minutes, in order to consult in person the commander-in-chief about a step of such consequence to the preservation of the whole army. Neither will we venture to decide dogmatically on the merits of the march, after the cavalry were put in motion; whether they marched too slow, or were unnecessarily halted in their way to the heath. It was proved, indeed, that Lord George was always remarkably slow in his movements of cavalry, on the supposition that if horses are blown they must be unfit for service, and that the least hurry is apt to disorder the line of horse to such a degree, as would rob them of their proper effect, and render all their efforts abortive. This being the system of Lord George Sackville, it may deserve consideration, whether he could deviate from it on this delicate occasion, without renouncing the dictates of his own judgment and discretion; and whether he was at liberty to use his own judgment after having received the order to advance. After all, whether he was intentionally guilty, and what were the motives by which he was really actuated, are questions which his own conscience alone can solve. Even granting him to have hesitated from perplexity, to have lingered from vexation, to have failed through error of judgment, he will probably find favour with the candid and humane part of his fellow-subjects, when they reflect upon the nature of his situation, placed at the head of such a body of cavalry, uninstructed and uninformed of plan or circumstance, divided from the rest of the army, unacquainted with the operations of the day, chagrined with doubt and disappointment, and perplexed by contradictory orders, neither of which he could execute without offering violence to his own judgment; when they consider the endeavours he used to manifest his obedience; the last distinct order which he in person received and executed; that mankind are liable to mistakes; that the cavalry were not originally intended to act, as appears in the account of the battle published at the Hague, by the

authority of Prince Ferdinand, expressly declaring that the cavalry on the right did not act, because it was destined to sustain the infantry in a third line; that if it had really been designed for action, it ought either to have been posted in another place, or permitted to advance straight forwards by the windmill, according to the idea of its commander; finally, when they recall to view the general confusion that seems to have prevailed through the manœuvres of that morning, and remember some particulars of the action; that the brigades of British artillery had no orders until they applied to Lord George Sackville, who directed them to the spot where they acquitted themselves with so much honour and effect, in contributing to the success of the day; that the glory and advantage acquired by the few brigades of infantry, who may be said to have defeated the whole French army, was in no respect owing to any general or particular orders or instructions, but entirely flowing from the native valour of the troops, and the spirited conduct of their immediate commanders; and that a great number of officers in the allied army, even of those who remained on the open heath, never saw the face of the enemy, or saw them at such a distance that they could not distinguish more than the hats and the arms of the British regiments with which they were engaged. With respect to the imputation of cowardice levelled at Lord George by the unthinking multitude, and circulated with such industry and clamour, we ought to consider it as a mob-accusation, which the bravest of men, even the great Duke of Marlborough, could not escape; we ought to receive it as a dangerous suspicion, which strikes at the root of character, and may blast that honour in a moment, which the soldier has acquired in a long course of painful service, at the continual hazard of his life; we ought to distrust it as a malignant charge, altogether inconsistent with the former conduct of the person accused, as well as with his subsequent impatience and perseverance in demanding a trial, to which he never would have been called; a trial which, though his life was at stake, and his cause out of countenance, he sustained with such courage, fortitude, and presence of mind, as even his enemies themselves could not help admiring. Thus have we given a succinct detail of this remarkable affair, with that spirit of impartiality, that sacred regard to truth, which the importance of history demands. To the

best of our recollection, we have forgot no essential article of the accusation, nor suppressed any material circumstance urged in defence of Lord George Sackville. Unknown to his person, unconnected with his friends, unmoved by fear, unbiassed by interest, we have candidly obeyed the dictates of justice, and the calls of humanity, in our endeavours to dissipate the clouds of prejudice and misapprehension; warmed, perhaps, with an honest disdain at the ungenerous, and, in our opinion, unjust persecution which, previous to his trial, an officer of rank, service, and character, the descendant of an illustrious family, the son of a nobleman universally respected, a Briton, a fellow-subject, had undergone.

The court-martial, having examined the evidence and heard the defence, gave judgment in these words: Sentence of the court-martial. “The court, upon due consideration of the whole matter before them, is of opinion that Lord George Sackville is guilty of having disobeyed the orders of Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, whom he was, by his commission and instructions, directed to obey as commander-in-chief, according to the rules of war; and it is the further opinion of this court, that the said Lord George Sackville is, and he is hereby adjudged, unfit to serve his majesty in any military capacity whatsoever.” His sentence was confirmed by the king, who moreover signified his pleasure that it should be given out in public orders, not only in Britain, but in America, and every quarter of the globe where any English troops happened to be, that officers, being convinced that neither high birth nor great employments can shelter offences of such a nature, and that, seeing they are subject to censures much worse than death to a man who has any sense of honour, they may avoid the fatal consequences arising from disobedience of orders. To complete the disgrace of this unfortunate general, his majesty in council called for the council-book, and ordered the name of Lord George Sackville to be struck out of the list of privy-councillors.

This summer was distinguished by another trial, still more remarkable. Laurence Earl Ferrers, a nobleman of a violent spirit, who had committed many outrages, and in the opinion of all who knew him given manifold proofs of insanity, at length perpetrated a murder, which subjected him to the cognizance of justice. His Earl Ferrers apprehended for murder.

deportment to his lady was so brutal, that application had been made to the House of Peers, and a separation effected by act of Parliament. Trustees were nominated; and one Mr. Johnson, who had, during the best part of his life, been employed in the family, was now appointed receiver of the estates, at the earl's own request. The conduct of this man, in the course of his stewardship, gave umbrage to Lord Ferrers, whose disposition was equally jealous and vindictive. He imagined all his own family had conspired against his interest, and that Johnson was one of their accomplices; that he had been instrumental in obtaining the act of Parliament, which his lordship considered as a grievous hardship; that he had disappointed him in regard to a certain contract about coal mines; in a word, that there was a collusion between Johnson and the earl's adversaries. Fired with these suppositions, he first expressed his resentment, by giving Johnson notice to quit the farm which he possessed on the estate; but finding the trustees had confirmed the lease, he determined to gratify his revenge by assassination, and laid his plan accordingly. On Sunday the thirteenth of January he appointed this unhappy man to come to his house on the Friday following, in order to peruse papers, or settle accounts; and Johnson went thither without the least suspicion of what was prepared for his reception: for although he was no stranger to his lordship's dangerous disposition, and knew he had some time before incurred his displeasure, yet he imagined his resentment had entirely subsided, as the earl had of late behaved to him with remarkable complacency. He therefore, at the time appointed, repaired to his lordship's house at Stanton, in Leicestershire, at the distance of a short mile from his own habitation, and was admitted by a maid-servant. The earl had dismissed every person in the house, upon various pretences, except three women, who were left in the kitchen. Johnson, advancing to the door of his apartment, was received by his lordship, who desired him to walk into another room, where he joined him in a few minutes, and then the door was locked on the inside. After a great deal of warm expostulation, the earl insisted upon his subscribing a paper, acknowledging himself a villain; and on his refusing to comply with this demand, declared he would put him to death. In vain the unfortunate man remonstrated against this cruel injustice, and deprecated the indignation of this

furious nobleman. He remained deaf to all his enticacies, drew forth a pistol, which he had loaded for the purpose, and, commanding him to implore Heaven's mercy on his knees, shot him through the body, while he remained in that supplicating attitude. The consequence of this violence was not immediate death; but his lordship, seeing the wretched victim still alive and sensible, though agonized with pain, felt a momentary motion of pity. He ordered his servants to convey Mr. Johnson up stairs to a bed, to send for a surgeon, and give immediate notice of the accident to the wounded man's family. When Mr. Johnson's daughter came to the house, she was met by the earl, who told her he had shot her father on purpose, and with deliberation. The same declaration he made to the surgeon, on his arrival. He stood by him while he examined the wound, described the manner in which the ball had penetrated, and seemed surprised that it should be lodged within the body. When he demanded the surgeon's opinion of the wound, the operator thought proper to temporize, for his own safety, as well as for the sake of the public, lest the earl should take some other desperate step, or endeavour to escape. He therefore amused him with hopes of Johnson's recovery, about which he now seemed extremely anxious. He supported his spirits by immoderate drinking, after having retired to another apartment with the surgeon, whom he desired to take all possible care of his patient. He declared, however, that he did not repent of what he had done; that Johnson was a villain, who deserved to die; that in case of his death, he (the earl) would surrender himself to the House of Peers, and take his trial. He said he could justify the action to his own conscience, and owned his intention was to have killed Johnson outright; but, as he still survived, and was in pain, he desired that all possible means might be used for his recovery. Nor did he seem altogether neglectful of his own safety: he endeavoured to tamper with the surgeon, and suggest what evidence he should give when called before a court of justice. He continued to drink himself into a state of intoxication, and all the cruelty of his hate seemed to return. He would not allow the wounded man to be removed to his own house; saying, he would keep him under his own roof, that he might plague the villain. He returned to the chamber where Johnson lay, insulted him

with the most opprobrious language, threatened to shoot him through the head, and could hardly be restrained from committing further acts of violence on the poor man, who was already in extremity. After he retired to bed, the surgeon procured a sufficient number of assistants, who conveyed Mr. Johnson in an easy chair to his own house, where he expired that same morning in great agonies. The same surgeon assembled a number of armed men to seize the murderer, who at first threatened resistance, but was soon apprehended, endeavouring to make his escape, and committed to the county prison. From thence he was conveyed to London by the gaoler of Leicester, and conducted by the usher of the black rod and his deputy into the House of Lords, where the coroner's inquest, and the affidavits touching the murder, being read, the gaoler delivered up his prisoner to the care of the black rod, and he was immediately committed to the Tower. He appeared very calm, composed, and unconcerned, from the time of his being apprehended; conversed coolly on the subject of his imprisonment; made very pertinent remarks upon the nature of the habeas corpus act of Parliament, of which he hoped to avail himself; and when they withdrew from the House of Peers, desired he might not be visited by any of his relations or acquaintances. His understanding, which was naturally good, had been well cultivated; his arguments were rational, but his conduct was frantic.

The circumstances of this assassination appeared so cruel and deliberate, that the people cried aloud for vengeance; and the government gave up the offender to the justice of his country. The lord keeper, Tried by the House of Peers. Henley, was appointed lord high steward for the trial of Earl Ferrers, and sat in state with all the peers and judges in Westminster-hall, which was for this purpose converted into a very august tribunal. On the sixteenth day of April the delinquent was brought from the Tower in a coach, attended by the major of the Tower, the gentleman gaoler, the warders, and a detachment of the foot guards. He was brought into court about ten; and the lord steward with the peers taking their places, he was arraigned aloud in the midst of an infinite concourse of people, including many foreigners, who seemed wonderfully struck with the magnificence and solemnity of the tribunal. The murder was fully proved by unquestionable evidence; but the earl pleaded

insanity of mind; and, in order to establish this plea, called many witnesses to attest his lunacy in a variety of instances, which seemed too plainly to indicate a disordered imagination: unfounded jealousy of plots and conspiracies, unconnected ravings, fits of musing, incoherent ejaculations, sudden starts of fury, denunciations of unprovoked revenge, frantic gesticulations, and a strange caprice of temper, were proved to have distinguished his conduct and deportment. It appeared that lunacy had been a family taint, and affected divers of his lordship's relations; that a solicitor of reputation had renounced his business on the full persuasion of his being disordered in his brain; that long before this unhappy event his nearest relations had deliberated upon the expediency of taking out a commission of lunacy against him, and were prevented by no other reason than the apprehension of being convicted of *scandalum magnatum*, should the jury find his lordship *compos mentis*; a circumstance which in all probability would have happened, inasmuch as the earl's madness did not appear in his conversation, but in his conduct. A physician of eminence, whose practice was confined to persons labouring under this infirmity, declared that the particulars of the earl's deportment and personal behaviour seemed to indicate lunacy. Indeed, all his neighbours and acquaintances had long considered him as a madman; and a certain noble lord declared in the House of Peers, when the bill of separation was on the carpet, that he looked upon him in the light of a maniac; and that if some effectual step was not taken to divest him of the power of doing mischief, he did not doubt but that one day they should have occasion to try him for murder. The lawyers who managed the prosecution in behalf of the crown, endeavoured to invalidate the proofs of his lunacy, by observing, that his lordship was never so much deprived of his reason, but that he could distinguish between good and evil; that the murder he had committed was the effect of revenge for a conceived injury of some standing; that the malice was deliberate, and the plan artfully conducted; that immediately after the deed was perpetrated, the earl's conversation and reasoning were cool and consistent, until he drank himself into a state of intoxication; that in the opinion of the greatest lawyers, no criminal can avail himself of the plea of lunacy, provided the crime was committed during a lucid interval; but his lordship, far from exhibiting any

marks of insanity, had in the course of this trial displayed uncommon understanding and sagacity in examining the witnesses, and making many shrewd and pertinent observations on the evidence which was given. These sentiments were conformable to the opinion of the Peers, who unanimously declared him guilty.—After all, in examining the vicious actions of a man who has betrayed manifest and manifold symptoms of insanity, it is not easy to distinguish those which are committed during the lucid interval. The suggestions of madness are often momentary and transient; the determinations of a lunatic, though generally rash and instantaneous, are sometimes the result of artful contrivance; but there is always an absurdity which is the criterion of the disease, either in the premises or conclusion. The earl, it is true, had formed a deliberate plan for the perpetration of the murder; but he had taken no precautions for his own safety or escape; and this neglect will the more plainly appear to have been the criterion of insanity, if we reflect that he justified what he had done as a meritorious action; and declared he would, upon Mr. Johnson's death, surrender himself to the House of Lords. Had he been impelled to this violence by a sudden gust of passion, it could not be expected that he should have taken any measure for his own preservation; but as it was the execution of a deliberate scheme, and his lordship was by no means defective in point of ingenuity, he might easily have contrived means for concealing the murder, until he should have accomplished his escape: and, in our opinion, any other than a madman would either have taken some such measures, or formed some plan for the concealment of his own guilt. The design itself seems to have been rather an intended sacrifice to justice than a gratification of revenge. Neither do we think that the sanity of his mind was ascertained by the accuracy and deliberation with which he made his remarks, and examined the evidence at his trial. The influence of his frenzy might be past; though it was no sign of sound reason to supply the prosecutor with such an argument to his prejudice. Had his judgment been really unimpaired, he might have assumed the mask of lunacy for his own preservation.

The trial was continued for two days; and on the third the lord steward, after having made a short speech, touching the heinous nature of the offence, pro-

Convicted.

nounced the same sentence of death upon the earl which malefactors of the lowest class undergo: that from the Tower, in which he was imprisoned, he should, on the Monday following, be led to the common place of execution, there to be hanged by the neck, and his body be afterwards dissected and anatomized. This last part of the sentence seemed to shock the criminal extremely: he changed colour, his jaw quivered, and he appeared to be in great agitation; but during the remaining part of his life he behaved with surprising composure, and even unconcern. After he had received sentence, the lords, his judges, by virtue of a power vested in them, respite his execution for one month, that he might have time to settle his temporal and spiritual concerns. Before sentence was passed, the earl read a paper, in which he begged pardon of their lordships for the trouble he had given, as well as for having, against his own inclination, pleaded lunacy at the request of his friends. He thanked them for the candid trial with which he had been indulged, and entreated their lordships to recommend him to the king for mercy. He afterwards sent a letter to his majesty, remonstrating that he was the representative of a very ancient and honourable family, which had been allied to the crown; and requesting that, if he could not be favoured with the species of death which, in cases of treason, distinguishes the nobleman from the plebeian, he might, at least, out of consideration for his family, be allowed to suffer in the Tower, rather than at the common place of execution; but this indulgence was refused. From his return to the Tower to the day of his execution, he betrayed no mark of apprehension or impatience; but regulated his affairs with precision, and conversed without concern or restraint.

On the fifth day of May, his body being demanded by the sheriffs at the Tower-gate, in consequence of a writ under the great seal of England, directed to the lieutenant of the Tower, his lordship desired permission to go in his own landau; and appeared gaily dressed in a light-coloured suit of clothes, embroidered with silver. He was attended in the landau by one of the sheriffs, and the chaplain of the Tower, followed by the chariots of the sheriffs, a mourning-coach and six, filled with his friends, and a hearse for the conveyance of his body. He was guarded by a posse of constables, a party of horse-grenadiers, and a detachment

And executed at Tyburn.

of infantry ; and in this manner the procession moved from the Tower, through an infinite concourse of people, to Tyburn, where the gallows, and the scaffold erected under it, appeared covered with black baize. The earl behaved with great composure : to Mr. Sheriff Vaillant, who attended him in the landau, he observed that the gaiety of his apparel might seem odd on such an occasion, but that he had particular reasons for wearing that suit of clothes : he took notice of the vast multitude which crowded around him, brought thither, he supposed, by curiosity to see a nobleman hanged : he told the sheriff he had applied to the king by letter that he might be permitted to die in the Tower, where the Earl of Essex, one of his ancestors, had been beheaded in the reign of Queen Elizabeth ; an application, which, he said, he had made with the more confidence, as he had the honour to quarter part of his majesty's arms. He expressed some displeasure at being executed as a common felon, exposed to the eyes of such a multitude. The chaplain, who had never been admitted to him before, hinting that some account of his lordship's sentiments on religion would be expected by the public, he made answer, that he did not think himself accountable to the public for his private sentiments ; that he had always adored one God, the creator of the universe ; and, with respect to any particular opinions of his own, he had never propagated them, or endeavoured to make proselytes, because he thought it was criminal to disturb the established religion of his country, as Lord Bolingbroke had done by the publication of his writings. He added, that the great number of sects, and the multiplication of religious disputes, had almost banished morality. With regard to the crime for which he suffered, he declared that he had no malice against Mr. Johnson, and that the murder was owing to a perturbation of mind, occasioned by a variety of crosses and vexations. When he approached the place of execution, he expressed an earnest desire to see and take leave of a certain person who waited in a coach, a person for whom he entertained the most sincere regard and affection ; but the sheriff prudently observing, that such an interview might shock him at a time when he had occasion for all his fortitude and recollection, he acquiesced in the justness of the remark, and delivered to him a pocket-book, a ring, and a purse, desiring that they might be given to that person, whom he now declined seeing. On his arrival at Tyburn he came out of the

landau, and ascended the scaffold, with a firm step and undaunted countenance. He refused to join the chaplain in his devotions; but, kneeling with him on black cushions, he repeated the Lord's Prayer, which he said he had always admired; and added, with great energy, "O Lord, forgive me all my errors, pardon all my sins." After this exercise, he presented his watch to Mr. Sheriff Vaillant; thanked him and the other gentlemen for all their civilities; and signified his desire of being buried at Breden, or Stanton, in Leicestershire. Finally, he gratified the executioner with a purse of money: then, the halter being adjusted to his neck, he stepped upon a little stage, erected upon springs, on the middle of the scaffold; and the cap being pulled over his eyes, the sheriff made a signal, at which the stage fell from under his feet, and he was left suspended. His body having hung an hour and five minutes, was cut down, placed in the hearse, and conveyed to the public theatre for dissection; where, being opened, and lying for some days as the subject of a public lecture, at length it was carried off, and privately interred. Without all doubt, this unhappy nobleman's disposition was so dangerously mischievous, that it became necessary, for the good of society, either to confine him for life, as an incorrigible lunatic, or give him up at once as a sacrifice to justice. Perhaps it might be no absurd or unreasonable regulation in the legislature to divest all lunatics of the privilege of insanity, and, in cases of enormity, subject them to the common penalties of the law: for though, in the eye of casuistry, consciousness must enter into the constitution of guilt, the consequences of murder committed by a maniac may be as pernicious to society as those of the most criminal and deliberate assassination; and the punishment of death can be hardly deemed unjust or rigorous, when inflicted upon a mischievous being divested of all the perceptions of reason and humanity. At any rate, as the nobility of England are raised by many illustrious distinctions above the level of plebeians, and as they are eminently distinguished from them in suffering punishment for high-treason, which the law considers as the most atrocious crime that can be committed, it might not be unworthy of the notice of the legislature to deliberate whether some such pre-eminence ought not to be extended to noblemen convicted of other crimes; in order to alleviate, as much as possible, the disgrace of noble families which have deserved well of their country; to avoid any

circumstance that may tend to diminish the lustre of the English nobility in the eyes of foreign nations; or to bring it into contempt with the common people of our own, already too licentious, and prone to abolish those distinctions which serve as the basis of decorum, order, and subordination.

Homicide is the reproach of England: one would imagine there is something in the climate of this country, that not only disposes the natives to this inhuman outrage, but even infects foreigners who reside among them. Certain it is, high passions will break out into the most enormous violence in that country where they are least controlled by the restraint of regulation and discipline; and it is equally certain, that in no civilized country under the sun there is such a relaxation of discipline, either religious or civil, as in England. The month of August produced a remarkable instance of desperate revenge, perpetrated by one Stirn, a native of Hesse-Cassel, inflamed and exasperated by a false punctilio of honour. This unhappy young man was descended of a good family, and possessed many accomplishments both of mind and person; but his character was distinguished by such a jealous sensibility, as rendered him unhappy in himself, and disagreeable to his acquaintance. After having for some years performed the office of usher in a boarding-school, he was admitted to the house of one Mr. Matthews, a surgeon, in order to teach him the classics, and instruct his children in music, which he perfectly understood. He had not long resided in his family, when the surgeon took umbrage at some part of his conduct, taxed him roughly with fraud and ingratitude, and insisted upon his removing to another lodging. Whether he rejected this intimation, or found difficulty in procuring another apartment, the surgeon resolved to expel him by violence, called in the assistance of a peace officer, and turned him out into the street in the night, after having loaded him with the most provoking reproaches. These injuries and disgraces operating upon a mind jealous by nature and galled by adversity, produced a kind of frenzy of resentment, and he took the desperate resolution of sacrificing Mr. Matthews to his revenge. Next day, having provided a case of pistols, and charged them for the occasion, he reinforced his rage by drinking an unusual quantity of wine; and repaired in the evening to a public-house which Mr. Matthews frequented,

Assassination of Mr. Matthews, by one Stirn, a Hessian.

in the neighbourhood of Hatton-Garden. There he accordingly found the unhappy victim sitting with some of his friends; and the surgeon, instead of palliating his former conduct, began to insult him afresh with the most opprobrious invectives. Stirn, exasperated by this additional indignity, pulled his pistols from his bosom, shot the surgeon, who immediately expired, and discharged the other at his own breast, though his confusion was such that it did not take effect. He was apprehended on the spot, and conveyed to prison; where, for some days, he refused all kind of sustenance, but afterwards became more composed. At his trial he pleaded insanity of mind; but being found guilty, he resolved to anticipate the execution of the sentence. That same evening he drank poison; and notwithstanding all the remedies that could be administered, died in strong convulsions. His body was publicly dissected, according to the sentence of the law, and afterwards interred with those marks of indignity which are reserved for the perpetrators of suicide.

We shall close the domestic occurrences of this year with an account of two incidents, which, though of a very different nature in respect of each other, nevertheless concurred in demonstrating that the internal wealth and vigour of the nation were neither drained nor diminished by the enormous expense and inconveniences of the war. The committee appointed to manage the undertaking for a new bridge over the river Thames at Blackfriars, having received and examined a variety of plans presented by different artists, at length gave the preference to the design of one Mr. Mylne, a young architect, a native of North Britain, just returned from the prosecution of his studies at Rome, where he had gained the prize in the Capitol, which the academy of that city bestows on him who produces the most beautiful and useful plan on a given subject of architecture. This young man being in London, on his return to his own country, was advised to declare himself a candidate for the superintendency of the new bridge; and the plan which he presented was approved and adopted. The place being already ascertained, the lord-mayor of London, attended by the committee, and a great concourse of people, repaired to Blackfriars, and laid the first stone of the bridge; placing upon it a plate, with an inscription, which does more honour to the public spirit of

New bridge
begun at
Blackfriars.
Conflagra-
tion in
Ports-
mouth-
yard.

the undertakers than to the classical taste of the author.^a The other instance that denoted the wealth and spirit of the nation, was the indifference and unconcern with which they bore the loss of a vast magazine of naval stores, belonging to the dock-yard at Portsmouth, which, in the month of July, was set on fire by lightning; and consisting of combustibles, burned with such fury, notwithstanding all the endeavours of the workmen in the yard, the sailors in the harbour, and the troops in the town, that, before a stop was put to the conflagration, it had consumed a variety of stores to an immense value. The damage, however, was so immediately repaired, that it had no sort of effect in disconcerting any plan, or even in retarding any naval preparation.

How important these preparations must have been may be judged from the prodigious increase of the navy, which, at this juncture, amounted to one hundred and twenty ships of the line, besides frigates, fire-ships, sloops, bombs, and tenders. Of these capital ships, seventeen were stationed in the East Indies, twenty for the defence of the West India islands, twelve in North America, ten in the Mediterranean, and sixty-one either on the coast of France, in the harbours of England, or cruising in the English seas for the protection of the British commerce. Notwithstanding these numerous and powerful armaments, the enemy, who had not a ship of the line at sea, were so alert with their small

Number of
ships taken
by the
enemy.
Progress
of Mons.
Thurot.

^a Ultimo die Octobris, anno ab incarnatione
MDCCLX.

Auspiciatissimo principe Georgio Tertio
Regnum jam ineunte,

Pontis hujus, in reipublicæ commodum

Ubisque in yestatem

(Latè tum flagante bello)

à S. P. Q. L. suscepti,

Pinnum lapidem posuit

THOMAS CHURCH, miles,

Piator,

ROBERTO MYLNE architecto.

Utque apud posteros extet monumentum

Voluntatis suæ erga virum,

Quo vigore ingenii, animi constantiâ,

Probitatis et virtutis suæ felici quâdam contagione,

(Favente Deo,

Faustisque Georgii Secundi auspiciis¹)

Imperium Britannicum

In Asiâ, Africâ, et Americâ

Restituit, auxit, et stabilivit;

Necnon patriæ antiquum honorem et auctoritatem

Inter Europæ gentes instauravit;

Cives Londinenses, uno consensu,

Hunc ponti inscribi voluerunt nomen

GULIELMI PITT.

privateers and armed vessels, that, in the beginning of this year, from the first of March to the tenth of June, they had made prize of two hundred vessels belonging to Great Britain and Ireland. The whole number of British ships taken by them, from the first day of June, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-six, to the first of June in the present year, amounted to two thousand five hundred and thirty-nine; of these seventy-eight were privateers, three hundred and twenty-one were retaken, and about the same number ransomed. In the same space of time, the British cruisers had made captures of nine hundred and forty-four vessels, including two hundred and forty-two privateers, many fishing-boats, and small coasters, the value of which hardly defrayed the expense of condemnation. That such a small proportion of ships should be taken from the enemy is not at all surprising, when we consider the terrible shocks their commerce had previously received, and the great number of their mariners imprisoned in England; but the prodigious number of British vessels taken by their petty coasting privateers, in the face of such mighty armaments, numerous cruisers, and convoys, seems to argue, that either the English ships of war were inactive or improperly disposed, or that the merchants hazarded their ships without convoy. Certain it is, in the course of this year we find fewer prizes taken from the enemy, and fewer exploits achieved at sea, than we had occasion to record in the annals of the past. Not that the present year is altogether barren of events which redound to the honour of our marine commanders. We have, in recounting the transactions of the preceding year, mentioned a small armament equipped at Dunkirk, under the command of M. de Thurot, who, in spite of all the vigilance of the British commander, stationed in the Downs, found means to escape from the harbour in the month of October last, and arrived at Gottenburg in Sweden, from whence he proceeded to Bergen in Norway. His instructions were to make occasional descents upon the coast of Ireland; and, by dividing the troops, and distracting the attention of the government in that kingdom, to facilitate the enterprise of M. de Conflans, the fate of which we have already narrated. The original armament of Thurot consisted of five ships, one of which, called the *Mareschal de Belleisle*, was mounted with forty-four guns; the *Begon*, the *Blond*, the *Terpsichore*, had thirty guns

each; and the *Marante* carried twenty-four. The number of soldiers put on board this little fleet did not exceed one thousand two hundred and seventy, exclusive of mariners to the number of seven hundred; but two hundred of the troops were sent sick on shore, before the armament sailed from Dunkirk; and in their voyage between Gottenburg and Bergen they lost company of the *Begon*, during a violent storm. The severity of the weather detained them nineteen days at Bergen, at the expiration of which they set sail for the western islands of Scotland, and discovered the northern part of Ireland in the latter end of January. The intention of Thurot was to make a descent about Derry; but before this design could be executed, the weather growing tempestuous, and the wind blowing off shore, they were driven out to sea, and in the night lost sight of the *Marante*, which never joined them in the sequel. After having been tempest-beaten for some time, and exposed to a very scanty allowance of provision, the officers requested of Thurot that he would return to France, lest they should all perish by famine; but he lent a deaf ear to this proposal, and frankly told them he could not return to France without having struck some stroke for the service of his country. Nevertheless, in hopes of meeting with some refreshment, he steered to the island of *Isla*, where the troops were landed; and here they found black cattle, and a small supply of oat-meal, for which they paid a reasonable price; and it must be owned, Thurot himself behaved with great moderation and generosity.

While this spirited adventurer struggled with these wants and difficulties, his arrival in those seas filled the whole kingdom with alarm. Bodies of regular troops and militia were posted along the coast of Ireland and Scotland; and besides the squadron of Commodore Boys, who sailed to the northward on purpose to pursue the enemy, other ships of war were ordered to scour the British channel, and cruise between Scotland and Ireland. The weather no sooner permitted Thurot to pursue his destination, than he sailed from *Isla* to the bay of Carrickfergus, in Ireland, and made all the necessary preparations for a descent; which was accordingly effected with six hundred men, on the twenty-first day of February. Lieutenant-Colonel Jennings, who commanded four companies of raw undisciplined men at Carrickfergus, having received informa-

He makes
a descent
at Carrick-
fergus.

tion that three ships had anchored about two miles and a half from the castle, which was ruinous and defenceless, immediately detached a party to make observations, and ordered the French prisoners there confined to be removed to Belfast. Meanwhile, the enemy, landing without opposition, advanced towards the town, which they found as well guarded as the nature of the place, which was entirely open, and the circumstances of the English commander, would allow. A regular attack was carried on, and a spirited defence made,^b until the ammunition of the English failed: then Colonel Jennings retired in order to the castle, which, however, was in all respects untenable; for, besides a breach in the wall near fifty feet wide, they found themselves destitute of provision and ammunition. Nevertheless, they repulsed the assailants in their first attack, even after the gate was burst open, and supplied the want of shot with stones and rubbish. At length the colonel and his troops were obliged to surrender, on condition that they should not be sent prisoners to France, but be ransomed, by sending thither an equal number of French prisoners from Great Britain or Ireland: that the castle should not be demolished, nor the town of Carrickfergus plundered or burned, on condition that the mayor and corporation should furnish the French troops with necessary provisions. The enemy, after this exploit, did not presume to advance farther into the country; a step which, indeed, they could not have taken with any regard to their own safety; for by this time a considerable body of regular troops was assembled; and the people of the country manifested a laudable spirit of loyalty and resolution, crowding in great numbers to Belfast, to offer their service against the invaders. These circumstances, to which the enemy were no strangers, and the defeat of Couflans, which they had also learned, obliged them to quit their conquest, and re-embark with some precipitation, after having laid Carrickfergus under moderate contribution.

The fate they escaped on shore they soon met with at sea.

^b One circumstance that attended this dispute deserves to be transmitted to posterity, as an instance of that courage, mingled with humanity, which constitutes true heroism. While the French and English were hotly engaged in one of the streets, a little child ran playfully between them, having none of the decorum which it is exposed. A common soldier of the enemy, perceiving the hazard he was in, and that he grounded his piece, advanced deliberately between the lines of fire, took up the child in his arms, conveyed it to a place of safety; then returning to his post, resumed his musket, and renewed his hostility.

Captain John Elliot, who commanded three frigates at Kinsale, and had, in the course of this war, more than once already distinguished himself, even in his early youth, by extraordinary acts of valour, was informed by a despatch from the Duke of Bedford, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, that three of the enemy's ships lay at anchor in the bay of Carrickfergus; and thither he immediately shaped his course in the ship *Æolus*, accompanied by the *Pallas* and *Brilliant*, under the command of the Captains Clements and Logie. On the twenty-eighth day of February they descried the enemy, and gave chase in sight of the Isle of Man; and, about nine in the morning, Captain Elliot in his own ship engaged the *Belleisle*, commanded by Thurot, although considerably his superior in strength of men, number of guns, and weight of metal. In a few minutes his consorts were also engaged with the other two ships of the enemy. After a warm action, maintained with great spirit on all sides for an hour and a half, Captain Elliot's lieutenant boarded the *Belleisle*, and, striking her colours with his own hand, the commander submitted: his example was immediately followed by the other French captains; and the English commodore, taking possession of his prizes, conveyed them into the bay of Ramsay, in the Isle of Man, that their damage might be repaired. Though the *Belleisle* was very leaky, and had lost her boltsprit, mizen-mast, and mainyard, in all probability the victory would not have been so easily obtained, had not the gallant Thurot fallen during the action. The victor had not even the consolation to perform the last offices to his brave enemy; for his body was thrown into the sea by his own people, in the hurry of the engagement. The loss on the side of the English did not exceed forty men killed and wounded, whereas above three hundred of the enemy were slain or disabled. The service performed on this occasion was deemed so essential to the peace and commerce of Ireland, that the thanks of the House of Commons in that kingdom were voted to the conquerors of Thurot, as well as to Lieutenant-Colonel Jennings, for his spirited behaviour at Carrickfergus; and the freedom of the city of Cork was presented in silver boxes to the Captains Elliot, Clements, and Logie. The name of Thurot was become terrible to all the trading seaports of Great Britain and Ireland; and therefore the defeat and capture of his squadron

Is slain, and
his ships
taken.

were celebrated with as hearty rejoicings as the most important victory could have produced.

In the beginning of April another engagement between four frigates, still more equally matched, had a different issue, though not less honourable for the British commanders. Captain Skinner of the *Biddford*, and Captain Kennedy of the *Flamborough*, both frigates, sailed on a cruise from Lisbon; and on the fourth day of April fell in with two large French frigates, convoy to a fleet of merchant ships, which the English captains immediately resolved to engage. The enemy did not decline the battle, which began about half an hour after six in the evening, and raged with great fury till eleven. By this time the *Flamborough* had lost sight of the *Biddford*; and the frigate with which Captain Kennedy was engaged bore away with all the sail she could carry. He pursued her till noon the next day, when she had left him so far astern that he lost sight of her, and returned to Lisbon, with the loss of fifteen men killed and wounded, including the lieutenant of marines, and considerable damage both in her hull and rigging. In three days he was joined by the *Biddford*, which had also compelled her antagonist to give way, and pursued her till she was out of sight. In about an hour after the action began, Captain Skinner was killed by a cannon-ball; and the command devolved to Lieutenant Knollis, son to the Earl of Banbury;^c who maintained the battle with great spirit, even after he was wounded, until he received a second shot in his body, which proved mortal. Then the master, assuming the direction, continued the engagement with equal resolution until the enemy made his escape; which he the more easily accomplished, as the *Biddford* was disabled in her masts and rigging.

The bravery of five Irishmen and a boy, belonging to the crew of a ship from Waterford, deserves commemoration. The vessel, in her return from Bilboa, laden with brandy and iron, being taken by a French privateer off Ushant, about the middle of April, the captors removed the master, and all the hands but these five men and the boy, who were left to assist nine Frenchmen in navigating the vessel to France. These stout Hibernians

^c Five sons of this nobleman were remarkably distinguished in this war. The fourth and fifth were dangerously wounded at the battle of Minden; the second was hurt in the reduction of Guadaloupe; Lord Wallingford, the eldest, received a shot at Carnarfergus; and the third was slain in this engagement.

immediately formed a plan of insurrection, and executed it with success. Four of the French mariners being below deck, three aloft among the rigging, one at the helm, and another walking the deck, Brian, who headed the enterprise, tripped up the heels of the French steersman, seized his pistol, and discharged it at him who walked the deck; but missing the mark he knocked him down with the butt end of the piece. At the same time hallooing to his confederates below, they assailed the enemy with their own broad swords, and soon compelling them to submit, came upon deck, and shut the hatches. Brian being now in possession of the quarter-deck, those who were aloft called for quarter, and surrendered without opposition. The Irish having thus obtained a complete victory, almost without bloodshed, and secured the prisoners, another difficulty occurred; neither Brian nor any of his associates could read or write, or knew the least principle of navigation; but supposing his course to be north, he steered at a venture, and the first land he made was the neighbourhood of Youghall, where he happily arrived with his prisoners.

The only considerable damage sustained by the navy of Great Britain since the commencement of this year was the loss of the *Ramillies*, a magnificent ship of the second rate, belonging to the squadron which Admiral Boscawen commanded on the coast of France, in order to watch the motions and distress the commerce of that restless, enterprising enemy. In the beginning of February a series of stormy weather obliged the admiral to return from the bay of Quiberon to Plymouth, where he arrived with much difficulty; but the *Ramillies* overshot the entrance to the Sound; and being embayed near a point called the Bolt-head, about four leagues higher up the channel, was dashed in pieces among the rocks, after all her anchors and cables had given way. All her officers and men, amounting to seven hundred, perished on this occasion, except one midshipman and twenty-five mariners, who had the good fortune to save themselves by leaping on the rocks as the hull was thrown forwards, and raised up by the succeeding billows. Such were the most material transactions of the year relating to the British empire in the seas of Europe.

The *Ramillies* min of war wreck-ed up on the Bolt-head.

We shall now transport the reader to the continent of North America, which, as the theatre of war, still main-

Treaty with the Cherokees. Hostilities recommenced.

tained its former importance. The French emissaries from the province of Louisiana had exercised their arts of insinuation with such success among the Cherokees, a numerous and powerful nation of Indians settled on the confines of Virginia and Carolina, that they had infringed the peace with the English towards the latter end of the last year, and begun hostilities by plundering, massacring and scalping several British subjects of the more southern provinces. Mr. Lyttleton, governor of South Carolina, having received information of these outrages, obtained the necessary aids from the assembly of his province, for maintaining a considerable body of forces, which was raised with great expedition. He marched in the beginning of October, at the head of eight hundred provincials, reinforced with three hundred regular troops, and penetrated into the heart of the country possessed by the Cherokees, who were so much intimidated by his vigour and despatch, that they sent a deputation of their chiefs to sue for peace, which was re-established by a new treaty dictated by the English governor. They obliged themselves to renounce the French interest, to deliver up all the spies and emissaries of that nation then resident among them; to surrender to justice those of their own people who had been concerned in murdering and scalping the British subjects; and for the performance of these articles two-and-twenty of their head men were put as hostages into the hands of the governor. So little regard, however, was paid by these savages to this solemn accommodation, that Mr. Lyttleton had been returned but a few days from their country, when they attempted to surprise the English fort Prince George, near the frontiers of Carolina, by going thither in a body, on pretence of delivering up some murderers; but the commanding officer, perceiving some suspicious circumstances in their behaviour, acted with such vigilance and circumspection as entirely frustrated their design.^d Thus disap-

^d This attempt was conducted in the following manner, having doubtless been concerted with the two-and-twenty hostages who resided in the fort. On the sixteenth day of February two Indian women appearing at Keowee, on the other side of the river, Mr. Dogharty, one of the officers of the fort, went out to ask them what news. While he was engaged in conversation with these females, the great Indian warrior Ocumastota joining them, desired he would call the commanding officer, to whom he said he had something to propose. Accordingly, Lieutenant Cottymore appearing, accompanied by Ensign Bell, Dogharty, and Foster the interpreter, Ocumastota told him he had something of consequence to impart to the governor, whom he proposed to visit, and desired he might be attended by a white man as a safeguard. The lieutenant assuming him he should have a safeguard, the Indian declared he would then go and catch a horse for him; so saying, he swung a bridle thrice over his head as a signal; and immediately

pointed, they wreaked their vengeance upon the English subjects trading in their country, all of whom they butchered without mercy. Not contented with this barbarous sacrifice, they made incursions to the British settlements at the Long Lanes, and the forks of the Broad River, and massacred about forty defenceless colonists, who reposed themselves in full security on the peace so lately ratified. As views of interest could not have induced them to act in this manner, and their revenge had not been inflamed by any fresh provocation, these violences must be imputed to the instigation of French incendiaries; and too plainly evinced the necessity of crowning our American conquests with the reduction of Louisiana, from whence these emissaries were undoubtedly despatched.

The cruelty and mischief with which the Cherokees prosecuted their renewed hostilities alarmed all the southern colonies of the English; and application was made for assistance to Mr. Amherst, the commander-in-chief of the king's forces in America. Their towns destroyed by Colonel Montgomey. He forthwith detached twelve hundred chosen men to South Carolina, under the command of Colonel Montgomery, brother to the Earl of Eglinton, an officer of approved conduct and distinguished gallantry. Immediately after his arrival at Charles-town, he advanced to Ninety-six, and proceeded to Twelve-mile River, which he passed in the

twenty-five or thirty muskets, from different ambuscades, were discharged at the English officers. Mr. Cottimore received a shot in his left breast, and in a few days expired; Mr. Bell was wounded in the calf of the leg, and the interpreter in the buttock. Ensign Milne, who remained in the fort, was no sooner informed of this treachery, than he ordered the soldiers to shackle the hostages: in the execution of which order one man was killed upon the spot, and another wounded in the forehead with a tomahawk; circumstances which, added to the murder of the lieutenant, incensed the garrison to such a degree, that it was judged absolutely necessary to put the hostages to death without further hesitation. In the evening a party of Indians approached the fort, and firing two signal pieces, cried aloud in the Cherokee language—"Fight manfully, and you shall be assisted." Then they began an attack; and continued firing all night upon the fort, without doing the least execution. That a design was concerted between them and the hostages appeared plainly from the nature of this assault; and this supposition was converted into a certainty next day, when some of the garrison, searching the apartment in which the hostages lay, found a bottle of poison, probably designed to be emptied into the well, and several tomahawks buried in the earth; which weapons had been privately conveyed to them by their friends, who were permitted to visit them without interruption. On the third day of March the fort of Ninety-six was attacked by two hundred Cherokee Indians with musketry, which had little or no effect; so that they were forced to retire with some loss, and revenged themselves on the open country, burning and ravaging all the houses and plantations belonging to English settlers in this part of the country, and all along the frontiers of Virginia. Not contented with pillaging and destroying the habitations, they wantoned in the most horrible barbarities; and their motions were so secret and sudden, that it was impossible for the inhabitants to know where the storm would burst, or take proper precautions for their own defence; so that a great number of the back settlements were totally abandoned.

beginning of June without opposition. He continued his route by forced marches until he arrived in the neighbourhood of the Indian town called Little Keowee, where he encamped in an advantageous situation. Having reason to believe the enemy were not yet apprised of his coming, he resolved to rush upon them in the night by surprise. With this view, leaving his tents standing, with a sufficient guard for the camp and waggons, he marched through the woods towards the Cherokee town of Estatoe, at the distance of five-and-twenty miles; and in his route detached a company of light infantry to destroy the village of Little Keowee, where they were received with a smart fire; but they rushed in with their bayonets, and all the men were put to the sword. The main body proceeded straight to Estatoe, which they reached in the morning; but it had been abandoned about half an hour before their arrival. Some few of the Indians, who had not time to escape, were slain; and the town, consisting of two hundred houses, well stored with provision, ammunition, and all the necessaries of life, was first plundered, and then reduced to ashes; some of the wretched inhabitants, who concealed themselves, perishing in the flames. It was necessary to strike a terror into those savages by some examples of severity; and the soldiers became deaf to all the suggestions of mercy when they found in one of the Indian towns the body of an Englishman, whom they had put to the torture that very morning. Colonel Montgomery followed up his blow with surprising rapidity. In the space of a few hours he destroyed Sugar-town, which was as large as Estatoe, and every village and house in the Lower Nation. The Indian villages in this part of the world were agreeably situated, generally consisting of about one hundred houses, neatly and commodiously built, and well supplied with provision. They had in particular large magazines of corn, which were consumed in the flames. All the men that were taken suffered immediate death; but the greater part of the nation had escaped with the utmost precipitation. In many houses the beds were yet warm, and the tables spread with victuals. Many loaded guns went off while the houses were burning. The savages had not time to save their most valuable effects. The soldiers found some money, three or four watches, a good quantity of wampum, clothes, and peltry. Colonel Montgomery having thus taken vengeance on the

perfidious Cherokees, at the expense of five or six men killed or wounded, returned to Fort Prince George, with about forty Indian women and children, whom he had made prisoners. Two of their warriors were set at liberty, and desired to inform their nation, that though they were now in the power of the English, they might still, on their submission, enjoy the blessing of peace. As the chief called Attakullakulla, alias the Little Carpenter, who had signed the last treaty, disapproved of the proceedings of his countrymen, and had done many good offices to the English since the renovation of the war, he was now given to understand that he might come down with some other chiefs to treat of an accommodation, which would be granted to the Cherokees on his account; but that the negotiation must be begun in a few days, otherwise all the towns in the Upper Nation would be ravaged, and reduced to ashes.

These intimations having produced little or no effect, Colonel Montgomery resolved to make a second irruption into the middle settlements of the Cherokees, and began his march on the twenty-fourth day of June. On the twenty-seventh, Captain Morrison, of the advanced party, was killed by a shot from a thicket, and the firing became so troublesome that his men gave way. The grenadiers and light infantry being detached to sustain them, continued to advance, notwithstanding the fire from the woods; until, from a rising ground, they discovered a body of the enemy. These they immediately attacked, and obliged to retire into a swamp; which, when the rest of the troops came up, they were, after a short resistance, compelled to abandon; but as the country was difficult, and the path extremely narrow, the forces suffered on their march from the fire of scattered parties, who concealed themselves behind trees and bushes. At length they arrived at the town of Etchowee, which the inhabitants had forsaken, after having removed every thing of value. Here, while the army encamped on a small plain, surrounded by hills, it was incommoded by volleys from the enemy, which wounded some men, and killed several horses. They were even so daring as to attack the piquet guard, which repulsed them with difficulty; but, generally speaking, their parties declined an open engagement. Colonel Montgomery, sensible that, as many horses were killed or disabled, he could not proceed farther without leaving his provisions behind,

His expedition to the middle settlements.

or abandoning the wounded men to the brutal revenge of a savage enemy, resolved to return; and began his retreat in the night, that he might be the less disturbed by the Indians. Accordingly, he pursued his route for two days without interruption; but afterwards sustained some straggling fires from the woods, though the parties of the enemy were put to flight as often as they appeared. In the beginning of July he arrived at Fort Prince George; this expedition having cost him about seventy men killed and wounded, including five officers.

In revenge for these calamities, the Cherokees assembled to a considerable number, and formed the blockade of Fort Loudoun, a small fortification near the confines of Virginia, defended by an inconsiderable garrison, ill supplied with provision and necessaries. After having sustained a long siege, and being reduced to the utmost distress, Captain Demere, the commander, held a council of war with the other officers, to deliberate upon their present situation; when it appeared that their provisions were entirely exhausted; that they had subsisted a considerable time without bread upon horse-flesh, and such supplies of pork and beans as the Indian women could introduce by stealth; that the men were so weakened with famine and fatigue, that in a little time they would not be able to do duty; that, for two nights past, considerable parties had deserted, and some thrown themselves upon the mercy of the enemy; that the garrison in general threatened to abandon their officers, and betake themselves to the woods; and that there was no prospect of relief, their communication having been long cut off from all the British settlements: for these reasons they were unanimously of opinion, that it was impracticable to prolong their defence; that they should accept of an honourable capitulation; and Captain Stuart should be sent to treat with the warriors and the head men of the Cherokees, about the conditions of their surrender. This officer, being accordingly despatched with full powers, obtained a capitulation of the Indians, by which the garrison was permitted to retire. The Indians desired that, when they arrived at Keowee, the Cherokee prisoners confined at that place should be released, all hostilities cease, a lasting accommodation be re-established, and a regulated trade revived. In consequence of this treaty the garrison evacuated the fort, and had marched about

Fate of the
garrison at
Fort
Loudoun.

fifteen miles on their return to Carolina, when they were surrounded and surprised by a large body of Indians, who massacred all the officers except Captain Stuart, and slew five-and-twenty of the soldiers; the rest were made prisoners, and distributed among the different towns and villages of the nation. Captain Stuart owed his life to the generous intercession of the Little Carpenter, who ransomed him at the price of all he could command, and conducted him safe to Holston river, where he found Major Lewis advanced so far with a body of Virginians. The savages, encouraged by their success at Fort Loudoun, undertook the siege of Ninety-six and other small fortifications; but retired precipitately on the approach of a body of provincials.

In the mean time the British interest and empire were firmly established on the banks of the Ohio, by the prudence and conduct of Major-General Stanwix, ^{The British interest established on the Ohio.} who had passed the winter at Pittsburgh, formerly Du Quesne, and employed that time in the most effectual manner for the service of his country. He repaired the old works, established posts of communication from the Ohio to the Monongahela, mounted the bastions that cover the isthmus with artillery, erected casemates, storehouses, and barracks for a numerous garrison, and cultivated with equal diligence and success the friendship and alliance of the Indians. The happy consequences of these measures were soon apparent in the production of a considerable trade between the natives and the merchants of Pittsburgh, and in the perfect security of about four thousand settlers, who now returned to the quiet possession of the lands from whence they had been driven by the enemy on the frontiers of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia.

The incidents of the war were much more important and decisive in the more northern parts of this great continent. The reader will remember that Brigadier-General Murray was left to command the garrison of ^{The French undertake the siege of} Quebec, amounting to about six thousand men; that a strong squadron of ships was stationed at Halifax in Nova Scotia, under the direction of Lord Colville, an able and experienced officer, who had instructions to revisit Quebec in the beginning of summer, as soon as the river St. Lawrence should be navigable; and that General Amherst, the commander-in-chief of the forces in America, wintered in New York,

that he might be at hand to assemble his troops in the spring, and recommence his operations for the entire reduction of Canada. General Murray neglected no step that could be taken, by the most vigilant officer for maintaining the important conquest of Quebec, and subduing all the Lower Canada; the inhabitants of which actually submitted, and took the oath of allegiance to the King of Great Britain: the garrison, however, within the walls of Quebec suffered greatly from the excessive cold in the winter, and the want of vegetables and fresh provision; insomuch that before the end of April, one thousand soldiers were dead of the scurvy, and twice that number rendered unfit for service. Such was the situation of the garrison, when Mr. Murray received undoubted intelligence that the French commander, the Che-

* The garrison of Quebec, during the winter, repaired above five hundred houses, which had been damaged by the English cannon, built eight redoubts of wood, raised foot-banks along the ramparts, opened embrasures, mounted artillery, blocked up all the avenues of the suburbs with a stockade, removed eleven months' provisions into the highest part of the city, and formed a magazine of four thousand fascines. Two hundred men were posted at St. Foix, and twice the number at Lorette. Several hundred men marched to St. Augustin, brought off the enemy's advanced guard, with a great number of cattle, and disarmed the inhabitants. By these precautions the motions of the French were observed, the avenues of Quebec were covered, and their dominion secured over eleven parishes, which furnished them with some fresh provision, and other necessaries for subsistence. Sixteen thousand cords of wood being wanted for the hospitals, guards, and quarters, and the method of transporting it from the isle of Orleans being found slow and difficult, on account of the floating ice in the river, a sufficient number of hand-sledges were made, and two hundred wood-fellers set at work in the forest of St. Foix, where plenty of fuel was obtained, and brought in to the several regiments by the men that were not upon duty. A detachment of two hundred men being sent to the other side of the river, disarmed the inhabitants, and compelled them to take the oath of allegiance: by this step the English became masters of the southern side of the St. Lawrence, and were supplied with good quantities of fresh provision. The advanced posts of the enemy were established at Point-au-Tremble, St. Augustin, and Le Calvaire; the main body of their army quartered between Trois Rivières and Jacques-Quartier. Their general having formed the design of attacking Quebec in the winter, began to provide snow-shoes or rackets, scaling-ladders, and fascines, and make all the necessary preparations for that enterprise. He took possession of Point Lévi, where he formed a magazine of provisions; great part of which, however, fell into the hands of the English: for as soon as the river was frozen over, Brigadier Murray dispatched thither two hundred men; at whose approach the enemy abandoned their magazine, and retreated with great precipitation. Here the detachment took post in a church, until they could build two wooden redoubts, and mount them with artillery. In the mean time, the enemy returning with a greater force to recover the post, some battalions, with the light infantry, marched over the ice, in order to cut off their communication; but they fled with great confusion, and afterwards took post at St. Michael, at a considerable distance farther down the river. They now resolved to postpone the siege of Quebec, that they might carry it on in a more regular manner. They began to rig their ships, repair their small craft, build galleys, cast bombs and bullets, and prepare fascines and gabions; while Brigadier Murray employed his men in making preparations for a vigorous defence. He sent out a detachment, who surprised the enemy's posts at St. Augustin, Maison Brulée, and Le Calvaire, where they took ninety prisoners. He afterwards ordered the light infantry to possess and fortify Cape Rouge, to prevent the enemy's landing at that place, as well as to be nearer at hand to observe their motions; but when the frost broke up, so that their ships could fall down the river, they landed at St. Augustin, and the English posts were abandoned one after another, the detachments retiring without loss into the city.

valier de Levis, was employed in assembling his army, which had been cantoned in the neighbourhood of Montreal; that from the inhabitants of the country he had completed his eight battalions, regimented forty companies of the troops de Colonie, and determined to undertake the siege of Quebec, whenever the river St. Lawrence should be so clear of ice that he could use his four frigates and other vessels, by means of which he was entirely master of the river.

The brigadier, considering the city of Quebec as no other than a strong cantonment, had projected a plan of defence by extending lines, and intrenching his troops on the heights of Abraham, which at the distance of eight hundred paces, entirely commanded the ramparts of the city, and might have been defended by a small force against a formidable army. Fascines, and every other necessary for this work, had been provided; and in the month of April the men were set at work upon the projected lines; but the earth was so hardened by the frost, that it was found impracticable to proceed. Being informed on the night of the twenty-sixth, that the enemy had landed at Point-au-Tremble, to the number of ten thousand men, with five hundred savages, he ordered all the bridges over the river Cape Rouge to be broken down, secured the landing-places at Sylleri and the Foulon; and next day, marching in person with a strong detachment and two field-pieces, took possession of an advantageous situation, and thus defeated the scheme which the French commander had laid for cutting off the posts which the English had established. These being all withdrawn, the brigadier that same afternoon marched back to Quebec, with little or no loss, although his rear was harassed by the enemy. Here he formed a resolution which has been censured by some critics in war, as a measure that savoured more of youthful impatience and overboiling courage, than of that military discretion which ought to distinguish a commander in such a delicate situation: but it is more easy to censure with an appearance of reason, than to act in such circumstances with any certainty of success. Mr. Murray, in his letter to the secretary of state, declared that, although the enemy were greatly superior to him in number, yet, when he considered that the English forces were habituated to victory, that they were provided with a fine train of field artillery, that in shut-

Defeat
Brigadier
Murray,
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tire into
the town.

ting them at once within the walls, he should have risked his whole stake on the single chance of defending a wretched fortification; a chance which could not be much lessened by an action in the field, though such an action would double the chance of success; for these reasons he determined to hazard a battle; should the event prove unprosperous, he resolved to hold out the place to the last extremity; then to retreat to the isle of Orleans, or Coudres, with the remainder of the garrison, and there wait for a reinforcement. In pursuance of these resolutions, he gave the necessary orders over night; and on the twenty-eighth day of April, at half an hour after six in the morning, marched out with his little army of three thousand men, which he formed on the heights in order of battle. The right brigade, commanded by Colonel Burton, consisted of the regiments of Amherst, Anstruther, Webb, and the second battalion of Royal Americans; the left, under Colonel Fraser, was formed of the regiments of Kennedy, Lascelles, Townshend, and the Highlanders. Otway's regiment, and the third battalion of Royal Americans, constituted the corps de reserve. Major Dalling's corps of light infantry covered the right flank; the left was secured by Captain Huzzen's company of rangers; and one hundred volunteers, under the command of Captain Donald Macdonald; and each battalion was supplied with two field-pieces. Brigadier Murray having reconnoitred the enemy, perceived their van had taken possession of the rising grounds about three quarters of a mile in his front; but that their army was on the march in one column. Thinking this was the critical moment to attack them, before they were formed, he advanced towards them with equal order and expedition. They were soon driven from the heights, though not without a warm dispute; during which the body of their army advanced at a round pace, and formed in columns. Their van consisted of ten companies of grenadiers, two of volunteers, and four hundred savages; eight battalions, formed in four columns, with some bodies of Canadians in the intervals, constituted their main body; their rear was composed of two battalions, and some Canadians in the flanks; and two thousand Canadians formed the reserve. Their whole army amounted to upwards of twelve thousand men. Major Dalling, with great gallantry, dispossessed their grenadiers of a house and windmill which they occupied, in order to cover their left flank; and in this attack the major and some

of his officers were wounded : nevertheless, the light infantry pursued the fugitives to a corps which was formed to sustain them ; then the pursuers halted, and dispersed along the front of the right ; a circumstance which prevented that wing from taking advantage of the first impression they had made on the left of the enemy. The light infantry being ordered to regain the flank, were, in attempting this motion, furiously charged, and thrown into disorder ; then they retired to the rear in such a shattered condition, that they could never again be brought up during the whole action. Otway's regiment was instantly ordered to advance from the body of reserve, and sustain the right wing, which the enemy twice in vain attempted to penetrate. Meanwhile the left brigade of the British forces did not remain inactive : they had dispossessed the French of two redoubts, and sustained with undaunted resolution the whole efforts of the enemy's right, until they were fairly fought down, overpowered by numbers, and reduced to a handful, notwithstanding the assistance they received from the third battalion of Royal Americans, which had been stationed with the body of reserve, as well as from Kennedy's regiment, posted in the centre. The French attacked with great impetuosity ; and at length a fresh column of the regiment de Rousillon penetrating the left wing of the British army, it gave way ; the disorder was soon communicated to the right ; so that, after a very obstinate dispute, which lasted an hour and three quarters, Brigadier Murray was obliged to quit the field, with the loss of one thousand men killed or wounded, and the greater part of his artillery. The enemy lost twice the number of men, and reaped no essential advantage from their victory.

Mr. Murray, far from being dispirited by his defeat, no sooner retired within the walls of Quebec, than he resolved to prosecute the fortifications of the place, ^{Quebec} ^{besieged.} which had been interrupted by the severity of the winter ; and the soldiers exerted themselves with incredible alacrity, not only in labouring at the works, but also in the defence of the town, before which the enemy had opened trenches on the very evening of the battle. Three ships anchored at the Foulon below their camp ; and for several days they were employed in landing their cannon, mortars, and ammunition. Meanwhile they worked incessantly at their trenches before the town ; and on the eleventh day of May opened one bomb battery, and three batteries of cannon.

Brigadier Murray made the necessary dispositions to defend the place to the last extremity; he raised two cavaliers, contrived some outworks, and planted the ramparts with one hundred and thirty-two pieces of artillery, dragged thither mostly by the soldiery. Though the enemy cannonaded the place with great vivacity the first day, their fire soon slackened; and their batterics were, in a manner, silenced by the superior fire of the garrison: nevertheless Quebec would, in all probability, have reverted to its former owners, had a French fleet from Europe got the start of an English squadron in sailing up the river.

Lord Colville had sailed from Halifax, with the fleet under his command, on the twenty-second day of April; but was retarded in his passage by thick fogs, contrary winds, and great shoals of ice floating down the river. Commodore Swanton, who had sailed from England with a small reinforcement, arrived about the beginning of May at the isle of Bec, in the river St. Lawrence, where, with two ships, he purposed to wait for the rest of his squadron, which had separated from him in the passage: but one of these, the *Lowestoff*, commanded by Captain Deane, had entered the harbour of Quebec on the ninth day of May, and communicated to the governor the joyful news that the squadron was arrived in the river. Commodore Swanton no sooner received intimation that Quebec was besieged, than he sailed up the river with all possible expedition, and on the fifteenth, in the evening, anchored above Point Levi. The brigadier expressing an earnest desire that the French squadron above the town might be removed, the commodore ordered Captain Schomberg of the *Diana*, and Captain Deane of the *Lowestoff*, to slip their cables early next morning, and attack the enemy's fleet, consisting of two frigates, two armed ships, and a great number of smaller vessels. They were no sooner in motion than the French ships fled in the utmost disorder. One of their frigates was driven on the rocks above Cape Diamond; the other ran ashore, and was burned at Point-au-Tremble, about ten leagues above the town; and all the other vessels were taken or destroyed.

The enemy were so confounded and dispirited by this disaster, and the certain information that a strong English fleet was already in the river St. Lawrence, that in the following night they raised the siege of Quebec, and retreated with great precipitation, leaving their

The
enemy's
shipping
destroyed.

They abandon the
siege.

provisions, implements, and artillery to Governor Murray, who had intended to make a vigorous sally in the morning, and attempt to penetrate into the camp of the besiegers, which, from the information of prisoners and deserters, he conceived to be a very practicable scheme. For this purpose he had selected a body of troops, who were already under arms, when a lieutenant, whom he had sent out with a detachment to amuse the enemy, came and assured him that their trenches were abandoned. He instantly marched out of Quebec at the head of his forces, in hopes of overtaking and making an impression on their rear, that he might have ample revenge for his late discomfiture; but they had passed the river Cape Rouge before he could come up with their army: however, he took some prisoners, and a great quantity of baggage, including their tents, stores, magazines of provision and ammunition, with thirty-four pieces of battering cannon, ten field-pieces, six mortars, four petards, a great number of scaling ladders, intrenching tools, and every other implement for a siege. They retired to Jacques-Quartier, where their ammunition began to fail, and they were abandoned by great part of the Canadians; so that they resigned all hope of succeeding against Quebec, and began to take measures for the preservation of Montreal, against which the force under General Amherst was directed. There M. Vaudreuil had fixed his head-quarters, and there he proposed to make his last stand against the efforts of the British general. He not only levied forces, collected magazines, and erected new fortifications, in the island of Montreal, but he had even recourse to feigned intelligence, and other arts of delusion, to support the spirits of the Canadians and their Indian allies, which had begun to flag in consequence of their being obliged to abandon the siege of Quebec. It must be owned, he acted with all the spirit and foresight of an experienced general, determined to exert himself for the preservation of the colony, even though very little prospect of success remained. His hopes, slender as they were, depended upon the natural strength of the country, rendered almost inaccessible by woods, mountains, and morasses, which might have retarded the progress of the English, and protracted the war, until a general pacification could be effected. In the mean time Major-General Amherst was diligently employed in taking measures for the execution of the plan he had projected, in order to complete the conquest

of Canada. He conveyed instructions to General Murray, directing him to advance by water towards Montreal, with all the troops that could be spared from the garrison of Quebec. He detached Colonel Haviland, with a body of troops from Crown Point, to take possession of the Isle-aux-Noix, in the lake Champlain, and from thence penetrate the shortest way to the bank of the river St. Lawrence; while he himself, with the main body of the army, amounting to about ten thousand men, including Indians, should proceed from the frontiers of New York, by the rivers of the Mohawks and Oneidas, to the lake Ontario, and sail down the river St. Lawrence to the island of Montreal. Thus, on the supposition that all these particulars could be executed, the enemy must have been hemmed in, and entirely surrounded. In pursuance of this plan, General Amherst had provided two armed sloops to cruise in the lake Ontario under the command of Captain Loring; as well as a great number of batteaux, or smaller vessels, for the transportation of the troops, artillery, ammunition, implements, and baggage. Several regiments were ordered to proceed from Albany to Oswego, and the general, taking his departure from Schenectady, with the rest of the forces, in the latter end of June, arrived at the same place on the ninth day of July.

Being informed that two French vessels had appeared off Oswego, he despatched some batteaux to Niagara, with intelligence to Captain Loring, who immediately set sail in quest of them; but they escaped his pursuit, though they had twice appeared in the neighbourhood of Oswego since the arrival of the general, who endeavoured to amuse them, by detaching batteaux to different parts of the lake. The army being assembled, and joined by a considerable body of Indians, under the command of Sir William Johnson, the general detached Colonel Haviland, with the light infantry, the grenadiers, and one battalion of Highlanders, to take post at the bottom of the lake, and assist the armed vessels in finding a passage to La Galette. On the tenth day of August the army embarked on board the batteaux and whale-boats, and proceeded on the lake towards the mouth of the river St. Lawrence. Understanding that one of the enemy's vessels had run aground and was disabled, and that the other lay off La Galette, he resolved to make the best of

General
Amherst
reduces the
French fort
at the Isle
Royale.

his way down the river to Swegatchie, and attack the French fort at Isle Royale, one of the most important posts on the river St. Lawrence, the source of which it in a great measure commands. On the seventeenth, the row-galleys fell in with the French sloop commanded by M. de la Broquerie, who surrendered after a warm engagement. Mr. Amheist having detached some engineers to reconnoitre the coasts and islands in the neighbourhood of Isle Royale, he made a disposition for the attack of that fortress, which was accordingly invested, after he had taken possession of the islands. Some of these the enemy had abandoned with such precipitation, as to leave behind a few scalps they had taken on the Mohawk river, a number of tools and utensils, two swivels, some barrels of pitch, and a large quantity of iron. The Indians were so incensed at sight of the scalps, that they burned a chapel, and all the houses of the enemy. Batteries being raised on the nearest islands, the fort was cannonaded not only by them, but likewise by the armed sloops; and a disposition was made for giving the assault, when M. Pouchart, the governor, thought proper to beat a parley, and surrender on capitulation. The general, having taken possession of the fort, found it so well situated for commanding the lake Ontario and the Mohawk river, that he resolved to maintain it with a garrison, and employed some days in repairing the fortifications.

From this place his navigation down the river St. Lawrence was rendered extremely difficult and dangerous, by a great number of violent riffs or rapids, and falls; ^{And takes} ^{Montreal.} among which he lost above fourscore men, forty-six batteaux, seventeen whale-boats, one row-galley, with some artillery, stores, and ammunition. On the sixth day of September the troops were landed on the island of Montreal without any opposition, except from some flying parties, which exchanged a few shot, and then fled with precipitation. That same day he repaired a bridge which they had broken down in their retreat; and, after a march of two leagues, formed his army on a plain before Montreal, where they lay all night on their arms. Montreal is, in point of importance, the second place in Canada, situated in an island of the river St. Lawrence, at an equal distance from Quebec and the lake Ontario. Its central situation rendered it the staple of the Indian trade: yet the fortifications of it were inconsiderable, not at all adequate to the value of the place.

General Amherst ordered some pieces of artillery to be brought up immediately from the landing-place at La Chine, where he had left some regiments for the security of the boats, and determined to commence the siege in form; but in the morning of the seventh he received a letter from the Marquis de Vaudreuil by two officers, demanding a capitulation: which, after some letters had passed between the two generals, was granted upon as favourable terms as the French had reason to expect, considering that General Murray, with the troops from Quebec, had by this time landed on the island; and Colonel Haviland, with the body under his command, had just arrived on the south side of the river opposite to Montreal; circumstances equally favourable and surprising, if we reflect upon the different routes they pursued, through an enemy's country, where they had no intelligence of the motions of each other. Had any accident retarded the progress of General Amherst, the reduction of Montreal would have been attempted by General Murray, who embarked with his troops at Quebec, on board of a great number of small vessels, under the command of Captain Deane, in the *Diana*. This gentleman, with uncommon abilities, surmounted the difficulties of an unknown, dangerous, and intricate navigation; and conducted the voyage with such success, that not a single vessel was lost in the expedition. M. de Levis, at the head of his forces, watched the motions of General Murray, who, in advancing up the river, published manifestos among the Canadians, which produced all the effect he could desire. Almost all the parishes on the south shore, as far as the river Sorrel, submitted, and took the oath of neutrality; and Lord Rollo disarmed all the inhabitants of the north shore, as far as Trois Rivières, which, though the capital of a district, being no more than an open village, was taken without resistance. In a word, General Amherst took possession of Montreal, and thus completed the conquest of all Canada; a conquest the most important of any that ever the British arms achieved, whether we consider the safety of the English colonies in North America, now secured from invasion and encroachment; the extent and fertility of the country subdued; or the whole Indian commerce thus transferred to the traders of Great Britain. The terms of the capitulation may, perhaps, be thought rather too favourable, as the enemy were actually enclosed and desti-

tute of all hope of relief: but little points like these ought always to be sacrificed to the consideration of great objects; and the finishing the conquest of a great country, without bloodshed, redounds as much to the honour, as it argues the humanity, of General Amherst, whose conduct had been irreproachable during the whole course of the American operations. At the same time, it must be allowed, he was extremely fortunate in having subordinate commanders, who perfectly corresponded with his ideas; and a body of troops whom no labours could discourage, whom no dangers could dismay. Sir William Johnson, with a power of authority and insinuation peculiar to himself, not only maintained a surprising ascendancy over the most ferocious of all the Indian tribes, but kept them within the bounds of such salutary restraint, that not one single act of inhumanity was perpetrated by them during the whole course of this expedition. The zeal and conduct of Brigadier-General Gage, the undaunted spirit and enterprising genius of General Murray, the diligence and activity of Colonel Haviland, happily co-operated in promoting this great event.

The French ministry had attempted to succour Montreal, by equipping a considerable number of store-ships, and sending them out in the spring under convoy of a frigate; but as their officers understood that the British squadron had sailed up the river St. Lawrence before their arrival, they took shelter in the bay of Chaleurs, on the coast of Acadia, where they did not long remain unmolested. Captain Byron, who commanded the ships of war that were left at Louisbourg, having received intelligence of them from Brigadier-General Whitmore, sailed thither with his squadron, and found them at anchor. The whole fleet consisted of one frigate, two large store-ships, and nineteen sail of smaller vessels; the greater part of which had been taken from the merchants of Great Britain: all these were destroyed, together with two batteries which had been raised for their protection. The French town, consisting of two hundred houses, was demolished, and the settlement totally ruined. All the French subjects inhabiting the territories from the bay of Fundy to the banks of the river St. Lawrence, and all the Indians through that tract of country, were now subdued, and subjected to the English government. In the month

French
ships de-
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Chaleurs.
Total re-
duction of
Canada.

of December of the preceding year, the French colonists of Miranichi, Riquebouch, and other places lying along the gulf of St. Lawrence, made their submission by deputies to Colonel Frye, who commanded in Fort Cumberland at Chignecto. They afterwards renewed this submission in the most formal manner, by subscribing articles, by which they obliged themselves, and the people they represented, to repair in the spring to Bay Verte, with all their effects and shipping, to be disposed of according to the direction of Colonel Lawrence, governor of Halifax, in Nova Scotia. They were accompanied by two Indian chiefs of the nation of the Mickmacks, a powerful and numerous people, now become entirely dependent upon his Britannic majesty. In a word, by the conquest of Canada, the Indian fur trade, in its full extent, fell into the hands of the English. The French interest among the savage tribes, inhabiting an immense tract of country, was totally extinguished; and their American possessions shrunk within the limits of Louisiana, an infant colony on the south of the Mississippi, which the British arms may at any time easily subdue.

The conquest of Canada being achieved, nothing now remained to be done in North America, except the demolition of the fortifications of Louisbourg on the island of Cape Breton; for which purpose some able engineers had been sent from England with the ships commanded by Captain Byron. By means of mines artfully disposed and well constructed, the fortifications were reduced to a heap of rubbish, the glacis was levelled, and the ditches were filled. All the artillery, ammunition, and implements of war, were conveyed to Halifax; but the barracks were repaired so as to accommodate three hundred men occasionally: and the hospital, with the private houses, were left standing. The French still possessed, upon the continent of America, the fertile country lying on each side of the great river Mississippi, which disembogues itself into the gulf of Florida; but the colony was so thinly peopled and so ill provided, that, far from being formidable, it scarce could have subsisted, unless the British traders had been base and treacherous enough to supply it from time to time with provisions and necessaries. The same infamous commerce was carried on with divers French plantations in the West Indies; insomuch that the governors of pro-

Demolition
of Louis-
bourg.

vinces, and commanders of the squadrons stationed in those seas, made formal complaints of it to the ministry. The temptation of extraordinary profit excited the merchants, not only to assist the enemies of their country, but also to run all risks in eluding the vigilance of the legislature. The inhabitants of Martinique found a plentiful market of provisions furnished by the British subjects at the Dutch islands of Eustatia and Curaçoa; and those that were settled on the island of Hispaniola were supplied in the same manner at the Spanish settlement of Monte Christo.

While the British commanders exerted themselves by sea and land with the most laudable spirit of vigi-
Insult on
of the re-
gion in
Jamaica.
 lance and courage against the foreign adversaries
 of their country, the colonists of Jamaica ran the
 most imminent hazard of being extirpated by a domestic
 enemy. The negro slaves of that island, grown insolent
 in the contemplation of their own formidable numbers, or
 by observing the supine indolence of their masters, or stimu-
 lated by that appetite for liberty so natural to the mind of
 man, began, in the course of this year, to entertain thoughts
 of shaking off the yoke by means of a general insurrection.
 Assemblies were held, and plans revolved for this purpose.
 At length they concerted a scheme for rising in arms all
 at once in different parts of the island, in order to massacre
 all the white men, and take possession of the government.
 They agreed that this design should be put in execution
 immediately after the departure of the fleet for Europe;
 but their plan was defeated by their ignorance and im-
 patience. Those of the conspirators that belonged to Cap-
 tain Forrest's estate, being impelled by the fumes of intoxica-
 tion, fell suddenly upon the overseer, while he sat at supper
 with some friends, and butchered the whole company. Being
 immediately joined by some of their confederates, they at-
 tacked the neighbouring plantations, where they repeated
 the same barbarities; and seizing all the arms and ammuni-
 tion that fell in their way, began to grow formidable to the
 colony. The governor no sooner received intimation of
 this disturbance, than he, by proclamation, subjected the
 colonists to martial law. All other business was interrupted,
 and every man took to his arms. The regular troops, joined
 by the troop of militia and a considerable number of volun-
 teers, marched from Spanish-town to St. Mary's, where the

insurrection began, and skirmished with the insurgents; but as they declined standing any regular engagement, and trusted chiefly to bush-fighting, the governor employed against them the free blacks, commonly known by the name of the Wild Negroes, now peaceably settled under the protection of the government. These auxiliaries, in consideration of a price set upon the heads of the rebels, attacked them in their own way, slew them by surprise, until their strength was broken, and numbers made away with themselves in despair; so that the insurrection was supposed to be quelled about the beginning of May; but in June it broke out again with redoubled fury, and the rebels were reinforced to a very considerable number. The regular troops and the militia, joined by a body of sailors, formed a camp, under the command of Colonel Spragge, who sent out detachments against the negroes, a great number of whom were killed, and some taken; but the rest, instead of submitting, took shelter in the woods and mountains. The prisoners being tried, and found guilty of rebellion, were put to death by a variety of tortures. Some were hanged, some beheaded, some burned, and some fixed alive upon gibbets. One of these last lived eight days and eighteen hours, suspended under a vertical sun, without being refreshed by one drop of water, or receiving any manner of sustenance. In order to prevent such insurrections for the future, the justices assembled at the sessions of the peace established regulations, importing that no negro slave should be allowed to quit his plantation without a white conductor, or a ticket of leave; that every negro playing at any sort of game should be scourged through the public streets; that every publican suffering such gaming in his house should forfeit forty shillings; that every proprietor suffering his negroes to beat a drum, blow a horn, or make any other noise in his plantation, should be fined ten pounds; and every overseer allowing these irregularities should pay half that sum, to be demanded, or distrained for, by any civil or military officer; that every free negro, or mulatto, should wear a blue cross on his right shoulder, on pain of imprisonment; that no mulatto, Indian, or negro, should hawk or sell any thing, except fresh fish and milk, on pain of being scourged; that rum and punch-houses should be shut up during divine service on Sundays, under the penalty of twenty shillings; and that those who had

petit licences should shut up their houses on other nights at nine o'clock.

Notwithstanding these examples and regulations, a body of rebellious negroes still subsisted in places that were deemed inaccessible to regular forces: and from these they made nocturnal irruptions into the nearest plantations, where they acted with all the wantonness of barbarity: so that the people of Jamaica were obliged to conduct themselves with the utmost vigilance and circumspection; while Rear-Admiral Holmes, who commanded at sea, took every precaution to secure the island from insult or invasion. He not only took measures for the defence of Jamaica, but also contrived and executed schemes for annoying the enemy. Having, in the month of October, received intelligence, that five French frigates were equipped at Cape François, on the island of Hispaniola, in order to convoy a fleet of merchant ships to Europe, he stationed the ships under his command in such a manner as was most likely to intercept this fleet; and his disposition was attended with success. The enemy sailed from the Cape, to the number of eight sail, on the sixteenth; and next day they were chased by the king's ships the Hampshire, Lively, and Boreas; which, however, made small progress, as there was little wind, and that variable. In the evening the breeze freshened; and about midnight the Boreas came up with the Sirenne, commanded by Commodore M'Cartie. They engaged with great vivacity for about twenty-five minutes, when the Sirenne shot ahead, and made the best of her way. The Boreas was so damaged in her rigging, that she could not close with the enemy again till next day, at two in the afternoon, when the action was renewed off the east end of Cuba, and maintained till forty minutes past four, when Mr. M'Cartie struck. In the mean time, the Hampshire and Lively gave chase to the other four French frigates, which steered to the southward with all the sail they could carry, in order to reach the west end of Tortuga, and shelter themselves in Port-au-Prince. On the eighteenth, the Lively, by the help of her oars, came up with the Valeur, at half an hour past seven in the morning; and after a hot action, which continued an hour and a half, compelled the enemy to submit. The Hampshire stood after the other three, and about four in the afternoon ran up between the Duke de Choiseul and the Prince

Edward. These she engaged at the same time; but the first, having the advantage of the wind, made her retreat into Port-au-Paix; the other ran ashore about two leagues to leeward, and struck her colours; but, at the approach of the Hampshire, the enemy set her on fire, and she blew up. This was also the fate of the *Fleur-de-Lys*, which had run into Freshwater Bay, a little farther to leeward of Port-au-Prince. Thus, by the prudent disposition of Admiral Holmes, and the gallantry of his three captains, Norbury, Uvedale, and Maitland, two large frigates of the enemy were taken, and three destroyed. The spirit of the officers was happily supported by an uncommon exertion of courage in the men, who cheerfully engaged in the most dangerous enterprises. Immediately after the capture of the French frigates, eight of the enemy's privateers were destroyed or brought into Jamaica. Two of these, namely, the *Vainqueur* of ten guns, sixteen swivels, and ninety men, and the *Mackau* of six swivels, and fifteen men, had run into shoal water in Cumberland-harbour, on the island of Cuba. The boats of the *Trent* and *Boreas*, manned under the direction of the Lieutenants Miller and Stuart, being rowed up to the *Vainqueur*, boarded and took possession under a close fire, after having surmounted many other difficulties. The *Mackau* was taken without any resistance; then the boats proceeded against the *Guespe*, of eight guns, and eighty-five men, which lay at anchor further up in the lagoon; but before they came up, the enemy had set her on fire, and she was destroyed.

The same activity and resolution distinguished the captains and officers belonging to the squadron commanded by Sir James Douglas off the Leeward Islands. In the month of September, the Captains Obrien and Taylor, of the ships *Temple* and *Griffin*, being on a joint cruise off the islands *Granadas*, received intelligence that the *Virgin*, formerly a British sloop of war, which had been taken by the enemy, then lay at anchor, together with three privateers, under the protection of three forts on the island, sailed thither in order to attack them; and their enterprise was crowned with success. After a warm engagement, which lasted several hours, the enemy's batteries were silenced, and indeed demolished, and the English captains took possession of the four prizes. They afterwards entered another harbour of that island,

Gallant behaviour of the Captains Obrien and Taylor in the Leeward Islands.

having first demolished another fort; and there they lay four days unmolested, at the expiration of which they carried off three other prizes. In their return to Antigua, they fell in with thirteen ships bound to Martinique with provisions, and took them all without resistance. About the same time eight or nine privateers were taken by the ships which Commodore Sir James Douglas employed in cruising round the island of Guadaloupe, so that the British commerce in those seas flourished under his care and protection.

In the East Indies the British arms still continued to prosper. After the reduction of Arcot, the garri- Tri-
umphant in
the East
Indies. sons of Permacoil and Allumparva surrendered themselves prisoners of war in the beginning of May. The Falmouth obliged the Haarleu, a French ship from Merguy, to run ashore to the northward of Pondicherry. The important settlement of Carical was reduced by the sea and land forces commanded by Rear-Admiral Cornish and Major Monson, and the French garrison made prisoners of war; and Colonel Coote formed the blockade of Pondicherry by land, while the harbour was beset by the English squadron.

No action of importance was in the course of this year achieved by the naval force of Great Britain in the Achieve-
ments in
the bay of
Quiberon. seas of Europe. A powerful squadron still remained in the bay of Quiberon, in order to amuse and employ a body of French forces on that part of the coast, and interrupt the navigation of the enemy; though the principal aim of this armament seems to have been to watch and detain the few French ships which had run into the river Villaine, after the defeat of Conflans; an object, the importance of which will doubtless astonish posterity. The fleet employed in this service was alternately commanded by Admiral Boscawen and Sir Edward Hawke, officers of distinguished abilities, whose talents might have been surely rendered subservient to much greater national advantages. All that Mr. Boscawen could do in this circumscribed scene of action, was to take possession of a small island near the river Vannes, which he caused to be cultivated, and planted with vegetables, for the use of the men infected with scorbutic disorders, arising from salt provision, sea air, and want of proper exercise. In the month of September, Sir Edward Hawke, who had by this time relieved Mr. Boscawen, detached the gallant Lord Howe, in the Magnanime, with the

ships Prince Frederick and Bedford, to reduce the little island of Dumet, about three miles in length, and two in breadth, abounding with fresh water. It was defended by a small fort, mounted with nine cannon, and manned with one company of the regiment of Bourbon, who surrendered in a very short time after the ships had begun the attack. By this small conquest a considerable expense was saved to the nation in the article of transports employed to carry water for the use of the squadron.

Admiral Rodney still maintained his former station off the coast of Havre de Grace, to observe what should pass at the mouth of the Seine. In the month of July, while he hovered in this neighbourhood, five large flat-bottomed boats, laden with cannon and shot, set sail from Harfleur, in the middle of the day, with their colours flying, as if they had set the English squadron at defiance; for the walls of Havre de Grace, and even the adjacent hills, were covered with spectators, assembled to behold the issue of this adventure. Having reached the river of Caen, they stood backwards and forwards upon the shoals, intending to amuse Admiral Rodney till night, and then proceed under cover of the darkness. He perceived their drift, and gave directions to his small vessels to be ready, that, as soon as daylight failed, they should make all the sail they could for the mouth of the river Orne, in order to cut off the enemy's retreat, while he himself stood with the larger ships to the steep coast of Port Bassin. The scheme succeeded to his wish. The enemy, seeing their retreat cut off, ran ashore at Port Bassin, where the admiral destroyed them, together with a small fort which had been erected for the defence of this harbour. Each of those vessels was one hundred feet in length, and capable of containing four hundred men for a short passage. What their destination was we cannot pretend to determine; but the French had provided a great number of these transports; for ten escaped into the river Orne leading to Caen; and in consequence of this disaster one hundred were unloaded, and sent up again to Rouen. This was not all the damage that the enemy sustained on this part of the coast. In the month of November, Captain Ourry, of the *Acteon*, chased a large privateer, and drove her ashore between Cape Barfleur and La Hogue, where she perished. The cutters belonging to Admiral Rodney's squadron scoured the coast towards

Admiral
Rodney de-
stroys some
vessels on
the coast of
France.

Dieppe, where a considerable fishery was carried on, and where they took or destroyed near forty vessels of considerable burden. Though the English navy suffered nothing from the French during this period, it sustained some damage from the weather. The *Conqueror*, a new ship of the line, was lost in the channel, on the island of St. Nicholas, but the crew and cannon were saved. The *Lyme*, of twenty guns, foundered in the Cattegat, in Norway, and fifty of the men perished; and in the West Indies, a tender belonging to the *Dublin*, commanded by Commodore Sir James Douglas, was lost in a gale of wind, with a hundred chosen mariners.

Of the domestic transactions relating to the war, the most considerable was the equipment of a powerful armament destined for some secret expedition. ^{Prepara-} A ^{tions for a} numerous body of forces was assembled, and a great ^{secret ex-} number of transports collected, at Portsmouth. ^{pedition.} Generals were nominated to the command of this enterprise. The troops were actually embarked, with a great train of artillery; and the eyes of the whole nation were attentively fixed upon this armament, which could not have been prepared without incurring a prodigious expense. Notwithstanding these preparations, the whole summer was spent in idleness and inaction; and in the latter end of the season the undertaking was laid aside. The people did not fail to clamour against the inactivity of the summer, and complain that, notwithstanding the immense subsidies granted for the prosecution of the war, no stroke of importance was struck in Europe for the advantage of Great Britain; but that her treasure was lavished upon fruitless parade, or a German alliance still more pernicious. It must be owned, indeed, that no new attempt was made to annoy the enemy on British principles; for the surrender of Montreal was the natural consequence of the steps which had been taken, and of the measures concerted in the course of the preceding year. It will be allowed, we apprehend, that the expense incurred by the armament at Portsmouth, and the body of troops there detained, would have been sufficient, if properly applied, to reduce the island of Mauritius in the Indian ocean, Martinique in the West Indies, or Minorca in the Mediterranean; and all these three were objects of importance. In all probability, the design of the armament was either to intimidate the French into proposals of peace;

to make a diversion from the Rhine, by alarming the coast of Bretagne; or to throw over a body of troops into Flanders, to effect a junction with the hereditary Prince of Brunswick, who, at the head of twenty thousand men, had made an irruption as far as the Lower Rhine, and even crossed that river; but he miscarried in the execution of his design.

In the midst of these alarms, some regard was paid to the improvements of natural knowledge. The Royal Society having made application to the king, representing that there would be a transit of Venus over the disk of the sun on the sixth day of June; and that there was reason to hope the parallax of that planet might be more accurately determined by making proper observations of this phenomenon at the island of St. Helena, near the coast of Africa, and at Bencoolen in the East Indies; his majesty granted a sum of money to defray the expense of sending able astronomers to those two places, and ordered a ship of war to be equipped for their conveyance. Accordingly, Mr. Nevil Maskelyne and Mr. Robert Waddington were appointed to make the observations at St. Helena; and Mr. Charles Mason and Mr. Jeremiah Dixon undertook the voyage to Bencoolen, on the island of Sumatra.^f

Except the countries that were actually the scenes of war, no political revolution or disturbance disquieted the general tranquillity. Syria, indeed, felt all the horrors and wreck of a dreadful earthquake, protracted in repeated shocks, which began on the thirteenth day of October, in the neighbourhood of Tripoli. A great number of houses were overthrown at Seyde, and many people buried under the ruins. It was felt through a space of ten thousand square leagues, comprehending the mountains of Libanus and Antilibanus, with an infinite number of villages, that were reduced to heaps of rubbish. At Acre, or Ptolemais, the sea overflowed its banks, and poured into the streets, though eight feet above the level of the water. The city of Saphet was entirely destroyed, and the greatest part of its inhabitants perished. At Damascus all the minarets were overthrown, and six thousand people lost their lives. The shocks diminished gradually till the twenty-fifth day of November,

^f In the beginning of April the king granted to his grandson, Prince Edward Augustus, and to the heirs male of his royal highness, the dignities of duke of the kingdom of Great Britain, and of earl of the kingdom of Ireland, by the names, styles, and titles of Duke of York and Albany, and Earl of Ulster.

when they were renewed with redoubled havoc; the earth trembled with the most dreadful convulsions, and the greater part of Tripoli was destroyed. Balbeck was entirely ruined, and this was the fate of many other towns and castles; so that the people who escaped the ruins were obliged to sojourn in the open fields, and all Syria was threatened with the vengeance of Heaven. Such a dangerous ferment arose at Constantinople, that a revolution was apprehended. Mustapha, the present emperor, had no sons; but his brother Bajazet, whose life he had spared, contrary to the maxims of Turkish policy, produced a son by one of the women with whom he was indulged in his confinement; a circumstance which aroused the jealousy of the emperor to such a degree, that he resolved to despatch his brother. The great officers of the Porte opposed this design, which was so disagreeable to the people that an insurrection ensued. Several Turks and Armenians, taking it for granted that a revolution was at hand, bought up great quantities of grain: and a dreadful dearth was the consequence of this monopoly. The sultan assembled the troops, quitted the insurgents, ordered the engrossers of corn to be executed; and in a little time the repose of the city was re-established.

Notwithstanding the prospect of a rupture in Italy, no new incident interrupted the tranquillity which the southern parts of Europe enjoyed. The King of Spain, howsoever solicited by the other branch of the Wise conduct of the catholic king. house of Bourbon to engage in the war as its ally, refused to interpose in any other way than as a mediator between the courts of London and Versailles. He sent the Conde de Fuentes, a nobleman of high rank and character, in quality of ambassador extraordinary to the King of Great Britain, in order to offer his good offices for effecting a peace; and the conde, after having conferred with the English ministry, made an excursion to Paris: but his proposal with respect to a cessation of hostilities, if in reality such a proposal was ever made, did not meet with a cordial reception. Other differences subsisting between the crowns of Great Britain and Spain he found no difficulty in compromising. His catholic majesty persisted in the execution of a plan truly worthy of a patriot king. In the first place, he spared no pains and application to make himself thoroughly acquainted with the state of his kingdom. He remitted to his people all they owed the crown, amounting to threescore millions of reals:

he demanded an exact account of his father's debts, that they might be discharged with the utmost punctuality: an order was sent to the treasury, that ten millions of reals should be annually appropriated for this purpose, until the whole should be liquidated; and to the first year's payment he added fifty millions, to be divided equally among the legal claimants. He took measures for the vigorous execution of the laws against offenders; encouraged industry; protected commerce; and felt the exquisite pleasure of being beloved as the father of his people. To give importance to his crown, and extend his influence among the powers of Europe, he equipped a powerful squadron of ships at Carthage; and is said to have declared his intention to employ them against Algiers, should the dey refuse to release the slaves of the Spanish nation.

Portugal still seemed agitated from the shock of the late conspiracy which was quelled in that kingdom. The pope's nuncio was not only forbid the court, but even sent under a strong guard to the frontiers; an indignity which induced the pontiff to order the Portuguese minister at Rome to evacuate the ecclesiastical dominions. In the mean time, another embarkation of Jesuits was sent from Lisbon to Civita Vecchia; yet the expulsion of these fathers did not restore the internal peace of Portugal, or put an end to the practice of plotting; for, even since their departure, some persons of rank have been either committed to close prison, or exiled from the kingdom. The Jesuits were not more fortunate in America; for in the month of October, in the foregoing year, an obstinate battle was fought between the united forces of Spain and Portugal, and the Indians of Paraguay who were under the dominion of the Jesuits: victory at length declared in favour of the two crowns; so that the vanquished were obliged to capitulate, and lay down their arms. As the court of Portugal had made remonstrances to the British ministry against the proceedings of the English squadron under Admiral Boscawen, which had attacked and destroyed some French ships under the Portuguese fort in the bay of Lagos, his Britannic majesty thought proper to send the Earl of Kinnoul as ambassador extraordinary to Lisbon, where that nobleman made such excuses for the insult of the English admiral, as entirely removed all misunderstanding between the two crowns; and could not fail of being agreeable to the Portuguese monarch, thus re-

spected, soothed, and deprecated by a mighty nation, in the very zenith of power and prosperity. On the sixth of June, being the birthday of the King of Portugal, the marriage of his brother Don Pedro with the Princess of Brazil was celebrated in the chapel of the palace where the king resides, to the universal joy of the people. The nuptials were announced to the public by the discharge of cannon, and celebrated with illuminations, and all kinds of rejoicing.

An accident which happened in the Mediterranean had like to have drawn the indignation of the Ottoman ^{Turkish} Porte on the knights of the order of Malta. A large ^{ship of the line} Turkish ship of the line, mounted with sixty-eight ^{cruised into Malta.} brass cannon, having on board a complement of seven hundred men, besides seventy Christian slaves, under the immediate command of the Turkish admiral, had, in company with two frigates, five galleys, and other smaller vessels, sailed in June from the Dardanelles; cruised along the coast of Smyrna, Scio, and Trio; and at length anchored in the channel of Stangie, where the admiral, with four hundred persons, went on shore, on the nineteenth day of September; the Christian slaves, seizing this opportunity, armed themselves with knives, and fell upon the three hundred that remained with such fury and effect, that a great number of the Turks were instantly slain; many leaped overboard into the sea, where they perished; and the rest sued for mercy. The Christians having thus secured possession of the ship, hoisted sail, and bore away for Malta; which, though chased by the two frigates and a Ragusan ship, they reached, by crowding all their canvass, and brought their prize safe into the harbour of Valette, amidst the acclamations of the people. The order of Malta, as a recompense for this signal act of bravery and resolution, assigned to the captors the whole property of the ship and slaves, together with all the effects on board, including a sum of money, which the Turkish commander had collected by contribution, amounting to a million and a half of florins. The grand signior was so enraged at this event, that he disgraced his admiral, and threatened to take vengeance on the order of Malta, for having detained the ship, and countenanced the capture.

With respect to the dispute which had so long embroiled the northern parts of Europe, the neutral powers ^{Patriotic schemes of the King of Denmark.} seemed as averse as ever to a participation. The King of Denmark continued to perfect those plans

which he had wisely formed for increasing the wealth and promoting the happiness of his subjects; nor did he neglect any opportunity of improving natural knowledge, for the benefit of mankind in general. He employed men of ability, at his own expense, to travel into foreign countries, and to collect the most curious productions, for the advancement of natural history; he encouraged the liberal and mechanic arts at home, by munificent rewards and peculiar protection: he invited above a thousand foreigners from Germany to become his subjects, and settle in certain districts of Jutland, which had lain waste above three centuries; and they forthwith began to build villages and cultivate the lands, in the dioceses of Wibourg, Aihous, and Ripen. Their travelling expenses from Altona to their new settlement were defrayed by the king, who moreover maintained them until the produce of the land could afford a comfortable subsistence. He likewise bestowed upon each colonist a house, a barn, and a stable, with a certain number of horses and cattle. Finally, this generous patriot having visited these new subjects, who received him with unspeakable emotions of joy and affection, he ordered a considerable sum of money to be distributed among them, as an additional mark of his favour. Such conduct in a prince cannot fail to secure the warmest returns of loyalty and attachment in his people; and the execution of such laudable schemes will endear his name to the contemplation of posterity.

The Dutch, as usual, persevered in prosecuting every branch of commerce, without being diverted to less profitable schemes of state policy by the insinuations of France, or the remonstrances of Great Britain. The violation of the peace by their subjects in Bengal was no sooner known at the court of London, than orders were sent to General Yorke, the English ambassador at the Hague, to demand an explanation. He accordingly presented a memorial to the States-General, signifying that their high mightinesses must doubtless be greatly astonished to hear, by the public papers, of the irregularities committed by their subjects in the East Indies; but that they would be much more amazed on perusing the piece annexed to his memorial, containing a minute account, specified with the strictest regard to truth, of the irregular conduct observed by the Dutch towards the British subjects in the river of Bengal, at a time when the factors

Memorial
presented
by the
British
ambassa-
dor to the
States-
General.

and traders of Holland enjoyed all the sweets of peace, and all the advantages of unmolested commerce; at a time when his Britannic majesty, from his great regard to their high mightinesses, carefully avoided giving the least umbrage to the subjects of the United Provinces. He observed that the king his sovereign was deeply affected by those outrageous doings and mischievous designs of the Dutch in the East Indies, whose aim was to destroy the British settlements in that country; an aim that would have been accomplished, had not the king's victorious arms brought them to reason, and obliged them to sue for an accommodation. He told them his majesty would willingly believe their high mightinesses had given no order for proceeding to such extremities, and that the directors of their India company had no share in the transaction; nevertheless, he (the ambassador) was ordered to demand signal satisfaction, in the name of the king his master: that all who should be found to have shared in the offence, so manifestly tending to the destruction of the English settlements in that country, should be exemplarily punished; and that their high mightinesses should confirm the stipulations agreed upon immediately after the action by the directors of the respective companies, in consideration of which agreement the Dutch ships were restored, after their commanders acknowledged their fault, in owning themselves the aggressors. To this remonstrance the States-General replied, that nothing of what was laid to the charge of their subjects had yet reached their knowledge; but they requested his Britannic majesty to suspend his judgment until he should be made perfectly acquainted with the grounds of those disputes; and they promised he should have reason to be satisfied with the exemplary punishment that would be inflicted upon all who should be found concerned in violating the peace between the two nations.*

The war in Germany still raged with unrelenting fury, and the mutual rancour of the contending parties seemed to derive fresh force from their mutual dis-
State of the powers at war.
 appointments; at least the house of Austria seemed still implacable, and obstinately bent upon terminating the war with the destruction of the Prussian monarch. Her allies, however, seemed less actuated by the spirit of revenge.

* In the month of March, the states of Holland and West Friesland having, after warm debates, agreed to the proposed match between the Princess Caroline, sister to the Prince of Orange, and the Prince of Nassau Weilbourg, the nuptials were solemnized at the Hague with great magnificence.

The French king had sustained so much damage and disgrace in the course of the war, that his resources failed, and his finances fell into disorder; he could no longer afford the subsidies he had promised to different powers; while his subjects clamoured aloud at the burden of impositions, the ruin of trade, and the repeated dishonour entailed upon the arms of France. The czarina's zeal for the alliance was evidently cooled by the irregular and defective payments of the subsidies she had stipulated. Perhaps she was disappointed in her hope of conquest, and chagrined to see her armies retire from Germany at the approach of every winter; and the British ministry did not fail to exert all their influence to detach her from the confederacy in which she had embarked. Sweden still languished in an ineffectual parade of hostilities against the house of Brandenburg; but the French interest began to lose ground in the diet of that kingdom. The King of Prussia, howsoever exhausted in the article of men, betrayed no symptom of apprehension, and made no advance towards a pacification with his adversaries. He had employed the winter in recruiting his armies by every expedient his fertile genius could devise; in levying contributions to reinforce the vast subsidy he received from England, in filling magazines, and making every preparation for a vigorous campaign. In Westphalia, the same foresight and activity were exerted by Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, who, in the beginning of summer, found himself at the head of a very numerous army, paid by Great Britain, and strengthened by two-and-twenty thousand national troops.

No alteration in the terms of this alliance was produced by the death of William, Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, who breathed his last, in an advanced age, on the twenty-eighth day of January, at Rintelen, upon the Weser. He was succeeded in the landgraviate by his son Frederick, whose consort, the Princess Mary, daughter to the King of Great Britain, now, in quality of governess of her children, assumed the regency and administration of the county of Hanau-Muntzenberg, by virtue of the settlement made in the lifetime of her father-in-law, and confirmed by her husband. She had for some years been separated from him, and resided with his father, at whose decease she retired with her children to the city of Zell. The present landgrave, who lived at Magdebourg as vice-

Death of
the Land-
grave of
Hesse-
Cassel.

governor under the King of Prussia, no sooner learned the news of his father's death, than he sent an intimation of it to that prince and the King of Great Britain; declaring, at the same time, that he would scrupulously adhere to the engagements of his predecessor.

The advances towards a peace, which had been made in the preceding year by the Kings of England and Prussia, in their declaration published at the Hague by Prince Louis of Brunswick, seemed to infuse in the neutral powers a good opinion of their moderation. We have already seen that the King of Spain offered his best offices in quality of mediator. When a congress was proposed, the States-General made an offer of Breda, as a place proper for the negotiation. The King of Great Britain, by the mouth of his ambassador, thanked their high mightinesses for the sincere desire they expressed to put an end to the ravages of war, which had extended desolation over the face of Europe: he readily closed with their gracious offer; and in consequence of his high regard and invariable friendship for their high mightinesses, wished earnestly that it might be acceptable to the other powers at war. The French king expressed his sentiments nearly to the same purpose. His ambassador declared, that his most Christian majesty was highly sensible of the offer they had made of Breda, for holding the congress; that in order to give a fresh proof of his sincere desire to increase the good harmony that subsisted between him and the States-General, he accepted their offer with pleasure; but as he could take no step without the concurrence of his high allies, he was obliged to wait for their answer, which could not fail to be favourable, if nothing remained to be settled but the place for holding the congress. King Stanislaus having written a letter to his Britannic majesty, offering the city of Nancy for the same purpose, he received a civil answer, expressing the King of England's sense of his obliging offer, which, however, he declined, as a place not conveniently situated for all the powers interested in the great work of pacification. Civilities of the same nature likewise passed between the sovereign of Nancy and the King of Prussia. As the proposals for an accommodation made by the King of England and his allies might have left an unfavourable impression on their adversaries had they been altogether declined, the court of Vienna was prevailed upon

Offices made
by the neu-
tral powers
of a place
for holding
a congress.

to concur with her allies in a declaration professing their desire of peace; which declaration was delivered on the third day of April, by the Austrian minister residing at the Hague, to his Serene Highness Prince Louis of Brunswick; and a paper of the same nature was also delivered to him separately by the French and Russian ministers.^b These professions, however, did not interrupt the operations of the campaign.

Though the French army under the Mareschal Duke de Broglie remained in cantonment in the neighbourhood of Friedberg, and Prince Ferdinand had retired from Corsdorff to Marburg, where, in the beginning of January, he established his head-quarters, nevertheless, the winter was by no means inactive. As far back as the twenty-fifth day of December, the Duke de Broglie, having called in his detachments, attempted to surprise the allied army by a forced march to Kleinlinnes; but finding them prepared to give him a warm reception, nothing but a cannonade ensued, and he retreated to his former quarters.

^b A translation of the declaration delivered by the Austrian minister residing at the Hague, to his Serene Highness Prince Louis of Brunswick, in answer to that which his highness had delivered on the part of his Britannic majesty and the King of Prussia, on the 25th of November, 1759, to the ministers of the belligerent powers.

Their Britannic and Prussian majesties having thought proper to make known, by the declaration delivered, on their part, at the Hague, the twenty-fifth of November last past, to the ambassadors and ministers of the courts of Vienna, Petersburg, and Versailles, residing there,

"That being sincerely desirous of contributing to the re-establishment of the public tranquillity, they were ready to send plenipotentiaries to the place that shall be judged the most convenient, in order to treat there of this important object with those which the belligerent parties shall think proper to authorize on their side for attaining so salutary an end:"

Her majesty the Empress Queen of Hungary and Bohemia, her majesty the Empress of all the Russias, and his majesty the most Christian king, equally animated by the desire of contributing to the re-establishment of the public tranquillity, on a solid and equitable footing, declare in return,

"That his majesty the catholic king having been pleased to offer his mediation in the war which has subsisted for some years between France and England; and this war having besides nothing in common with that which the two empresses, with their allies, have likewise carried on for some years against the King of Prussia;

"His most Christian majesty is ready to treat of his particular peace with England, through the good offices of his catholic majesty, whose mediation he has a pleasure in accepting.

"As to the war which regards directly his Prussian majesty, their majesties, the Empress Queen of Hungary and Bohemia, the Empress of all the Russias, and the most Christian king, are disposed to agree to the appointing the congress proposed. But as, by virtue of their treaties, they cannot enter into any engagement relating to peace but in conjunction with their allies, it will be necessary, in order that they may be enabled to explain themselves definitively upon that subject, that their Britannic and Prussian majesties should previously be pleased to cause their invitation to a congress to be made to all the powers that are directly engaged in war against the King of Prussia; and namely, to his majesty the King of Poland, Elector of Saxony, as likewise to his majesty the King of Sweden, who ought specifically to be invited to the future congress."

On the twenty-ninth, Colonel Luckner, at the head of the Hanoverian hunters, fell in with a detachment of the enemy, consisting of four hundred men, under the command of Count Muret. These he attacked with such vigour, that the count was made prisoner, and all his party either killed or taken, except two-and-twenty, who escaped. On the third day of January, the Marquis de Vogue attacked the town of Herborn, which he carried, and took a small detachment of the allies who were posted there. At the same time the Marquis Dauvet made himself master of Dillembourg, the garrison of the allied troops being obliged to retire into the castle, where they were closely besieged. Prince Ferdinand no sooner understood their situation, than he began his march with a strong detachment for their relief, on the seventh day of the month, when he attacked and totally defeated the besiegers, took seven hundred prisoners, including forty officers, with seven pair of colours, and two pieces of cannon. On that very day, the Highlanders, under Major Keith, supported by the hussars of Luckner, who commanded the whole detachment, attacked the village of Eybach, where Beaufremont's regiment of dragoons was posted on the side of Dillembourg, and routed them with great slaughter. The greater part of the regiment was killed, and many prisoners were taken, together with two hundred horses, and all their baggage. The Highlanders distinguished themselves on this occasion by their intrepidity, which was the more remarkable, as they were no other than raw recruits, just arrived from their own country, and altogether unacquainted with discipline. On the eighth day of January, M. de St. Germain advanced on the left of the allies with the grenadiers of the French army, supported by eight battalions, and a body of dragoons; but he was encountered by the Duke of Holstein, at the head of a strong detachment, in the neighbourhood of Erdsdorff, who, by dint of a furious cannonade, obliged him to retreat with precipitation. After this attempt the French parties disappeared, and their army retired into winter-quarters, in and about Frankfort on the Maine; while Prince Ferdinand quartered the allies at Cassel, Paderborn, Munster, and Osnabruck; this last place being allotted to the British troops, as being the nearest to Embden, where the reinforcements from Britain were to be landed. In the beginning of February, the hereditary Prince of Brunswick, with a detachment

of the allied army under his command, began his march from Chemnitz in Saxony for Westphalia, where he safely arrived, after having assisted at a long conference in Hamelen, with his father the reigning duke, his uncle Prince Ferdinand, and some principal members of the regency of Hanover.

The French general continued to send out detachments Exactions by the French in Westphalia. to beat up the quarters of the allies, and lay their towns under contribution. In the beginning of March, the Marquis de Blaisel marched at the head of two thousand four hundred men from Giessen, where he commanded, to Marpurg, forced the gates of the town, and compelled the garrison of the allies to take shelter in the castle. As he could not pretend to undertake the siege of the fortress, by the fire of which he was exceedingly galled, he demanded of the town a contribution of one hundred thousand florins, and carried some of the magistrates along with him as hostages for the payment of this imposition. He afterwards appeared at Hombourg, Alsfeldt, and Hartzberg, the frontier posts of the allies; but did not think proper to attack either, because he perceived that measures were taken for his reception. The French, with all their boasted politeness and humanity, are sometimes found as brutal and rapacious as the most barbarous enemy. On pretence of taking umbrage at the town of Hanau-Muntzenberg, for having, without their permission, acknowledged the regency of the Landgraviate of Hesse-Cassel, they, in the month of February, ordered the magistrates of that place to pay, within the term of twenty-four hours, the sum of seven hundred and fifty thousand livres, on pain of being subjected to plunder. This order was signified by the Prince de Robecq; to whom the magistrates represented the impossibility of raising such a sum, as the country was totally exhausted, and their credit absolutely destroyed, in consequence of their inability to pay the interest of the capitals negotiated in the course of the preceding year. He still insisted upon their finding the money before night. They offered to pay eighty thousand florins, which they raised with the utmost difficulty, and begged the payment of the rest might be postponed for a few weeks; but their request was rejected with disdain. The garrison was reinforced by two battalions, and four squadrons dispersed in the principal squares and markets of the city, and the gates

were shut. They even planted cannon in the streets, and tarred matches were fixed to many houses, in order to intimidate the inhabitants. These expedients proving ineffectual, detachments of grenadiers entered the houses of the principal magistrates and merchants, from whence they removed all their best effects to the town-hall, where they were kept in deposit, until they were redeemed with all the money that could possibly be raised. This exaction, so little to the honour of a civilized nation, the French minister declared to the diet at Ratisbon was agreeable to the instructions of his most Christian majesty.

By way of retaliation for the cruelty practised at Hanau, a detachment of the allied army, under General Luckner, was sent to raise contributions in Fulda, and actually carried off hostages from that city; but retired before a strong body of the enemy, who took possession of the place. From hence the French marched, in their turn, to plunder the towns of Hirschfeldt and Vacha. Accordingly, they appeared at Vacha, situated on the frontiers of Hesse, and formed the head of the chain of cantonments which the allies had on the Werra. This place was attacked with such vigour, that Colonel Freytag, who commanded the post, was obliged to abandon the town; but he maintained himself on a rising ground in the neighbourhood, where he amused the enemy until two battalions of grenadiers came to his assistance. Thus reinforced, he pursued the French for three leagues, and drove them, with considerable loss, from Geissa, where they had resolved to fix their quarters. These skirmishes happened in the beginning of May, when the grand armies were just in motion to begin the campaign.

By this time the forces under the Mareschal Duke de Broglie were augmented to one hundred thousand; while the Count de St. Germain commanded a separate army on the Rhine, consisting of thirty thousand men, assembled from the quarters of Dusseldorp, Cologne, Cleves, and Wesel. The second corps was intended to divide the allied army, which, by such a division, would be considerably weakened; and the French court threatened to form a third army under the Prince de Soubise; but this did not appear. The Duke de Broglie was in such high favour with the French ministry at this juncture, that he was promoted over the heads of many old generals, who

Skirmish to
the advantage of the
allies at
Vacha.

Situation of
the French
armies.

now demanded and obtained their dismissal; and every step was taken to render the campaign glorious to this admired commander; but, notwithstanding all their care, and his own exertion, he found it impossible to take the field early in the season, from want of forage for his cavalry. While his quarters were established at Frankfort, his troops were plentifully supplied with all sorts of provisions from the Upper Rhine; but this convenience depended upon his being master of the course of the river: but he could not move from this position without forfeiting the advantage, and providing magazines for the use of his forces; so that he was obliged to lie inactive until he could have the benefit of green forage in his march. The same inconveniences operated more powerfully on the side of Prince Ferdinand, who, being in an exhausted country, was obliged to fall back as far as Paderborn, and draw his supplies from Hamburgh and Bremen on the Elbe and the Weser. By this time, however, he had received a reinforcement of British troops from Embden, under the direction of Major-General Griffin; and before the end of the campaign, the forces of that nation in Germany were augmented to five-and-twenty thousand; a greater number than had served at one time upon the continent for two centuries. The allied army marched from their cantonments on the fifth day of May, and proceeded by the way of Paderborn to Fritzlar, where, on the twentieth, they encamped; but part of the troops left in the bishopric of Munster, under General Sporcken, were ordered to form a camp at Dulmen, to make head against the French corps commanded by the Count de St. Germain.

General Imhoff was sent with a detachment to Kirchayn on the Orne; and General Gilsoe, with another corps, advanced to the neighbourhood of Hirschfeldt, Exploit of Colonel Luckner at Butzbach. on the Fulda. The former of these having ordered Colonel Luckner to scour the country with a body of hussars, that officer, on the twenty-fourth of May, fell in with a French patrolle, which gave the alarm at Butzbach; when the garrison of that place, amounting to five hundred picquets, under General Waldemar, fled with great precipitation. Being, however, pursued, and overtaken near a wood, they were routed and dispersed. Colonel Luckner, entering Butzbach, found a considerable quantity of forage, flour, wine, and equipage, belonging to the fugitives. What

he could not carry off he distributed among the poor inhabitants, and returned to General Imhoff's camp at Ameneburg, with about a hundred prisoners. This excursion alarmed the enemy to such a degree, that their whole army was put in motion; and the Duke de Broglio in person advanced with a large body of troops as far as Friedberg; but, understanding the allies had not quitted their camp at Fritzlar, he returned to Frankfort, after having cantoned that part of his army in the Wetteraw. This alarm was not so mortifying as the secession of the Wirtemberg troops, amounting to ten thousand men, commanded by their duke in person, who left the French army in disgust, and returned to his own country. The imperial army, under the Prince de Deuxponts, quartered at Bamberg, began their march to Naumberg on the twentieth of May; but one of their detachments of cavalry having received a check from a body of Prussians near Lutzen, they fell back; and on the fourth day of June encamped at Lichtenfels upon the Maine. The small detachments of the grand armies, as well as those belonging to the bodies commanded by General Sporken and the Count de St. Germain, in the neighbourhood of Dusseldorp, skirmished with various success. The hereditary Prince of Brunswick, being detached from the allied army with some battalions of grenadiers, and two regiments of English dragoons, advanced to the country of Fulda, where he was joined by the troops under General Gilsoe, and achieved some inconsiderable exploits, particularly at Hosenfeldt and Zielbach, where he surprised and took divers parties of the enemy.

By the twenty-fourth of June, Prince Ferdinand, quitting his situation at Fritzlar, marched to Frillendorf, and encamped on the hills between Ziegenheim and Freyso; General Imhoff commanded at a small distance on the right, and the hereditary prince, now returned from Fulda, being posted on the left of the army. In the mean time, the Duke de Broglio, assembling his forces between Merlau and Laubach, advanced to Neustadt, where he encamped on the twenty-eighth day of the month, and at the same time occupied a strong post at Wassenburg. His intention was to penetrate through the country of Hesse into Hanover, and make himself entirely master of that electorate. With this view he resolved to effect a junction with the Count de St. Germain, whom he directed to advance

The French
advanced to
Neustadt.

towards Brilau and Corbach; while he himself, decamping from Neustadt on the eighth day of July, advanced by the way of Frankenburg. Prince Ferdinand having received intelligence that the Count de St. Germain was in motion, began his march from Ziegenheim, and on the ninth day of July reached the heights of Brunau, in the neighbourhood of Wildungen.

The hereditary prince, at the head of the advanced corps, reinforced with some battalions and squadrons under Major-General Griffin, was sent forwards to Saxenhausen, whither the army followed the next morning.

The hereditary prince continuing to advance, found the enemy already formed at Corbach; but judging their whole force did not exceed ten thousand infantry and seventeen squadrons, and being impelled by the impetuosity of his own courage, he resolved to give them battle. He accordingly attacked them about two in the afternoon, and the action became very warm and obstinate; but the enemy being continually reinforced with fresh battalions, and having the advantage of a numerous artillery, all the prince's efforts were ineffectual. Prince Ferdinand, being at too great a distance to sustain him, sent him an order to rejoin the army, which was by this time formed at Saxenhausen. He forthwith made dispositions for a retreat, which, however, was attended with great confusion. The enemy, observing the disorder of the allied troops, plied their artillery with redoubled diligence, while a powerful body of their cavalry charged with great vivacity. In all likelihood the whole infantry of the allies would have been cut off, had not the hereditary prince made a diversion in their favour, by charging in person at the head of the British dragoons, who acted with their usual gallantry and effect. This respite enabled the infantry to accomplish their retreat to Saxenhausen; but they lost above five hundred men and fifteen pieces of cannon. General Count Kielmansegge, Major-General Griffin, and Major Hill, of Bland's dragoons, distinguished themselves by their conduct and intrepidity on this occasion. The hereditary prince exposed his life in the hottest part of the action, and received a slight wound in the shoulder, which gave him far less disturbance than he felt from the chagrin and mortification produced by his defeat.

Many days, however, did not pass before he found an op-

portunity of retaliating this disgrace. Prince Ferdinand, receiving advice that a body of the enemy, com-
 manded by Major-General Glaubitz, had advanced But re-
 ti c. es his
 honour at
 Exdorf.
 on the left of the allies to Ziegenheim, detached the hereditary prince to oppose them, at the head of six battalions of Hanoverians and Hessians, with Elliot's regiment of English light-horse, Luckner's hussars, and two brigades of chasseurs; on the sixteenth day of the month, he engaged the enemy near the village of Exdorf, and a very warm action ensued, in which Elliot's regiment signalized themselves remarkably by repeated charges.¹ At length victory declared for the allies. Five battalions of the enemy, including the commander-in-chief and the Prince of Anhalt Cothen, were taken, with six pieces of cannon, all their arms, baggage, and artillery. During these transactions, the Mareschal Duke de Broglio remained encamped on the heights of Corbach. He had, in advancing from Frankfort, left detachments to reduce the castles of Marpurg and Dillembourg, which were occupied by the allies, and they fell into his hands, the garrisons of both being obliged to surrender prisoners of war. These were but inconsiderable conquests; nor did the progress of the French general equal the idea which had been formed of his talents and activity. The Count de St. Germain, who was his senior officer, and believed by many to be at least his equal in capacity, having now joined his corps to the grand army, and conceiving disgust at his being obliged to serve under the Duke de Broglio, relinquished his command, in which he was succeeded by the Chevalier de Mui. At the same time, the Marquis de Voyer and the Count de Luc, two generals of experience and reputation, quitted the army, and returned to France, actuated by the same motives.

The allied army having moved their camp from Saxenhausen to the village of Kalle near Cassel, remained in that situation till the thirtieth day of July, when the troops were again put in motion. The Chevalier de Mui, having passed the Dymel at Stradtbergen, with the reserve of the French army, amounting to thirty-five thousand men, extended this body down the banks of the river, in order to cut off the communication of the allies with Westphalia; while the Duke de Broglio marched up with

¹ Though this was the first time that Elliot's regiment appeared in the field, it performed wonders. They charged five different times, and broke through the enemy at every charge; but these exploits they did not achieve without sustaining a heavy loss in officers, men, and horses.

his main wing to their camp at Kalle; and Prince Xavier of Saxony, who commanded their reserve on the left, advanced towards Cassel; Prince Ferdinand, leaving General Kielmansegge with a body of troops for the defence of the city, decamped in the night of the thirtieth, and passed the Dymel without loss between Gibenau and Dringleberg. The hereditary prince, who had the preceding day passed the same river, in order to reinforce General Sporcken, who was posted near Corbeke, now reconnoitred the position of the enemy, and found them possessed of a very advantageous camp between Warbourg and Ochsendorff. Prince Ferdinand, having resolved to attack them, ordered the hereditary prince and General Sporcken to turn their left, while he himself advanced against their front, with the main body of the army. The enemy was accordingly attacked almost at the same instant, both in flank and in rear, with equal impetuosity and success. As the infantry of the allied army could not march fast enough to charge at the same time, the Marquis of Granby was ordered to advance with the cavalry of the right; and the brigade of English artillery, commanded by Captain Phillips, made such expedition, that they were up in time to second the attack in a most surprising manner. The French cavalry, though very numerous, retired at the approach of the marquis, except three squadrons, who stood the charge, and were immediately broken. Then the English horse fell upon the enemy's infantry, which suffered greatly, while the town of Warbourg was assaulted by the Britannic legion. The French, finding themselves hard pressed on both flanks, as well as in front and rear, retired precipitately, with considerable damage, occasioned chiefly by the British cannon and dragoons, and many were drowned in attempting to ford the Dymel. The battalion of Maxwell, and a brigade under Colonel Beckwith, composed of grenadiers and Highlanders, distinguished themselves remarkably on this occasion. The enemy left about fifteen hundred men, killed or wounded, on the field of battle, with some colours, and ten pieces of cannon; and about the same number were made prisoners. Monsieur de Muy lay all night under arms on the heights of Volk-Missen, from whence he next day retired towards Wolfshagen. On the evening of the battle the Marquis of Granby received orders to pass the river in pursuit of them, with twelve British battalions and ten squadrons, and encamped at Wilda, about

four miles from Warbourg, the heights of which were possessed by the enemy's grand army.* By this success, Prince Ferdinand was enabled to maintain his communications with Westphalia, and keep the enemy at a distance from the heart of Hanover; but to these objects he sacrificed the country of Cassel; for Prince Xavier of Saxony, at the head of a detached body, much more numerous than that which was left under General Kielmansegge, advanced towards Cassel, and made himself master of that city; then he reduced Munden,

* *Copy of a Letter from the Marquis of Granby to the Earl of Holderness.*

MY LORD,

It is with the greatest satisfaction that I have the honour of acquainting your lordship of the success of the hereditary prince yesterday morning.

General Sporken's corps marched from the camp at Kalle to Lichenau, about four in the afternoon of the twenty-ninth: the hereditary prince followed the same evening with a body of troops, among which were the two English battalions of grenadiers, the two of Highlanders, and four squadrons of dragoons, Cope's and Conway's.

The army was under arms all day on the thirtieth, and, about eleven at night, marched off in six columns to Libenau. About five the next morning, the whole army assembled, and formed on the heights near Corbeke. The hereditary prince was at this time marching in two columns, in order to turn the enemy's left flank; which he did by marching to Donhelbourg, leaving Klein-Eder on his left, and forming in two lines, with his left towards Dossel, and his right near Grimbeck, opposite to the left flank of the enemy, whose position was with the left to the high hill near Offendorff, and their right to Warbourg, into which place they had flung Fischer's corps. The hereditary prince immediately attacked the enemy's flank, and, after a very sharp dispute, obliged them to give way, and by a continual fire kept forcing them to fall back upon Warbourg. The army was at this time marching with the greatest diligence to attack the enemy in front; but the infantry could not get up in time: General Waldegrave, at the head of the British, pressed their march as much as possible: no troops could show more eagerness to get up than they showed. Many of the men from the heat of the weather, and overstraining themselves to get on through morassy and very difficult ground, suddenly dropped down on their march.

General Mostyn, who was at the head of the British cavalry, that was formed on the right of our infantry on the other side of a large wood, upon receiving the duke's orders to come up with the cavalry as fast as possible, made so much expedition, bringing them up at a full trot, though the distance was near five miles, that the British cavalry had the happiness to arrive in time to share the glory of the day, having successfully charged several times both the enemy's cavalry and infantry.

I should do injustice to the general officers, to every officer and private man of the cavalry, if I did not beg your lordship would assure his majesty that nothing could exceed their gallant behaviour on that occasion.

Captain Phillips made so much expedition with his cannon, as to have an opportunity, by a severe cannonade, to oblige those who had passed the Dymel, and were formed on the other side, to retire with the utmost precipitation.

I received his serene highness's orders yesterday, in the evening, to pass the river after them, with the twelve British battalions, and ten squadrons, and am now encamped upon the heights of Wilda, about four miles from Warbourg, on the heights of which their grand army is encamped.

M. de Muy is now retiring from the heights of Volk-Missen, where he lay under arms last night, towards Wolfshagen. I cannot give your lordship an account of the loss on either side. Captain Fancitt, whom I send off with this, shall get all the intelligence he can upon this head before he sets off.

I am, &c.

GRANBY.

Saturday morning,
six o'clock.

P.S. As I had not an opportunity of sending off Captain Fancitt as soon as I intended, I opened my letter, to acquaint your lordship that I have just joined the grand army with my detachment.

Gottingen, and Eimbeck in the electorate of Hanover. All that Prince Ferdinand could do, considering how much he was outnumbered by the French, was to secure posts and passes with a view to retard their progress, and employ detachments to harass and surprise their advanced parties. In a few days after the action at Warbourg, General Luckner repulsed a French detachment, which had advanced as far as Eimbeck, and surprised another at Nordheim. At the same period, Colonel Donap, with a body of the allied army, attacked a French corps of two thousand men, posted in the wood of Sababourg, to preserve the communication between their grand army and their troops on the other side of the Weser; and notwithstanding the strength of their situation, drove them from their posts, with the loss of five hundred men, either killed or made prisoners; but this advantage was overbalanced by the reduction of Ziegenheim, garrisoned by seven hundred men of the allied army, who, after a vigorous resistance, were obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war.

On the fifth day of August, Prince Ferdinand being encamped at Buhne, received intelligence that a considerable body of the enemy, amounting to upwards of twenty thousand men, were in motion to make a general forage in the neighbourhood of Geismar. He passed the Dymel early in the morning, with a body of troops, and some artillery, and posted them in such an advantageous manner, as to render the enemy's attempt totally ineffectual, although the foragers were covered with great part of their army. On the same morning the hereditary prince set out on an expedition to beat up the quarters of a French detachment. Being informed that the volunteers of Clermont and Dauphiné, to the number of one thousand, horse and foot, were cantoned at Zierenberg, at a small distance from the French camp at Dierenberg, and passed their time in the most careless security, he advanced towards them from his camp at Warbourg, within a league of their cantonment, without seeing any of their posts, or meeting with any of their patroles; a circumstance that encouraged him to beat up their quarters by surprise: for this service he pitched upon five battalions, with a detachment of Highlanders, and eight regiments of dragoons. Leaving their tents standing, they began their march at eight in the evening, and passed the Dymel near Warbourg. About a league

The hereditary prince beats up the quarters of the French at Zierenberg

on the other side of the Dymel, at the village of Witzten, they were joined by the light troops under Major Bulow; and now the disposition was made both for entering the town, and securing a retreat, in case of being repulsed. When they were within two miles of Zierenberg, and in sight of the fires of the enemy's grand guard, the grenadiers of Maxwell, the regiment of Kingsley, and the Highlanders, advanced by three separate roads, and marched in profound silence; at length, the noise of their feet alarmed the French, who began to fire; when the grenadiers proceeded at a round pace with unloaded firelocks, pushed the piquets, slew the guard at the gate, and rushing into the town, drove every thing before them with incredible impetuosity. The attack was so sudden, and the surprise so great, that the French had not time to assemble in any considerable number; but they began to fire from the windows; and in so doing exasperated the allied troops, who, bursting into the houses, slaughtered them without mercy. Having remained in the place from ten till three in the morning, they retreated with about four hundred prisoners, including forty officers, and brought off two pieces of artillery. This nocturnal adventure, in which the British troops displayed equal courage and activity, was achieved with very little loss; but, after all, it deserves no other appellation than that of a partisan exploit; for it was attended with no sort of advantage to the allied army.

Considering the superiority of the French army, we cannot account for the little progress made by the Duke de Broglie, who, according to our conception, might either have given battle to the allies with the utmost probability of success, or penetrated into the heart of Hanover, the conquest of which seemed to be the principal object of the French ministry. Instead of striking an important stroke, he retired from Immenhausen towards Cassel, where he fortified his camp as if he had thought himself in danger of being attacked; and the war was carried on by small detachments. Major Bulow, being sent with a strong party from the camp of the allied army at Buhne, surprised the town of Marburg, destroyed the French ovens, and brought off a considerable quantity of stores and baggage, with some prisoners. He met with the same success at Butzbach, where he surprised and took two companies belonging to the regiment of Raugrave, and retired with this body to Frankenberg, where he joined Colonel Forsen. On

Petty advantages on both sides.

the twelfth day of September they made a movement towards Frankenau; and M. de Stainville, who was posted with a body of French troops at Mardenhagen, advanced to check their progress. He came up with their rear in the neighbourhood of Munden; and attacked them in passing the river Orck with such vigour, that Forsen, with some of his cavalry, was taken, and Bulow obliged to abandon some pieces of cannon. The action was just determined, when this last was reinforced by the hereditary Prince of Brunswick, who had made a forced march of five German miles, which had fatigued the troops to such a degree, that he deferred his attack till next morning; but, in the mean time, M. de Stainville retired towards Frankenberg. The Hanoverian general, Wangenheim, at the head of four battalions and six squadrons, had driven the enemy from the defiles of Soheite, and encamped at Lawenthagen; but being attacked by a superior number, he was obliged, in his turn, to give way, and his retreat was not effected without the loss of two hundred men, and some pieces of artillery. When the enemy retired, General Wangenheim repassed the Weser and occupied his former situation at Ussar. Meanwhile, General Luckner gained an advantage over a detachment of French cavalry near Norten. Prince Ferdinand, when Mareschal Broglio quitted his camp at Immenhausen, made a motion of his troops, and established his head-quarters at Geismarwells, the residence of the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel; from thence, however, he transferred them, about the latter end of September, to Ovilgune, on the Westphalian side of the Dymel.

Such was the position of the two opposite grand armies, when the world was surprised by an expedition to the Lower Rhine, made by the hereditary Prince of Brunswick. Whether this excursion was intended to hinder the French from reinforcing their army in Westphalia; or to co-operate in the Low Countries with the armament now ready equipped in the ports of England; or to gratify the ambition of a young prince, overboiling with courage, and glowing with the desire of conquest, we cannot explain to the satisfaction of the reader: certain it is, the Austrian Netherlands were at this juncture entirely destitute of troops, except the French garrisons of Ostend and Nieuport, which were weak and inconsiderable. Had ten thousand English troops been landed on the coast of Blankenburg, they might have taken possession of Bruges,

The hereditary prince marches to the Lower Rhine.

Ghent, Brussels, and Antwerp, without resistance, and joined the hereditary prince in the heart of the country; in that case he would have found himself at the head of thirty thousand men, and might have made such a diversion in favour of Hanover, as to transfer the seat of war from Westphalia into Flanders. The empress-queen might, indeed, have complained of this invasion, as the formality of declaring war against her had not been observed by Great Britain; but considering that she was the declared enemy of Hanover, and had violated the barrier treaty, in establishing which the kingdom of Great Britain had lavished away so much blood and treasure, a step of this kind, we apprehend, might have been taken, without any imputation of perfidy or injustice. Whatever the motives of the prince's expedition might have been, he certainly quitted the grand army of the allies in the month of September, and traversing Westphalia, with twenty battalions, and as many squadrons, appeared on the Lower Rhine, marching by Schermbeck and Dusseldorp. On the twenty-ninth day of the month he sent a large detachment over the river at Rocroot, which surprised part of the French partisan Fischer's corps at Rhyenberg, and scoured the country. Next day, other parties, crossing at Rees and Emmerick, took possession of some redoubts which the French had raised along the bank of the river; and here they found a number of boats, sufficient to transport the rest of the forces. Then the prince advanced to Cleves; and at his approach the French garrison, consisting of five hundred men, under the command of M. de Barral, retired into the castle, which, however, they did not long defend; for on the third day of October they capitulated, and surrendered themselves prisoners of war, after having in vain endeavoured to obtain more favourable conditions.

A more important object was Wesel, which the prince invested and began to besiege in form. The ap-^{Is wasted}proaches were made on the right of the Rhine, at Campen. while the prince in person remained on the left, to cover the siege; and kept his communication open with the other side, by a bridge above, and another below the place. He had hoped to carry it by a vigorous exertion, without the formality of a regular siege, but he met with a warmer reception than he expected; and his operations were retarded by heavy rains, which, by swelling the river, endangered

his bridges, and laid his trenches under water. The difficulties and delays occasioned by this circumstance entirely frustrated his design. The French being made acquainted with his motions, were not slow in taking measures to anticipate his success. M. de Castries was detached after him with thirty battalions and thirty-eight squadrons; and by forced marches arrived on the fourteenth day of October at Rhynberg, where the prince's light troops were posted. These he attacked immediately, and compelled to abandon the post, notwithstanding all the efforts of the prince, who commanded in person, and appeared in the warmest parts of this short but sanguinary affair. The enemy, leaving five battalions with some squadrons at Rhynberg, marched by the left, and encamped behind the convent of Campen. The prince having received intimation that M. de Castries was not yet joined by some reinforcements that were on the march, determined to be beforehand with them, and attempt that very night to surprise him in his camp. For this purpose he began his march at ten in the evening, after having left four battalions and five squadrons under General Beck, with instructions to observe Rhynberg, and attack that post, in case the attempt on Campen should succeed. Before the allied forces could reach the enemy's camp, they were under the necessity of overpowering Fischer's corps of irregulars, which occupied the convent of Campen, at the distance of half a league in their front. This service occasioned some firing, the noise of which alarmed the French army. Their commander formed them with great expedition, and posted them in a wood, where they were immediately attacked, and at first obliged to give ground; but they soon retrieved all they had lost, and sustained, without flinching, an unceasing fire of musketry, from five in the morning till nine at night, when they reaped the fruits of their perseverance. The hereditary prince, whose horse was killed under him, seeing no prospect of success in prolonging an action which had already cost him a considerable number of men, thought proper to give orders for a retreat, which was not effected without confusion, and left the field of battle to the enemy. His loss on this occasion did not fall short of sixteen hundred choice men, killed, wounded, and taken; and this loss fell chiefly on the troops of Great Britain, who were always found in the foremost ranks of danger. All the officers, both of infantry and dragoons, distinguished them-

selves remarkably, and many were dangerously wounded. Among these, the nation regretted the loss of Lord Downe, whose wounds proved mortal: he was a young nobleman of spirit, who had lately embraced a military life, though he was not regularly trained in the service.

Next day, which was the sixteenth of October, the enemy attacked an advanced body of the allies, which was posted in a wood before Elverick, and extended <sup>And re-
passes the
Rhine.</sup> along the Rhine. The firing of cannon and musketry was maintained till night. Meanwhile, a column of the French infantry, commanded by M. de Cabot, marched through Walach, and took post among the thickets, at the distance of a quarter of a league, in the front of the prince's army. By this time the Rhine was so much swelled by the rains, and the banks of it were overflowed in such a manner, that it was necessary to repair, and move lower down, the bridge which had been thrown over that river. This work was accordingly performed in the presence of the enemy; and the prince, passing without molestation, proceeded to Bruymen, where he fixed his head-quarters. His passing the Rhine so easily, under the eye of a victorious army so much superior to him in number, may be accounted among the fortunate incidents of his life. Such was the issue of an expedition which exposed the projector of it to the imputation of temerity. Whatever his aim might have been, besides the reduction of Wesel, with the strength of which he did not seem to have been very well acquainted, he certainly miscarried in his design; and his miscarriage was attended with a very considerable loss of troops, occasioned not only by the action, but also by the diseases engendered from the wet weather, the fatigue of long marches, and the want of proper conveniences, not to mention the enormous expense in contingencies incurred by this fruitless undertaking.

In the month of November, while he lay encamped in the neighbourhood of Schermbeck, a body of the enemy attempted to beat up his quarters: having received <sup>Attempt of
the enemy
against him.</sup> intimation of their design, he immediately called in his advanced posts, and made a disposition for giving them a proper reception. He abandoned the tents that were in the front of his camp, and posted his infantry in ambuscade behind those that were in the rear: at the same time he ordered some regiments of horse and hussars to fetch a com-

pass, and fall upon the back of the enemy. This stratagem succeeded to his wish. The French detachments, believing the allies had actually abandoned their camp, began to pillage the tents in the utmost disorder: then the infantry sallied from the place where they were concealed, and fell upon them with great impetuosity: the artillery opened, and the cavalry charged them in flank. In a word, of twelve hundred who marched from Wesel on this expedition, scarcely two hundred escaped.

The Duke de Broglie endeavoured, by sundry means, to take advantage of the allied army on the other side of the Weser, thus weakened by the absence of the troops under the hereditary prince; but he found Prince Ferdinand too vigilant to be surprised, and too strongly situated to be attacked with any prospect of success. He therefore contented himself with ravaging the country by detachments; he sent M. de Stainville, with a considerable body of forces, to penetrate into the heart of Hanover; and on the fifteenth day of September, that officer, falling in with a detachment of the allies commanded by Major Bulow, attacked them near the abbey of Schaken. After a warm and obstinate engagement, they were defeated, and driven to Bulemont, with the loss of their cannon, baggage, and a good number of men, who fell into the hands of the victors. After this exploit, M. de Stainville advanced to Halberstadt, and demanded of that capital a contribution of one million five hundred thousand livres; but the citizens had been so drained by former exactions, that they could not raise above thirty thousand: for the remainder the French partisan took hostages, with whom he returned to the grand army encamped at Cassel, from whence they in a little time fell back as far as Gottingen.

As the enemy retreated, Prince Ferdinand advanced as far as Hurste, where he established his head-quarters about the latter end of November. While he remained in this position, divers skirmishes happened in the neighbourhood of Gottingen. Major-General Breidenbach, at the head of two regiments of Hanoverian and Brunswick guards, with a detachment of cavalry, attacked, on the twenty-ninth day of November, the French post at Heydemunden, upon the river Worrau. This he carried, and took possession of the town, which the enemy hastily abandoned. Part of their detachment crossed the

Advantages
gained by
M. de
Stainville.

The allies
and French
go into
winter-
quarters.

river in boats; the rest threw themselves into an intrenchment that covered the passage, which the allies endeavoured to force in several unsuccessful attempts, galled as they were by the fire of the enemy's redoubts on the other side of the river. At length M. Breidenbach was obliged to desist, and fall back into the town; from whence he retired at midnight, after having sustained considerable damage. Prince Ferdinand had it very much at heart to drive the French from Gottingen, and accordingly invested that city; but the French garrison, which was numerous and well provided, made such a vigorous defence as baffled all the endeavours of the allies, who were moreover impeded by the rainy weather, which, added to other considerations, prevented them from undertaking the siege in form. Nevertheless, they kept the place blocked up from the twenty-second day of November to the twelfth of the following month; when the garrison, in a desperate sally, took one of their principal posts, and compelled them to raise the blockade. About the middle of December, Prince Ferdinand retired into winter quarters; he himself residing at Uslar, and the English troops being cantoned in the bishopric of Paderborn. Thus the enemy were left in possession of Hesse, and the whole country eastward of the Weser, to the frontiers of the electorate of Hanover. If the allied army had not been weakened for the sake of a rash, ill-concerted, and unsuccessful expedition to the Lower Rhine, in all probability the French would have been obliged to abandon the footing they had gained in the course of this campaign; and in particular to retreat from Gottingen, which they now maintained and fortified with great diligence and circumspection.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

EXPLOIT OF THE SWEDES IN POMERANIA — SKIRMISHES BETWEEN THE PRUSSIANS AND AUSTRIANS IN SAXONY. — POSITION OF THE ARMIES IN SAXONY AND SILESIA — GENERAL LAUDONH DEFEATS GENERAL FOLQUET, AND REDUCES GLATZ — AND THEN UNDERTAKES THE SIEGE OF BIESLAT, WHICH IS RELIEVED BY PRINCE HENRY OF PRUSSIA. — THE KING OF PRUSSIA MAKES AN UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPT UPON DRESDEN — HE MARCHES INTO SILESIA — DEFEATS GENERAL LAUDONH, AND RAISES THE BLOCKADE OF SCHWEIDNITZ — ACTION BETWEEN GENERAL HULSEN AND THE IMPERIAL ARMY IN SAXONY — DANGEROUS SITUATION OF THE PRUSSIAN MONARCH — THE RUSSIANS AND AUSTRIANS MAKE AN IRUPTION INTO BRANDENBURGH, AND POSSESS THEMSELVES OF BERLIN — THE KING OF PRUSSIA DEFEATS THE AUSTRIANS AT TORGAU — BOTH ARMIES GO INTO QUARTERS OF CANTONMENT. — THE DIETS OF POLAND AND SWEDEN ASSEMBLED. — INTIMATION GIVEN BY THE KING OF PRUSSIA TO THE STATES OF WESTPHALIA — KING OF POLAND'S REMONSTRANCE. — REDUCTION OF PONDICHERRY. — PART OF THE BRITISH SQUADRON WRECKED IN A STORM — DEATH OF KING GEORGE II. — HIS CHARACTER. — RECAPITULATION OF THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS OF HIS REIGN. — HIS DEATH UNIVERSALLY LAMENTED. — ACCOUNT OF THE COMMERCE OF GREAT BRITAIN — STATE OF RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY. — FANATICISM. — METAPHYSICS AND MEDICINE. — MECHANICS. — GENIUS. — MUSIC. — PAINTING AND SCULPTURE.

THE King of Prussia, after all his labours, notwithstanding the great talents he had displayed, and the incredible efforts he had made, still found himself surrounded by his enemies, and in danger of being crushed by their closing and contracting their circle. Even the Swedes, who had languished so long, seemed to be roused to exertion in Pomerania, during the severity of the winter season. The Prussian general, Manteuffel, had, on the twentieth day of January, passed the river Peene, overthrown the advanced posts of the enemy at Ziethen, and penetrated as far as the neighbourhood of Griessewalde; but finding the Swedes on their guard, he returned to Anclam, where his head-quarters were established. This insult was soon retaliated with interest. On the twenty-eighth day of the month, at five in the morning, a body of Swedes attacked the Prussian troops posted in the suburbs of Anclam, on the other side of the Peene, and drove them into the city, which they entered pell-mell. General Manteuffel, being alarmed, endeavoured to rally the troops; but was wounded and taken, with about two hundred men and three pieces of cannon. The victors, having achieved this exploit, returned to their own quarters. As for the Russian army, which had

1760.
Exploit of
the Swedes
in Pome-
rania.

wintered on the other side of the Vistula, the season was pretty far advanced before it could take the field; though General Tottleben was detached from it, about the beginning of June, at the head of ten thousand Cossacks, and other light troops, with which he made an irruption into Pomerania, and established his head-quarters at Belgaid.

At the beginning of the campaign the King of Prussia's chief aim was to take measures for the preservation of Silesia, the conquest of which seemed to be the principal object with the court of Vienna. While the Austrian army, under Mareschal Count Daun lay strongly intrenched in the neighbourhood of

skirmishes
between the
Prussians
and Aus-
trians in
Saxony.

Dresden, the King of Prussia had endeavoured in the month of December to make him quit that advantageous situation, by cutting off his provisions, and making an irruption into Bohemia. For these purposes he had taken possession of Dippeswalde, Maxen, and Pretchendorff, as if he intended to enter Bohemia by the way of Passberg; but this scheme being found impracticable, he returned to his camp at Freyberg; and in January the Prussian and Austrian armies were cantoned so near each other, that daily skirmishes were fought with various success. The head of the Prussian camp was formed by a body of four thousand men under General Zettwitz, who, on the twenty-ninth day of January, was attacked with such impetuosity by the Austrian general, Beck, that he retreated in great confusion to Torgau, with the loss of five hundred men, eight pieces of artillery, and a considerable quantity of new clothing, and other baggage. Another advantage of the same nature was gained by the Austrians at Neustadt, over a small body of Prussians who occupied that city. In the month of March, General Laudohn advanced with a strong detachment of horse and foot, in order to surprise the Prussians, who, in attempting to effect a retreat to Steinau, were surrounded accordingly, and very roughly handled. General Laudohn summoned them twice by sound of trumpet to lay down their arms; but their commanders, the Captains Blumenthal and Zettwitz, rejecting the proposal with disdain, the enemy attacked them on all hands with a great superiority of number. In this emergency the Prussian captains formed their troops into a square, and by a close-continued fire kept the enemy at bay; until, perceiving that the Croats had taken possession of a wood between Siebenhausen and Steinau, they, in

apprehension of being intercepted, abandoned their baggage, and forced their way to Steinau, which they reached with great difficulty, having been continually harassed by the Austrians, who paid dear for this advantage. Several other petty exploits of this kind were achieved by detachments on both sides before the campaign was begun by the grand armies.

Towards the end of April the King of Prussia altered his position, and withdrew that part of his chain of cantonments, extending from the forest of Thurundt to the right of the Elbe. He now took possession of a very strong camp between the Elbe and the Mulda, which he intrenched in every part that was accessible, and fortified with two hundred and fifty pieces of cannon. By these precautions he was enabled to keep his ground against the army of Count Daun, and at the same time detached a body of troops, as a reinforcement to his brother Prince Henry, who assembled a separate army near Frankfort upon the Oder, that he might be at hand either to oppose the Russians, or march to the relief of Silesia, which the enemy was bent upon invading. It was for this purpose that the Austrian general, Laudohn, advanced with a considerable army into Lusatia, about the beginning of May; and General Beck, with another body of troops, took possession of Cotbus: meanwhile, Count Daun continued in his old situation on the Elbe; General Lacy formed a small detached army upon the frontiers of Saxony, to the southward of Dresden; and the Prince de Deuxponts marched into the same neighbourhood with the army of the empire. Prince Henry of Prussia having encamped with his army for some time at Sagan, in Silesia, moved from thence to Gorlitz in Lusatia, to observe the motions of General Laudohn, encamped at Koningsgratz; from whence, in the beginning of June, he marched into the country of Glatz, and advanced to the neighbourhood of Schweidnitz, which he seemed determined to besiege, having a train of eight pieces of cannon. With a view to thwart his designs, Prince Henry reinforced the body of troops under General Fouquet; and at the same time he sent a detachment into Pomerania, under Colonel Lessow, who defeated the rear-guard of General Tottleben, and compelled that officer to evacuate Pomerania. By this time, however, Mareschal Soltikoff had arrived from Petersburg, and taken the command of the grand Russian army, which passed the

Position of
the armies
in Saxony
and Silesia.

Vistula in June, and began its march towards the frontiers of Silesia.

In the month of June General Laudohn made an unsuccessful attempt to carry Glatz by assault; but he succeeded better in his next enterprise. Understanding that General Fouquet, who occupied the posts at Landshut, had weakened himself by sending off detachments under the Major-Generals Ziethen and Grant, he resolved to attack him with such superiority of number, that he should not be able to resist. Accordingly, on the twenty-third day of June, at two in the morning, he began the assault with his whole army upon some redoubts which Fouquet occupied; and these were carried one after another, though not without a very desperate opposition. General Fouquet, being summoned to surrender, refused to submit; and having received two wounds, was at length taken prisoner: about three thousand of his men escaped to Breslau; the rest were killed or taken; but the loss of the victors is said to have exceeded that of the vanquished. In July General Laudohn undertook the siege of Glatz, which was taken after a very faint resistance; for on the very day the batteries were opened against the place, the garrison abandoned part of the fortifications, which the besiegers immediately occupied. The Prussians made repeated efforts to regain the ground they had lost; but they were repulsed in all their attempts. At length the garrison laid down their arms, and surrendered at discretion. From this tame behaviour of the Prussians, one would imagine the garrison must have been very weak; a circumstance which we cannot reconcile with the known sagacity of the Prussian monarch, as the place was of great importance, on account of the immense magazine it contained, including above one hundred brass cannon, a great number of mortars, and a vast quantity of ammunition.

Laudohn, encouraged by his success at Glatz, advanced immediately to Breslau, which he began to bombard with great fury;* but, before he could make a regular attack,

* The Germans are in general but indifferent engineers, and little acquainted with the art of besieging. On this occasion the Austrian general had no other prospect than that of carrying the place by a sudden attack, or intimidating Count Tavenne, the governor, to an immediate surrender; for he knew the Russian army was at a considerable distance; and judged from the character of Prince Henry of Prussia, that he would advance to the relief of the place long before it could be taken according to the usual forms. Influenced by these considerations, when he had invested the town, he sent a letter to the governor, specifying that his army consisted of fifty battalions and four-

General
Laudohn
beats
General
Fouquet,
and
takes
Glatz.

he found himself obliged to retire. Prince Henry of Prussia, one of the most accomplished generals which this age produced, having received repeated intelligence that the Russian army intended to join Laudohn at Breslau, resolved to advance and give them battle before the purposed junction. In the latter end of July he began his march from Gleissen, and on the last day of that month had reached Linden, near Slauve, where he understood that Tottleben's detachment only had passed through the plains of Polnich-Lissa, and that the grand Russian army had marched through Kosten and Gustin. The prince, finding it impossible to pursue them by that route, directed his march to Glogau, where he learned that Breslau was besieged by General Laudohn, and immediately advanced by forced marches to its relief. Such was his expedition, that in five days he marched above one hundred and twenty English miles; and at his

And then
undertakes
the siege of
Breslau,
which is re-
lieved by
Prince
Henry of
Prussia.

score squadrons; that the Russian army, amounting to seventy-five thousand men, was within three days' march of Breslau; that no succour could be expected from the King of Prussia, encamped as he was on the other side of the Elbe, and overawed by the army of Count Daun; that Prince Henry, far from being in a condition to bring relief, would not be able to stand his ground against the Russians; that Breslau, being an open mercantile town, not a fortress, could not be defended without contravening the established rules of war; and therefore the governor, in case of obstinacy, had no reason to expect an honourable capitulation, the benefit of which was now offered. He, at the same time, sent a memorial to the civil magistrates, threatening their town with destruction, which could by no other means be prevented than by joining with the inhabitants in persuading the governor to embrace immediately the terms which were proposed. Count Tavenzein, instead of being intimidated, was encouraged by these menaces, which implied an apprehension in Laudohn that the place would be relieved. He therefore replied to the summons he had received, that Breslau was not simply a mercantile town, but ought to be considered as a place of strength, as being surrounded with works and wet ditches; that the Austrians themselves had defended it as such after the battle of Lissa, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-seven; that the king his master having commanded him to defend the place to the last extremity, he could neither comply with General Laudohn's proposals, nor pay the least regard to his threats of destroying the town; as he had not been entrusted with the care of the houses, but with the defence of the fortifications. The Austrian convinced him, that same evening, that he threatened nothing but what he meant to perform. He opened his batteries, and poured in upon the town a most terrible shower of bombs and red-hot bullets, which continued till midnight. During this dreadful discharge, which filled the place with horror and desolation, he attempted the outworks by assault. The Croats attacked the covered way in different places with their usual impetuosity; but were repulsed, with considerable loss, by the conduct and resolution of the governor and garrison. These proceedings having made no impression on Tavenzein, the besieging general had recourse again to negotiation; and offered the most flattering articles of capitulation, which were rejected with disdain. The governor gave him to understand, that the destruction of the town had made no change in his resolution; though it was a practice contrary to the law of arms, as well as to the dictates of common humanity, to begin the siege of a fortress by ruining the inhabitants: finally, he assured him he would wait for him upon the ramparts, and defend the place to the utmost of his power. His observation was certainly just; nothing could be more infamously inhuman than this practice of making war upon the helpless unarmed inhabitants of a town which has the misfortune to be beleaguered; yet the besieger pleaded the example of the Prussian monarch, who had before acted the same tragedy at Dresden. Laudohn, being thus set at defiance, continued to batter and bombard; and several subsequent assaults were given to the fortifications.

approach the Austrian general abandoned his enterprise. Thus, by his prudence and activity, he not only prevented the junction of the Russian and Austrian armies, but also saved the capital of Silesia; and hampered Laudohn in such a manner as subjected him to a defeat by the Prussian monarch, to whose motions we shall now turn our attention.

Whether his design was originally upon Dresden, or he purposed to co-operate with his brother Prince Henry in Silesia, which his adversaries seemed to have pitched upon as the scene of their operations, we cannot presume to determine: but certain it is, he, in the beginning of July, began his march in two columns through Lusatia; and Count Daun, being informed of his march, ordered his army to be put in motion. Leaving the army of the empire, and the body of troops under Lacy, to guard Saxony in his absence, he marched with great expedition towards Silesia, in full persuasion that the Prussian monarch had thither directed his route. On the seventh day of July, the king, knowing that Daun was now removed at a distance, repassed the Pulsnitz, which he had passed but two days before, and advanced with the van of his army towards Lichtenberg, in order to attack the forces of General Lacy, who was posted there; but the Austrians retired at his approach. Then the army marched to Marienstern, where the king received intelligence that Count Daun was in full march for Lauban, having already gained two marches upon the Prussians. Perhaps it was this intimation that determined the king to change his plan, and return to the Elbe. On the eighth day of the month he repassed the Sprehe, in the neighbourhood of Bautzen, and marched towards Dresden with extraordinary diligence. On the thirteenth, his army having passed the Elbe at Kadetz, on a bridge of boats, encamped between Pirna and Dresden, which last he resolved to besiege, in hopes of reducing it before Count Daun could return to its relief. How far this expectation was well grounded, we must leave the reader to judge, after having observed that the place was now much more defensible than it had been when the last attempt of the Austrians upon it miscarried: that it was secured with a numerous garrison, commanded by General Macguire, an officer of courage and experience. This governor, being summoned to surrender, answered that,

The King of Prussia makes an unsuccessful attempt upon Dresden.

having the honour to be entrusted with the defence of the capital, he would maintain it to the last extremity. Batteries were immediately raised against the town on both sides of the Elbe; and the poor inhabitants subjected to a dreadful visitation, that their calamities might either drive them to despair, or move the heart of the governor to embrace articles of capitulation; but these expedients proved ineffectual. Though the suburbs towards the Pirna gate were attacked and carried, this advantage made no impression on General Macguire, who made several vigorous sallies, and took every necessary precaution for the defence of the city; encouraged moreover by the vicinity of Lacy's body, and the army of the empire, encamped in an advantageous position near Gross Seydlitz; and confident that Count Daun would hasten to his relief. In this hope he was not disappointed; the Austrian general, finding himself duped by the stratagem of the Prussian monarch, and being made acquainted with his enterprise against Dresden, instantly wheeled about, and marched back with such rapidity, that on the nineteenth day of the month he reached the neighbourhood of the capital of Saxony. In consequence of his approach, the King of Prussia, whose heavy artillery was now arrived, redoubled his efforts against the city, so as to reduce to ashes the cathedral church, the new square, several noble streets, some palaces, together with the curious manufactory of porcelain. His vengeance must have been levelled against the citizens; for it affected neither the fortifications, nor the Austrian garrison, which Count Daun found means to reinforce with sixteen battalions. This supply, and the neighbourhood of three hostile armies, rendered it altogether impossible to prosecute the siege with any prospect of success; the king, therefore, abandoned the undertaking, withdrew his troops and artillery, and endeavoured to bring Daun to a battle, which that general cautiously avoided.

The fate of this prince seemed now at its crisis. Notwithstanding all the efforts of his brother Prince Henry, He marches into Silesia. the Russians were fast advancing to join Laudohn, who had already blocked up Schweidnitz and Neiss, and their junction seemed to threaten the loss of all Silesia. The king had nothing to oppose to superior numbers but superior activity, of which he determined to avail himself without delay. Instead of making a feint towards Silesia,

he resolved to march thither in earnest; and for that purpose, crossing the Elbe, encamped at Dallwitz, on the farther bank of the river; leaving General Hulsen, with fifteen thousand men, in the entrenched camp at Schlettow, to maintain his footing in Saxony. On the third day of August he began his march for Silesia, followed by Count Daun with the grand Austrian army; while the detached body under Lacy took post at Reichenberg, and the imperial army encamped at Kesseldorf. Both the Prussians and Austrians marched at the rate of one hundred miles in five days: on the tenth the king took possession of the camp of Lignitz; and here he seemed in danger of being quite surrounded by the enemy, who occupied the whole ground between Parchwitz and Cossendau, an extent of thirty miles. Count Daun's army formed the centre of this chain, possessing the heights of Wahlstadt and Hochkirk: General Laudohn covered the ground between Jeschkendorf and Coschitz; the rising grounds of Parchwitz were secured by General Nauendorff; and M. de Beck, who formed the left, extended his troops beyond Cossendau. The king marched in the night of the eleventh, with a view to turn the enemy, and reach Jauer; but at break of day he discovered a new camp at Prausnitz, which consisted of Lacy's detachment, just arrived from Lauban. The Prussians immediately passed the Katzbach, to attack this general; but he made such a skilful disposition for a retreat towards the army of Count Daun, that he not only baffled the endeavours of the king to bring him to action, but, by posting himself on the heights of Hennersdorff, anticipated his march to Jauer. In vain the Prussian monarch attempted next day to turn the enemy on the side of the mountains, by Pomsen and Jagersdorff; the roads were found impassable to the ammunition waggons, and the king returned to the camp at Lignitz.

While he remained in this situation, he received advice that four-and-twenty thousand Russians, under Count Czernichew, had thrown bridges over the Oder at Auras, where they intended to cross that river; and he concluded the enemy had formed a design to close him in, and attack him with their joint forces. Daun had indeed projected a plan for surprising him in the night, and had actually put his army in motion for that purpose; but he was anticipated by the

Defeats
General
Laudohn,
and raises
the blockade
of Schweid-
nitz.

vigilance and good fortune of the Prussian monarch. That prince reflecting, that if he should wait for his adversaries in his camp, he ran the risk of being attacked at the same time by Lacy on his right, by Daun in his front, and by Laudohn on his left, he altered his position, in order to disconcert their operations ; and, on the fourteenth day of the month, marched to the heights of Psaffendorff, where he formed his army in order of battle. Receiving intimation, about two in the morning, that Laudohn was in full march advancing in columns by Benowitz, he divided his army into two separate bodies. One of these remained on the ground, in order to maintain the posts against any attempts that might be made by Count Daun to succour Laudohn ; and that this service might be the more effectually performed, the heights were fortified with batteries, so judiciously disposed as to impede and overawe the whole Austrian army. The king having taken this precaution, wheeled about with sixteen battalions and thirty squadrons, to fall upon Laudohn as he should advance : but that general knew nothing of his design, until he himself arrived at the village of Psaffendorff about three in the morning ; when the day dawning, and a thick fog gradually dispersing, the whole detachment of the Prussian army appeared in order of battle, in a well-chosen situation, strengthened with a numerous train of artillery, placed to the best advantage. Laudohn was not a little mortified to find himself caught in his own snare : but he had advanced too far to recede ; and therefore, making a virtue of necessity, resolved to stand an engagement. With this view he formed his troops as well as the time, place, and circumstances would permit ; and the Prussians advancing to the attack, a severe action ensued. The king rode along the line to animate the troops, and superintended every part of the charge ; hazarding his life in the most dangerous scenes of the battle to such a degree, that his horse was killed under him, and his clothes were shot through in several places. The Austrians maintained the conflict with great obstinacy until six in the morning, when they gave ground, and were pursued to the Katzbach ; beyond which the king would not allow his troops to prosecute the advantage they had gained, that they might be able to succour the right in case Mareschal Count Daun should succeed in his attempt to advance against them from Lignitz. That general had actually begun his march to

fall upon the Prussians on one side, while Laudohn should attack them on the other : but he was not a little surprised to find they were decamped ; and when he perceived a thick cloud of smoke at a distance, he immediately comprehended the nature of the king's management. He then attempted to advance by Lignitz ; but the troops and artillery, which had been left on the heights of Psaffendorff to dispute his march, were so advantageously disposed as to render all his efforts abortive. Laudohn is said to have lost in the action above eight thousand men, killed, wounded, and taken, including eighty officers, with twenty-three pair of colours and eighty-two pieces of cannon : over and above this loss, the Austrian general suffered greatly by desertion. The Prussians obtained the victory at the expense of one general, with five hundred men killed, and twelve hundred wounded. Immediately after the action the victor marched to Parchwitz ; while Daun detached Prince Lowenstein and General Beck, with the reserve of his army, to join Prince Czernichew, who had crossed the Oder at Auras ; but he was so intimidated by the defeat at Lignitz, that he forthwith repassed that river, and Prince Lowenstein retired on the side of Jauer. By this bold and well-conducted adventure, the Prussian monarch not only escaped the most imminent hazard of a total defeat from the joint efforts of two strong armies, but also prevented the dreaded junction of the Russian and Austrian forces. His business was now to open the communication with Breslau and his brother Prince Henry, whom he joined at Neumarcke. The prince, after Laudohn was obliged to relinquish the siege of Breslau, had kept a watchful eye over the motions of the Russian army, which had advanced into the neighbourhood of that city ; and, without all doubt, would have bombarded it from some commanding heights, had they not been prevented by Prince Henry, who took possession of these posts, and fortified them with redoubts. The king, having freed Breslau from the neighbourhood of his enemies, and being strengthened by the junction with his brother, left a considerable detachment, under the command of General Boltze, to protect the country against the Russian irregulars ; and advanced with his whole force to the relief of Schweidnitz, which was blocked up by the Austrian forces under the command of the Mareschal Count Daun. In his march he fell upon a separate body under General Beck, made

two battalions of Croats prisoners, and dispersed several squadrons. This achievement had such an effect upon the enemy, that they raised the blockade, and retreated with some precipitation to the mountains of Landshut.

While the king thus exerted himself, with a spirit altogether unexampled, in defending Silesia, General Hulsen, who commanded his troops in Saxony, was exposed to the most imminent danger. Understanding that the army of the empire had formed a design to cut off his communication with Torgau, he quitted his camp at Meissen, and marched to Strehla. The enemy having divided their forces into two bodies, one of them, on the twentieth of August, attacked an advanced post of the Prussians; while the other was disposed in such a manner as to overawe Hulsen's camp, and prevent him from taking any step for the relief of his battalions, who maintained their ground with difficulty against a superior number of the assailants. In this emergency the Prussian general ordered his cavalry to make a circuit round the rising ground, and, if possible, charge the enemy in flank. This order was executed with equal vigour and success. They fell upon the imperial army with such impetuosity, as drove their battalions and horse upon each other in the utmost confusion. A considerable number of the enemy were slain, and forty-one officers, with twelve hundred men, made prisoners. By this advantage, which was obtained at a very small expense, General Hulsen opened for himself a way to Torgau, whither he instantly retreated, perceiving that the whole army of the imperialists was advancing to cut off his communication with the Elbe. This retreat furnished the enemy with a pretext for claiming the victory.

After all these heroic endeavours of the Prussian monarch and his officers, his affairs remained in such a desperate situation as seemed to presage approaching ruin: for though in person he commanded a numerous and well-appointed army, he found it absolutely impossible to guard against the different detachments from the three separate armies of his adversaries. Bodies of Austrian troops scoured the country of Lusatia: the Russians traversed part of Silesia, and made irruptions even into Brandenburg: the imperial army domineered in Saxony: the Swedish army, meeting with no opposition, ad-

Action between General Hulsen and the imperial army in Saxony.

Dangerous situation of the Prussian monarch.

vanced into the heart of Pomerania; so that the king was not only threatened on every side, but all correspondence between him and his hereditary dominions was at this juncture intercepted.

His adversaries, having been hitherto baffled by his activity and resolution in their designs upon Silesia, now meditated a scheme, the execution of which he could not but feel in the most sensible manner. The Russian army being on its retreat from Silesia, Count Czernichew was sent with a strong detachment into the Marche of Brandenburg; while a numerous body of Austrians, under Lacy and Brentano, penetrated into the same country from Saxony, with instructions to join the Russians at the gates of Berlin. The Prussian general, Hulsén, finding himself too weak to cope with the army of the empire in Misnia, had fallen back to this capital, where he was joined by the troops under General Werner, lately returned from Pomerania; but as their forces, after this junction, did not exceed sixteen thousand men, and the allies advancing against them amounted to forty thousand, they would not pretend to oppose the enemy in the open field, nor to defend a city of such extent, and so imperfectly fortified. Such an attempt would have only exposed their troops to ruin, without being able to save the capital, which, on the contrary, would have been the more severely handled, in consequence of their opposition. They therefore resolved to retire, after having repulsed the advanced guard of the Russians under Tottleben, which attacked the gates, and even bombarded the town, before the great armies appeared. At their approach the Prussian generals retreated, leaving three weak battalions in the place, in hopes they might be the means of obtaining some sort of terms for the city. They made no resistance, however; but on the first summons proposed articles of capitulation, which being refused, they surrendered themselves prisoners of war. In favour of the city the foreign ministers there residing interposed their mediation with such zeal and success, that tolerable conditions were obtained. The inhabitants were indulged with the free exercise of their religion, and an immunity from violence to their persons and effects. The enemy promised that the Russian irregulars should not enter the town, and that the king's palace should not be violated. These articles being ratified, the Austrian and Russian troops entered

The Russians and Austrians make an irruption into Berlin, and put themselves of Berlin.

the place, where they totally destroyed the magazines, arsenals, and foundries, with an immense quantity of military stores, and a great number of cannon and small arms: then they demanded the immediate payment of eight hundred thousand guilders; and afterwards exacted a contribution of one million nine hundred thousand German crowns. Many outrages were committed by the licentious soldiery, in spite of all the precautions which the officers could take to preserve the most exact discipline. The houses of the private inhabitants were tolerably protected; but the king's palaces were subjected to the most rigorous treatment. In the royal palace of Charlottenburgh they pillaged and spoiled the rich furniture; they defaced and mutilated the valuable pictures and antique statues collected by Cardinal de Polignac, and purchased by the house of Brandenburg. The castle of Schonhausen, belonging to the queen, and that of Fredericksfeldt, the property of the Margrave Charles, were pillaged of effects to a very considerable value. The palace of Potsdam was effectually protected by Prince Esterhasi, who would not suffer one article of furniture or ornament to be touched; but desired leave to take one picture of the king, and two of his German flutes, that he might preserve them as memorials of an illustrious prince, whose heroic character he admired. The Austrian and Russian troops entered Berlin on the ninth day of October, and quitted it on the thirteenth, on hearing that the king was in full march to the relief of his capital. In their retreat, by different routes, from Brandenburg, they drove away all the cattle and horses they could find, ravaged the country, and committed brutal outrages on the inhabitants, which the pretence of retaliation could never excuse. The body of Russians which entered Berlin marched from thence into Poland, by the way of Furstenwalde; while the Austrians took the route of Saxony, from whence they had advanced into Brandenburg. Meanwhile the town of Wirtemberg, in that electorate, was reduced by the Duke de Deuxponts, commander of the imperial army; which, in conjunction with the Austrians, made themselves masters also of Torgau and Leipsic.

The King of Prussia, in his march through Lusatia, was still attended by Count Daun, at the head of his grand army, and both passed the Elbe about the latter end of October. The Prussian crossed the river at Coswick, where he was

joined by the troops under Prince Eugene of Wirtemberg and General Hulsen, so that his army now amounted to eighty thousand fighting men, with whom he resolved to strike some stroke of importance. Indeed at this time his situation was truly critical. General Laudohn, with a considerable body of Austrians, remained in Silesia; the Russian army still threatened Breslau, the capital of that country. The imperialists and Austrians had taken possession of all the great towns in Saxony, and were masters on both sides of the Elbe. In the eastern part of Pomerania the Russians had invested Colberg by sea and land, seemingly determined to reduce the place, that they might have a seaport by which they could be supplied with provision, ammunition, necessaries, and reinforcements, without the trouble and inconvenience of a long and laborious march from the banks of the Vistula. On the western side of Pomerania, the war, which had hitherto languished, was renewed by the Swedes with uncommon vivacity. They passed the river Pene without opposition; and obliging General Stutterheim to retreat, advanced as far as Stransberg. That officer, however, being reinforced, attacked a Swedish post at Passelvalik, slew about five hundred of the enemy, and took an equal number, with six pieces of cannon; but he was not numerous enough to keep the field against their whole army. Thus the Prussian monarch saw himself obliged to abandon Silesia; deprived of all the places he held in Saxony, which had been his best resource; and in danger of being driven into his hereditary country of Brandenburg, which was unable either to maintain or even to recruit his army. On this emergency he resolved to make one desperate effort against the grand Austrian army under Count Daun, who had passed the Elbe at Torgau, and advanced to Eulenburg, from whence however he retreated to his former camp at Torgau; and the king chose his situation between this last place and Schilda, at Lang-Reichenbach, where his hussars attacked a body of horse under General Brentano, and made four hundred prisoners. The right wing of the Austrians being at Grosrich, and their left at Torgau, the Prussian king determined to attack them next day, which was the third of November. His design was to march through the wood of Torgau by three different routes, with thirty battalions and fifty squadrons of his left wing: the first line

The King of
Prussia's
departs + 10
Austrians at
Torgau.

was ordered to advance by the way of Mackrene to Neiden ; the second, by Peckhutte to Elsnick ; and the third, consisting of cavalry, to penetrate by the wood of Wildenhayn to Vogelsang. On the other hand, General Ziethen was directed to take the great Leipsic road, with thirty battalions and seventy squadrons of the right ; and, quitting it at the ponds of Torgau, to attack the villages of Suptitz and Gros-wich. The king's line, in its march, fell in with a corps of Austrians under General Reid, who retired into the wood of Torgau ; and another more considerable body, posted in the wood of Wildenhayn, likewise retreated to Groschutz, after having fired some pieces of artillery : but the dragoons of St. Ignon, being enclosed between two columns of Prussian infantry, were either killed or taken. By two in the afternoon the king had penetrated through the wood to the plain of Neiden, from whence another body of the enemy retired to Torgau, where a continued noise of cannon and small arms declared that General Ziethen was already engaged. The Prussians immediately advanced at a quicker pace, and passing the morasses near Neiden, inclined to the right in three lines, and soon came to action. Daun had chosen a very advantageous position : his right extended to Gros-wich, and his left to Zinne ; while his infantry occupied some eminences along the road of Leipsic, and his front was strengthened with no less than two hundred pieces of cannon. His second line was disposed on an extent of ground, which terminated in hillocks towards the Elbe ; and against this the king directed his attack. He had already given his troops to understand, that his affairs were in such a situation, they must either conquer or perish ; and they began the battle with the most desperate impetuosity ; but they met with such a warm reception from the artillery, small arms, and in particular from the Austrian carbineers, that their grenadiers were shattered and repulsed. The second charge, though enforced with incredible vigour, was equally unsuccessful : then the king ordered his cavalry to advance, and they fell upon some regiments of infantry with such fury as obliged them to give way. These, however, were compelled to retire, in their turn, before about seventy battalions of the enemy, who advanced towards Torgau, stretching with their right to the Elbe, and their left to Zinne. While the Prince of Holstein rallied his cavalry, and returned to the charge, the third line of Prussian in-

fantry attacked the vineyard of Suptitz, and General Zieten, with the right wing, took the enemy in rear. This disposition threw the Austrians into disorder; which was greatly augmented by the disaster of Count Daun, who was dangerously wounded in the thigh, and carried off the field of battle. But the Prussians could not pursue their victory, because the action had lasted until nine; and the night being unusually dark, facilitated the retreat of the enemy, who crossed the Elbe on three bridges of boats thrown over the river at Torgau. The victor possessed the field of battle, with seven thousand prisoners, including two hundred officers, twenty-nine pair of colours, one standard, and about forty pieces of cannon. The carnage was very great on both sides: about three thousand Prussians were killed, and five thousand wounded; and, in the first attacks, two general officers, with fifteen hundred soldiers, were made prisoners by the enemy. The king, as usual, exposed his person in every part of the battle, and a musket-ball grazed upon his breast. In the morning the King of Prussia entered Torgau; then he secured Meissen, and took possession of Freyberg: so that, in consequence of this well-timed victory, his position was nearly the same as at the opening of the campaign.

The Austrians, however, notwithstanding this check, maintained their ground in the neighbourhood of Dresden; while the Prussians were distributed in quarters of cantonment in and about Leipsic and Meissen. Both armies go into quarters of cantonment. As the Austrian general had, after the battle, recalled his detachments, General Laudohn abandoned Landshut, which again fell into the hands of the Prussians, and the imperial army was obliged to retire into Franconia. The Swedes, having penetrated a great way into Pomerania, returned again to their winter-quarters at Stralsund; and the Russian generals measured back their way to the Vistula; so that the confederates gained little else in the course of this campaign but the contributions which they raised in Berlin, and the open country of Brandenburg. Had all the allies been heartily bent upon crushing the Prussian monarch, one would imagine the Russians and Swedes might have joined their forces in Pomerania, and made good their winter-quarters in Brandenburg, where they could have been supplied with magazines from the Baltic, and been at hand to commence their operations in the spring: but, in all probability, such an establish-

ment in the empire would have given umbrage to the Germanic body.

The diet of Poland being assembled in the beginning of October, the king entertained the most sanguine hope they would take some resolution in his favour; but the partisans of Prussia frustrated all his endeavours: one of the deputies protesting against holding a diet while there were foreign troops in the kingdom, the assembly broke up in a tumultuous manner, even before they had chosen a mareschal. The diet of Sweden, which was convoked about the same period, seemed determined to proceed upon business. They elected Count Axel Ferson their grand mareschal, in opposition to Count Horn, by a great majority: which was an unlucky circumstance for the Prussian interest at Stockholm, inasmuch as the same majority obstinately persisted in opinion, that the war should be prosecuted in the spring with redoubled vigour, and the army in Germany reinforced to the number of at least thirty thousand fighting men. This unfavourable circumstance made but little impression upon the Prussian monarch, who had maintained his ground with surprising resolution and success since the beginning of the campaign; and now enjoyed in prospect the benefit of winter, which he is said to have termed his best auxiliary.

The animosity which inflamed the contending parties was not confined to the operations in war, but broke out, as usual, in printed declarations, which the belligerent powers diffused all over Europe. In the beginning of the season the states of the circle of Westphalia had been required by the imperial court to furnish their contingent of troops against the King of Prussia, or to commute for this contingent with a sum of money. In consequence of this demand, some of the Westphalian estates had sent deputies to confer with the assembly of the circle of Cologne; and to these the king signified, by a declaration dated at Munster, that as this demand of money, instead of troops, was no less extraordinary than contrary to the constitutions of the empire, should they comply with it, or even continue to assist his enemies, either with troops or money, he would consider them as having actually taken part in the war against him and his allies, and treat them accordingly on all occasions. This intimation produced little effect in his favour. The Duke of Mecklen-

Intimation
given by the
King of
Prussia to
the states of
Westphalia.

bourg adhered to the opposite cause; and the Elector of Cologne co-operated with the French in their designs against Hanover. By way of retaliation for this partiality, the Prussians ravaged the country of Mecklenbourg, and the Hanoverians levied contributions in the territories of Cologne. The parties thus aggrieved had recourse to complaints and remonstrances. The duke's envoy at Ratisbon communicated a rescript to the imperial ministers, representing that the Prussian troops under General Werner and Colonel de Belling had distressed his country in the autumn by grievous extortions; that afterwards Prince Eugene of Wirtemberg, in the service of Prussia, had demanded an exorbitant quantity of provisions, with some millions of money, and a great number of recruits; or, in lieu of these, that the duke's forces should act under the Prussian banner. He therefore declared, that as the country of Mecklenbourg was impoverished, and almost depopulated, by these oppressions, the duke would find himself obliged to take measures for the future security of his subjects, if not immediately favoured with such assistance from the court of Vienna as would put a stop to these violent proceedings. This declaration was by some considered as the prelude to his renouncing his engagements with the house of Austria. As the imperial court had threatened to put the Elector of Hanover under the ban of the empire, in consequence of the hostilities which his troops had committed in the electorate of Cologne, his resident at Ratisbon delivered to the ministers who assisted at the diet a memorial, remonstrating that the emperor had no power, singly, to subject any prince to the ban, or declare him a rebel; and that, by arrogating such a power, he exposed his authority to the same contempt into which the pope's bulls of excommunication were so justly fallen. With respect to the Elector of Cologne, he observed, that this prince was the first who commenced hostilities, by allowing his troops to co-operate with the French in their invasion of Hanover, and by celebrating with rejoicings the advantages which they had gained in that electorate: he therefore gave the estates of the empire to understand, that the best way of screening their subjects from hostile treatment would be a strict observance of neutrality in the present disputes of the empire.

This was a strain much more effectual among princes and powers, who are generally actuated by interested motives, than was the repetition of complaints, King of Poland's remonstrance.

equally pathetic and unavailing, uttered by the unfortunate King of Poland, Elector of Saxony. The damage done to his capital by the last attempt of the Prussian monarch on that city affected the old king in such a manner, that he published at Vienna an appeal to all the powers of Europe from the cruelty and unprecedented outrages which distinguished the conduct of his adversaries in Saxony. All Europe pitied the hard fate of this exiled prince, and sympathized with the disasters of his country : but, in the breasts of his enemies, reasons of state and convenience overruled the suggestions of humanity ; and his friends had hitherto exerted themselves in vain for the deliverance of his people.

From this detail of continental affairs, our attention is recalled to Great Britain, by an incident of a very interesting nature : an account of which, however, we shall postpone until we have recorded the success that, in the course of this year, attended the British arms in the East Indies. We have already observed, that Colonel Coote, after having defeated the French general, Lally, in the field, and reduced divers of the enemy's settlements on the coast of Coromandel, at length cooped them up within the walls of Pondicherry, the principal seat of the French East India Company, large, populous, well fortified, and secured with a numerous garrison, under the immediate command of their general. In the month of October, Admiral Stevens sailed from Trincomale with all his squadron, in order to its being refitted, except five sail of the line, which he left under the command of Captain Haldane, to block up Pondicherry by sea, while Mr. Coote carried on his operations by land. By this disposition, and the vigilance of the British officers, the place was so hampered, as to be greatly distressed for want of provisions, even before the siege could be undertaken in form ; for the rainy season rendered all regular approaches impracticable. These rains being abated by the twenty-sixth day of November, Colonel Coote directed the engineers to pitch upon proper places for erecting batteries that should enfilade or flank the works of the garrison, without exposing their own men to any severe fire from the enemy. Accordingly, four batteries were constructed in different places, so as to answer these purposes, and opened all together on the eighth day of December at midnight. Though raised at a considerable distance, they were plied with good effect, and the besieged returned the fire with

Reduction
of Pondi-
cherry.

great vivacity. This mutual cannonading continued until the twenty-ninth day of the month, when the engineers were employed in raising another battery, near enough to effect a breach in the north-west counterguard and curtain. Though the approaches were retarded some days by a violent storm, which almost ruined the works, the damage was soon repaired, a considerable post was taken from the enemy by assault, and afterwards regained by the French grenadiers, through the timidity of the sepoys by whom it was occupied. By the fifteenth day of January, a second battery being raised within point-blank, a breach was made in the curtain: the west face and flank of the north-west bastion were ruined, and the guns of the enemy entirely silenced. The garrison and inhabitants of Pondicherry were now reduced to an extremity of famine which would admit of no hesitation. General Lally sent a colonel, attended by the chief of the Jesuits, and two civilians, to Mr. Coote, with proposals of surrendering the garrison prisoners of war, and demanding a capitulation in behalf of the French East India Company. On this last subject he made no reply; but next morning took possession of the town and citadel, where he found a great quantity of artillery, ammunition, small arms, and military stores; then he secured the garrison, amounting to above two thousand Europeans. Lally made a gallant defence; and, had he been properly supplied with provision, the conquest of the place would not have been so easily achieved. He certainly flattered himself with the hope of being supplied; otherwise an officer of his experience would have demanded a capitulation before he was reduced to the necessity of acquiescing in any terms the besieger might have thought proper to impose. That he spared no pains to procure supplies, appears from an intercepted letter^b written by this commander to Monsieur Raymond, French resident at Pullicat. The billet is no bad sketch of the writer's character, which seems to have a strong tincture of oddity and extravagance.

^b "Monsieur Raymond,—The English squadron is no more, sir—of the twelve ships they had in our road seven are lost, crews and all; the other four dismasted; and no more than one frigate hath escaped—therefore lose not an instant in sending chelungoes upon chelungoes, laden with rice. The Dutch have nothing to fear now. Besides, according to the law of nations, they are only restricted from sending us provisions in their own bottoms; and we are no longer blockaded by sea. The salvation of Pondicherry hath been once in your power already; if you neglect this opportunity, it will be entirely your own fault—don't forget some small chelungoes also—offer great rewards—in four days I expect seventeen thousand Mahrattas. In short, risk all—attempt all—force all, and send us some rice, should it be but half a garse at a time."

By the reduction of Pondicherry, the French interest was annihilated on the coast of Coromandel, and therefore of the utmost importance to the British nation. It may be doubted, however, whether Colonel Coote, with all his spirit, vigilance, and military talents, could have succeeded in this enterprise without the assistance of the squadron, which co-operated with him by sea, and effectually excluded all succour from the besieged. It must be owned, for the honour of the service, that no incident interrupted the good understanding which was maintained between the land and sea officers, who vied with each other in contributing their utmost efforts towards the success of the expedition. On the twenty-fifth day of December, Rear-Admiral Stevens arrived with four ships of the line, having parted with Rear-Admiral Cornish and his division in stormy weather; but he joined them at Pondicherry before the place was surrendered. On the first day of January a violent tempest obliged Admiral Stevens to slip his cables and put to sea, where he parted with the rest of his squadron; and when in three days he returned to the road of Pondicherry, he had the mortification to find that his division had suffered severely from the storm. The ships of war called the Duke of Aquitaine and the Sunderland foundered in the storm, and their crews perished. The Newcastle, the Queenborough, and the Protector fire-ship, were driven ashore, and destroyed; but the men were saved, together with the cannon, stores, and provisions. Many other ships sustained considerable damage, which, however, was soon repaired. Admiral Stevens, having intercepted the letter from Lally to Raymond, (inserted in p. 571,) immediately despatched letters to the Dutch and Danish settlements on this coast, intimating that, notwithstanding the insinuations of General Lally, he had eleven sail of the line, with two frigates, under his command, all fit for service, in the road of Pondicherry, which was closely invested and blockaded both by sea and land: he therefore declared, that, as in that case it was contrary to the law of nations for any neutral power to relieve or succour the besieged, he was determined to seize any vessel that should attempt to throw provisions into the place.

While the arms of Great Britain still prospered in every effort tending to the real interest of the nation, an event happened which for a moment obscured the splendour of

her triumphs ; and could not but be very alarming to those German allies, whom her liberality had enabled to maintain an expensive and sanguinary war of humour and ambition. On the twenty-fifth day of October, George II., King of Great Britain, without any previous disorder, was, in the morning, suddenly seized with the agony of death, at the palace at Kensington. He had risen at his usual hour, drank his chocolate, and inquired about the wind, as anxious for the arrival of the foreign mails ; then he opened a window of his apartment, and perceiving the weather was serene, declared he would walk in the garden. In a few minutes after this declaration, while he remained alone in his chamber, he fell down upon the floor ; the noise of his fall brought his attendants into the room, who lifted him on the bed, where he desired, in a faint voice, that the Princess Amelia might be called ; but before she could reach the apartment he had expired. An attempt was made to bleed him, but without effect ; and indeed his malady was far beyond the reach of art ; for when the cavity of the thorax or chest was opened, and inspected by the sergeant-surgeons, they found the right ventricle of the heart actually ruptured, and a great quantity of blood discharged through the aperture into the surrounding pericardium ; so that he must have died instantaneously, in consequence of the effusion. The case, however, was so extraordinary, that we question whether there is such another instance upon record. A rupture of this nature appears the more remarkable, as it happened to a prince of a healthy constitution, unaccustomed to excess, and far advanced beyond that period of life when the blood might be supposed to flow with a dangerous impetuosity.

Thus died George II., at the age of seventy-seven, after a long reign of thirty-four years, distinguished by a ^{His charac-} variety of important events, and chequered with a ^{ter.} vicissitude of character and fortune. He was in his person rather lower than the middle size, well-shaped, erect, with eyes remarkably prominent, a high nose, and fair complexion. In his disposition he is said to have been hasty, prone to anger, especially in his youth, yet soon appeased ; otherwise mild, moderate, and humane ; in his way of living, temperate, regular, and so methodical in every branch of private economy, that his attention descended to objects which a great king (perhaps) had better overlook. He

was fond of military pomp and parade; and personally brave. He loved war as a soldier, he studied it as a science; and corresponded on this subject with some of the greatest officers whom Germany has produced. The extent of his understanding, and the splendour of his virtue, we shall not presume to ascertain, or attempt to display; we rather wish for opportunities to expatiate on his munificence and liberality; his generous regard to genius and learning; his royal encouragement and protection of those arts by which a nation is at once benefited and adorned. With respect to his government, it very seldom deviated from the institutions of law; or encroached upon private property; or interfered with the common administration of justice. The circumstances that chiefly marked his public character were a predilection for his native country, and a close attention to the political interests of the Germanic body; points and principles to which he adhered with the most invincible fortitude; and if ever the blood and treasure of Great Britain were sacrificed to these considerations, we ought not so much to blame the prince, who acted from the dictates of natural affection, as we should detest a succession of venal ministers, all of whom in their turns devoted themselves, soul and body, to the gratification of his passion, or partiality, so prejudicial to the true interest of their country.

The reign of George II. produced many revolutions, as well in the internal schemes of economy and administration, as in the external projects of political connexions; revolutions that exposed the frailties of human nature, and demonstrated the instability of systems founded upon convenience. In the course of this reign a standing army was, by dint of ministerial influence, ingrafted on the constitution of Great Britain. A fatal stroke was given to the liberty of the press, by the act subjecting all dramatic writings to the inspection of a licenser. The great machine of corruption, contrived to secure a constant majority in parliament, was overturned, and the inventor of it obliged to quit the reins of government. Professed patriots resigned the principles they had long endeavoured to establish, and listed themselves for the defence of that fortress against which their zeal and talents had been levelled. The management of a mighty kingdom was consigned into the hands of a motley administration,

Recapitulation of the principal events of his reign.

ministers without knowledge, and men without integrity, whose counsels were timid, weak, and wavering; whose folly and extravagance exposed the nation to ridicule and contempt; by whose ignorance and presumption it was reduced to the verge of ruin. The kingdom was engaged in a quarrel truly national, and commenced a necessary war on national principles: but that war was starved; and the chief strength of the nation transferred to the continent of Europe, in order to maintain an unnecessary war in favour of a family whose pride and ambition can be equalled by nothing but its insolence and ingratitude. While the strength of the nation was thus exerted abroad for the support of worthless allies, and a dangerous rebellion raged in the bowels of the kingdom, the sovereign was insulted by his ministers, who deserted his service at that critical juncture, and refused to resume their functions, until he had truckled to their petulant humour, and dismissed a favourite servant, of whose superior talents they were meanly jealous. Such an unprecedented secession at any time would have merited the imputation of insolence: but at that period, when the sovereign was perplexed and embarrassed by a variety of dangers and difficulties; when his crown, and even his life, was at stake; to throw up their places, abandon his councils, and, as far as in them lay, detach themselves from his fortune, was a step so likely to aggravate the disorder of the nation, so big with cruelty, ingratitude, and sedition, that it seems to deserve an appellation which, however, we do not think proper to bestow. An inglorious war was succeeded by an ignominious peace, which proved of short duration; yet in this interval the English nation exhibited such a proof of commercial opulence as astonished all Europe. At the close of a war which had drained it of so much treasure, and increased the public debt to an enormous burden, it acquiesced under such a reduction of interest as one would hardly think the ministry durst have proposed, even before one half of the national debt was contracted. A much more unpopular step was a law that passed for naturalizing the Jews—a law so odious to the people in general, that it was soon repealed, at the request of that minister by whom it had been chiefly patronized. An ill-concerted peace was in a little time productive of fresh hostilities, and another war with France, which Britain began to prosecute under unfavourable auspices. Then the

whole political system of Germany was inverted. The King of England abandoned the interest of that house which he had in a former war so warmly espoused, and took into his bosom a prince whom he had formerly considered as his inveterate enemy. The unpropitious beginning of this war against France being imputed to the misconduct of the administration, excited such a ferment among the people, as seemed to threaten a dangerous insurrection. Every part of the kingdom resounded with the voice of dissatisfaction, which did not even respect the throne. The king found himself obliged to accept of a minister presented by the people; and this measure was attended with consequences as favourable as his wish could form. From that instant all clamour was hushed; all opposition ceased. The enterprising spirit of the new minister seemed to diffuse itself through all the operations of the war; and conquest everywhere attended the efforts of the British arms. Now appeared the fallacy of those maxims, and the falsehood of those assertions, by which former ministers had established, and endeavoured to excuse, the practices of corruption. The supposed disaffection, which had been insisted on as the source of parliamentary opposition, now entirely vanished; nor was it found necessary to use sinister means for securing a majority, in order to answer the purposes of the administration. England, for the first time, saw a minister of state in full possession of popularity. Under the auspices of this minister it saw a national militia formed, and trained to discipline by the invincible spirit of a few patriots, who pursued this salutary measure in the face of unwearied opposition, discouraged by the jealousy of a court, and ridiculed by all the venal retainers to a standing army. Under his ministry it saw the military genius of Great Britain revive, and shine with redoubled lustre; it saw her interest and glory coincide, and an immense extent of country added by conquest to her dominions. The people, confiding in the integrity and abilities of their own minister, and elevated by the repeated sounds of triumph, became enamoured of the war; and granted such liberal subsidies for its support, as no other minister would have presumed to ask, as no other nation believed they could afford. Nor did they murmur at seeing great part of their treasure diverted into foreign channels; nor did they seem to bestow a serious thought on the accumulating load of the

national debt, which already exceeded the immense sum of one hundred millions.

In a word, they were intoxicated with a victory; and as the king happened to die in the midst of their transports, occasioned by the final conquest of Canada, ^{His death} ^{unusually} ^{marked} their good humour garnished his character with a prodigality of encomiums. A thousand pens were drawn to paint the beauties and sublimity of his character, in poetry as well as prose. They extolled him above Alexander in courage and heroism, above Augustus in liberality, Titus in clemency, Antoninus in piety and benevolence, Solomon in wisdom, and St. Edward in devotion. Such hyperbolical eulogiums served only to throw a ridicule upon a character which was otherwise respectable. The two universities vied with each other in lamenting his death; and each published a huge collection of elegies on the subject; nor did they fail to exalt his praise, with the warmest expressions of affection and regret, in the compliments of condolence and congratulation which they presented to his successor. The same panegyric and pathos appeared in all the addresses with which every other community in the kingdom approached the throne of our present sovereign; insomuch that we may venture to say, no prince was ever more popular at the time of his decease. The English are naturally warm and impetuous; and in generous natures, affection is as apt as any other passion to run riot. The sudden death of the king was lamented as a national misfortune by many, who felt a truly filial affection for their country; not that they implicitly subscribed to all the exaggerated praise which had been so liberally poured forth on his character; but because the nation was deprived of him at a critical juncture, while involved in a dangerous and expensive war, of which he had been personally the chief mover and support. They knew the burden of royalty devolved upon a young prince, who, though heir apparent to the crown, and already arrived at years of maturity, had never been admitted to any share of the administration, nor made acquainted with any schemes or secrets of state. The real character of the new king was very little known to the generality of the nation. They dreaded an abrupt change of measures, which might have rendered useless all the advantages obtained in the course of the war. As they were ignorant of his connexions, they dreaded a revolution in the ministry, which might fill the

kingdom with clamour and confusion. But the greatest shock occasioned by his decease was undoubtedly among our allies and fellow-subjects in Germany, who saw themselves suddenly deprived of their sole prop and patron, at a time when they could not pretend of themselves to make head against the numerous enemies by whom they were surrounded. But all these doubts and apprehensions vanished like mists before the rising sun; and the people of Great Britain enjoyed the inexpressible pleasure of seeing their loss repaired in such a manner as must have amply fulfilled the most sanguine wish of every friend to his country.

The commerce of Great Britain continued to increase during the whole course of this reign; but this increase was not the effect of extraordinary encouragement. On the contrary, the necessities of government, the growing expenses of the nation, and the continual augmentation of the public debt, obliged the legislature to hamper trade with manifold and grievous impositions; its increase, therefore, must have been owing to the natural progress of industry and adventure extending themselves to that farthest line or limit beyond which they will not be able to advance: when the tide of traffic has flowed to its highest mark, it will then begin to recede in a gradual ebb, until it is shrunk within the narrow limits of its original channel. War, which naturally impedes the traffic of other nations, had opened new sources to the merchants of Great Britain; the superiority of her naval power had crushed the navigation of France, her great rival in commerce; so that she now supplied, on her own terms, all those foreign markets, at which, in time of peace, she was undersold by that dangerous competitor. Thus her trade was augmented to a surprising pitch; and this great augmentation alone enabled her to maintain the war at such an enormous expense. As this advantage will cease when the French are at liberty to re-establish their commerce, and prosecute it without molestation, it would be for the interest of Great Britain to be at continual variance with that restless neighbour, provided the contest could be limited to the operations of a sea war, in which England would be always invincible and victorious.

The powers of the human mind were freely and fully exercised in this reign. Considerable progress was made in mathematics and astronomy by divers individuals; among

whom we number Sanderson, Bradley, Maclaurin, Smith, and the two Simpsons. Natural philosophy became a general study; and the new doctrine of electricity grew into fashion. Different methods were discovered for rendering sea-water potable and sweet; and divers useful hints were communicated to the public by the learned Doctor Stephen Hales, who directed all his researches and experiments to the benefit of society. The study of alchymy no longer prevailed; but the art of chemistry was perfectly understood, and assiduously applied to the purposes of sophistication. The clergy of Great Britain were generally learned, pious, and exemplary. Sherlock, Hoadley, Secker, and Conybeare, were promoted to the first dignities of the church. Warburton, who had long signalized himself by the strength and boldness of his genius, his extensive capacity, and profound erudition, at length obtained the mitre. But these promotions were granted to reasons of state convenience and personal interest, rather than as rewards of extraordinary merit. Many other ecclesiastics of worth and learning were totally overlooked. Nor was ecclesiastical merit confined to the established church. Many instances of extraordinary genius, unaffected piety, and universal moderation, appeared among the dissenting ministers of Great Britain and Ireland: among these we particularize the elegant, the primitive Foster; the learned, ingenious, and penetrating Leland.

The progress of reason, and free cultivation of the human mind, had not, however, entirely banished those ridiculous sects and schisms of which the kingdom had been formerly so productive. Imposture and fanaticism still hung upon the skirts of religion. Weak minds were seduced by the delusions of a superstition styled Methodism, raised upon the affectation of superior sanctity, and maintained by pretensions to divine illumination. Many thousands in the lower ranks of life were infected with this species of enthusiasm, by the unwearied endeavours of a few obscure preachers, such as Whitfield, and the two Wesleys, who propagated their doctrines to the most remote corners of the British dominions, and found means to lay the whole kingdom under contribution. Fanaticism also formed a league with false philosophy. One Hutchinson, a visionary, intoxicated with the fumes of rabbinical learning, pretended to deduce all demonstration from Hebrew roots, and to

confine all human knowledge to the five books of Moses. His disciples became numerous after his death. With the Methodists, they denied the merit of good works, and bitterly inveighed against Newton as an ignorant pretender, who had presumed to set up his own ridiculous chimeras in opposition to the sacred philosophy of the Pentateuch. But the most extraordinary sect which distinguished this reign was that of the Moravians or Hernalutters, imported from Germany by Count Zinzendorf, who might have been termed the Melchisedeck of his followers, inasmuch as he assumed among them the thicefold character of prophet, priest, and king. They could not be so properly styled a sect, as the disciples of an original, who had invented a new system of religion. Their chief adoration was paid to the Second Person in the Trinity; the First they treated with the most shocking neglect. Some of their tenets were blasphemous, some indecent, and others ridiculously absurd. Their discipline was a strange mixture of devotion and impurity. Their exterior worship consisted of hymns, prayers, and sermons: the hymns extremely ludicrous, and often indecent, alluding to the side-hole or wound which Christ received from a spear in his side while he remained upon the cross. Their sermons frequently contained very gross incentives to the work of propagation. Their private exercises are said to have abounded with such rites and mysteries as we cannot explain with any regard to decorum. They professed a community of goods, and were governed as one family, in temporals, as well as spirituals, by a council, or kind of presbytery, in which the count, as their ordinary, presided. In cases of doubt, or great consequence, these pretended to consult the Saviour, and to decide from immediate inspiration; so that they boasted of being under the immediate direction of a theocracy, though in fact they were slaves to the most dangerous kind of despotism; for as often as any individual of the community pretended to think for himself, or differ in opinion from the ordinary and his band of associates, the oracle decreed that he should be instantly sent upon the mission which they had fixed in Greenland, or to the colony they had established in Pennsylvania. As these religionists consisted chiefly of manufacturers, who appeared very sober, orderly, and industrious, and their chief declared his intention of prosecuting works of public emolument, they obtained a settlement, under a parliamentary

sanction, in England, where they soon made a considerable number of proselytes, before their principles were fully discovered and explained.

Many ingenious treatises on metaphysics and morality appeared in the course of this reign, and a philosophical spirit of inquiry diffused itself to the ^{Metaphysics and medicine.} farthest extremities of the united kingdom. Though few discoveries of importance were made in medicine, yet that art was well understood in all its different branches, and many of its professors distinguished themselves in other provinces of literature. Besides the Medical Essays of London and Edinburgh, the physician's library was enriched with many useful modern productions; with the works of the classical Freind, the elegant Mead, the accurate Huxham, and the philosophical Pringle. The art of midwifery was elucidated by science, reduced to fixed principles, and almost wholly consigned into the hands of men practitioners. The researches of anatomy were prosecuted to some curious discoveries, by the ingenuity and dexterity of a Hunter and a Monro. The numerous hospitals in London contributed to the improvement of surgery, which was brought to perfection under the auspices of a Cheselden and a Sharpe. The advantages of agriculture, which had long flourished in England, extended themselves gradually to the most remote and barren provinces of the island.

The mechanic powers were well understood, and judiciously applied to many useful machines of necessity ^{Mechanics.} and convenience. The mechanical arts had attained to all that perfection which they were capable of acquiring; but the avarice and oppression of contractors obliged the handicraftsman to exert his ingenuity, not in finishing his work well, but in affording it cheap; in purchasing bad materials, and performing his task in a hurry; in concealing flaws, substituting show for solidity, and sacrificing reputation to the thirst of lucre. Thus, many of the English manufactures, being found slight and unserviceable, grew into discredit abroad; thus the art of producing them more perfect may in time be totally lost at home. The cloths now made in England are inferior in texture and fabric to those which were manufactured in the beginning of the century; and the same judgment may be pronounced upon almost every article of hard-ware. The razors, knives, scissors, hatchets, swords, and other edge-utensils, prepared

for exportation, are generally ill-tempered, half-finished, flawed, or brittle; and the muskets, which are sold for seven or eight shillings a piece to the exporter, so carelessly and unconscientiously prepared, that they cannot be used without imminent danger of mutilation; accordingly, one hardly meets with a negro man upon the coast of Guinea, in the neighbourhood of the British settlements, who has not been wounded or maimed in some member by the bursting of the English fire-arms. The advantage of this traffic, carried on at the expense of character and humanity, will naturally cease, whenever those Africans can be supplied more honestly by the traders of any other nation.

Genius in writing spontaneously arose; and though
 Genius. neglected by the great, flourished under the culture of a public which had pretensions to taste, and piqued itself on encouraging literary merit. Swift and Pope we have mentioned on another occasion. Young still survived, a venerable monument of poetical talents. Thomson, the poet of the Seasons, displayed a luxuriancy of genius in describing the beauties of nature. Akenside and Armstrong excelled in didactic poetry. Even the epopœa did not disdain an English dress; but appeared to advantage in the Leonidas of Glover, and the Epigoniad of Wilkie. The public acknowledged a considerable share of dramatic merit in the tragedies of Young, Mallet, Home, and some other less distinguished authors. Very few regular comedies, during this period, were exhibited on the English theatre; which, however, produced many less laboured pieces, abounding with satire, wit, and humour. The Careless Husband of Cibber, and Suspicious Husband of Hoadley, are the only comedies of this age that bid fair for reaching posterity. The exhibitions of the stage were improved to the most exquisite entertainment by the talents and management of Garrick, who greatly surpassed all his predecessors of this and perhaps every other nation, in his genius for acting, in the sweetness and variety of his tones, the irresistible magic of his eye, the fire and vivacity of his action, the elegance of attitude, and the whole pathos of expression. Quin excelled in dignity and declamation, as well as in exhibiting some characters of humour equally exquisite and peculiar. Mrs. Cibber breathed the whole soul of female tenderness and passion; and Mrs. Pritchard displayed all the dignity of distress. That Great Britain was not barren of poets at this

period appears from the detached performances of Johnson, Mason, Gray, the two Whiteheads, and the two Wartons; besides a great number of other bards, who have spouted in lyric poetry, and acquired the applause of their fellow-citizens. Candidates for literary fame appeared even in the higher sphere of life, embellished by the nervous style, superior sense, and extensive erudition of a Corke; by the delicate taste, the polished muse, and tender feelings of a Lyttelton. King shone unrivalled in Roman eloquence. Even the female sex distinguished themselves by their taste and ingenuity. Miss Carter rivalled the celebrated Dacier in learning and critical knowledge; Mrs. Lennox signalized herself by many successful efforts of genius, both in poetry and prose; and Miss Reid excelled the celebrated Rosalba in portrait painting, both in miniature and at large, in oil as well as in crayons. The genius of Cervantes was transfused into the novels of Fielding, who painted the characters, and ridiculed the follies of life, with equal strength, humour, and propriety. The field of history and biography was cultivated by many writers of ability; among whom we distinguish the copious Guthrie, the circumstantial Ralph, the laborious Carte, the learned and elegant Robertson, and above all, the ingenious, penetrating, and comprehensive Hume, whom we rank among the first writers of the age, both as an historian and philosopher. Nor let us forget the merit conspicuous in the works of Campbell, remarkable for candour, intelligence, and precision. Johnson, inferior to none in philosophy, philology, poetry, and classical learning, stands foremost as an essayist, justly admired for the dignity, strength, and variety of his style, as well as for the agreeable manner in which he investigates the human heart, tracing every interesting emotion, and opening all the sources of morality. The laudable aim of enlisting the passions on the side of virtue was successfully pursued by Richardson in his *Pamela*, *Clarissa*, and *Grandison*; a species of writing equally new and extraordinary, where, mingled with much superfluity, we find a sublime system of ethics, an amazing knowledge and command of human nature. Many of the Greek and Roman classics made their appearance in English translations, which were favourably received as works of merit; among these we place, after Pope's *Homer*, *Virgil* by Pitt and Warton, *Horace* by Francis, *Polybius* by Hampton, and *Sophocles* by Franklin.

The war introduced a variety of military treatises, chiefly translated from the French language; and a free country, like Great Britain, will always abound with political tracts and lucubrations. Every literary production of merit, calculated for amusement or instruction, that appeared in any country or language of Christendom, was immediately imported, and naturalized among the English people. Never was the pursuit after knowledge so universal, or literary merit more regarded, than at this juncture, by the body of the British nation; but it was honoured by no attention from the throne, and little indulgence did it reap from the liberality of particular patrons. The reign of Queen Anne was propitious to the fortunes of Swift and Pope, who lived in all the happy pride of independence. Young, sequestered from courts and preferment, possessed a moderate benefice in the country, and employed his time in a conscientious discharge of his ecclesiastical functions. Thomson, with the most benevolent heart that ever warmed the human breast, maintained a perpetual war with the difficulties of a narrow fortune. He enjoyed a place in chancery by the bounty of Lord Talbot, of which he was divested by the succeeding chancellor. He afterwards enjoyed a small pension from Frederick Prince of Wales, which was withdrawn in the sequel. About two years before his death, he obtained, by the interest of his friend Lord Lyttelton, a comfortable place; but he did not live to taste the blessing of easy circumstances, and died in debt.^c None of the rest whom we have named enjoyed any share of the royal bounty, except W. Whitehead, who succeeded to the place of laureat at the death of Cibber; and some of them, whose merit was the most universally acknowledged, remained exposed to all the storms of indigence and all the stings of mortification. While the queen lived, some countenance was given to learning. She conversed with Newton and corresponded with Leibnitz. She took pains to acquire popularity; the royal family, on certain days, dined in public, for the satisfaction of the people: the court was animated with a freedom of spirit and vivacity, which rendered it at once brilliant and agreeable. At her death, that spirit began to languish,

^c However he was neglected when living, his memory has been honoured with peculiar marks of public regard, in an ample subscription for a new edition of his works, the profits were employed in erecting a monument to his fame in Westminster Abby, a subscription to which his present majesty King George III. has liberally contributed. The remaining surplus was distributed among his poor relations.

and a total stagnation of gaiety and good-humour ensued. It was succeeded by a sullen calm, an ungracious reserve, and a still rotation of insipid forms.¹

England was not defective in other arts that embellish and amuse. Music became a fashionable study, and ^{MUSIC.} its professors were generally caressed by the public.

An Italian opera was maintained at a great expense, and well supplied with foreign performers. Private concerts were instituted in every corner of the metropolis. The compositions of Handel were universally admired, and he himself lived in affluence. It must be owned at the same time, that Geminiani was neglected, though his genius commanded esteem and veneration. Among the few natives of England who distinguished themselves by their talents in this art, Green, Howard, Arne, and Boyce, were the most remarkable.

The British soil, which had hitherto been barren in the article of painting, now produced some artists of ^{Painting} extraordinary merit. Hogarth excelled all the ^{world in} world in exhibiting the scenes of ordinary life; in <sup>dis-
tinct</sup> humour, character, and expression. Hayman became eminent for historical designs and conversation-pieces. Reynolds and Ramsay distinguished themselves by their superior merit in portraits; a branch that was successfully cultivated by many other English painters. Wootton was famous for representing live animals in general; Seymour for race-horses; Lambert and the Smiths for landscapes; and Scot for sea-pieces. Several spirited attempts were made on historical subjects, but little progress was made in the sublime parts of painting. Essays of this kind were discouraged by a false taste, founded upon a reprobation of British genius. The art of engraving was brought to perfection by Strange, and laudably practised by Grignion, Baron, Ravenet, and several other masters; great improvements were made in mezzotinto, miniature, and enamel. Many fair monuments of sculpture or statuary were raised by Rysbrach, Roubilliac, and Wilton. Architecture, which had been cherished by the elegant taste of Burlington, soon

¹ George II., by his Queen, Caroline, had two sons and five daughters who attained the age of maturity. Frederick, Prince of Wales, father to his present majesty, George III., William, Duke of Cumberland, Anne, the princess royal, married to the late Prince of Orange, and mother to the present stadtholder, Mary, Landgravine of Hesse-Cassel, Louisa, late Queen of Denmark, Amelia and Carolina, who were never married.

became a favourite study; and many magnificent edifices were reared in different parts of the kingdom. Ornaments were carved in wood, and moulded in stucco, with all the delicacy of execution; but a passion for novelty had introduced into gardening, building, and furniture, an absurd Chinese taste, equally void of beauty and convenience. Improvements in the liberal and useful arts will doubtless be the consequence of that encouragement given to merit by the society instituted for these purposes, which we have described on another occasion. As for the Royal Society, it seems to have degenerated in its researches, and to have had very little share, for half a century at least, in extending the influence of true philosophy.

We shall conclude this reign with a detail of the forces and fleets of Great Britain, from whence the reader will conceive a just idea of her opulence and power.

BRIEF STATEMENT

OF THE ARMIES AND FLEETS OF GREAT BRITAIN ABOUT THE
MIDDLE OF THE YEAR 1760.

LAND-FORCES.

IN GREAT BRITAIN, UNDER LORD VIS-
COUNT LIGONIER, COMMANDER-IN-
CHIEF.

2 troops of horse-guards
2 " horse guards.
5 regiments of dragoons.
3 " foot-guards.
23 " foot.

IN IRELAND, UNDER LIEUTENANT-
GENERAL EARL OF ROTHES, COM-
MANDER-IN-CHIEF.

2 regiments of horse.
8 " dragoons.
17 " foot.

IN JERSEY, UNDER COLONEL BOS-
CAWEN.

1 regiment of foot.

AT GIBRALTAR, UNDER LIEUTENANT-
GENERAL EARL OF HOME, GOVER-
NOR.

6 regiments of foot.

IN GERMANY, UNDER LIEUTENANT-
GENERAL MARQUIS OF GRANLY,
COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.

1 regiment of horse-guards.
2 " horse.
3 " dragoon regiments.
6 " dragoons.
16 " foot.

IN GARRISON AT EMBDEN.

2 regiments of Highlanders.

IN NORTH AMERICA, UNDER MAJOR-
GENERAL AMHILLST, COMMANDER-
IN-CHIEF.

21 regiments of foot.

IN THE WEST INDIES.

51 regiments of foot.

IN AFRICA.

2 regiments of foot.

IN THE EAST INDIES.

4 battalions of foot.

Total:—31 regiments of horse and dragoons
97 " foot.

Besides these, Great Britain maintained Hanoverian, Hessian, and other German auxiliaries, to the amount of 60,000.

NAVY.

AT OR NEAR HOME, UNDER SIR EDWARD
HAWKE, ADMIRAL BOSCAWEN, ETC.

	Guns		Guns
3 Ships of ..	100	5 Ships of ..	70
6 " ..	90	1 " ..	66
1 " ..	84	8 " ..	64
3 " ..	80	12 " ..	60
13 " ..	74	10 " ..	50

IN THE EAST INDIES, UNDER VICE-
ADMIRAL POCOCKE.

	Guns		Guns
2 Ships of ..	74	7 Ships of ..	60
1 " ..	68	1 " ..	58
1 " ..	66	3 " ..	50
2 " ..	64		

NAVY—*continued.*

IN THE WEST INDIES, UNDER REAR-ADMIRAL HOLMES.

	Guns.		Guns.
1 Ship of ..	90	1 Ship of ..	66
2 " ..	80	6 " ..	64
1 " ..	74	4 " ..	60
2 " ..	70	2 " ..	50
1 " ..	68		

IN NORTH AMERICA, UNDER COMMODORE LORD COLVILLE.

	Guns.		Guns.
1 Ship of ..	74	2 Ships of ..	64
3 " ..	70	3 " ..	60
1 " ..	66	2 " ..	50

IN THE MEDITERRANEAN, UNDER VICE-ADMIRAL SAUNDERS.

	Guns.		Guns.
2 Ships of ..	90	3 Ships of ..	60
1 " ..	74	3 " ..	50
1 " ..	64		

			Ships.
At or near home ..	..	..	62
In the East Indies ..	..	..	17
West Indies ..	..	..	20
North America ..	..	..	12
Mediterranean ..	..	..	10
Total ..	..	..	121

LIST OF MEN OF WAR, FRENCH AND ENGLISH, TAKEN, SUNK, OR CASUALLY LOST, FROM THE YEAR 1755 TO THE YEAR 1760.

FRENCH SHIPS TAKEN.

	Guns.		Guns.
2 Ships of ..	84	2 Ships of ..	26
2 " ..	74	2 " ..	24
2 " ..	66	3 " ..	22
7 " ..	64	2 " ..	20
1 " ..	50	3 " ..	16
1 " ..	48	2 " ..	12
1 " ..	44	1 " ..	10
2 " ..	40	1 " ..	8
1 " ..	38		
4 " ..	36		1706
2 " ..	32		
2 " ..	28		

DITTO DESTROYED.

	Guns.		Guns.
3 Ships of ..	84	1 Ship of ..	22
9 " ..	74	1 " ..	20
3 " ..	64	1 " ..	18
1 " ..	56	2 " ..	16
2 " ..	50	6 " ..	8
8 " ..	36		
3 " ..	32		1730
1 " ..	24		

DITTO CASUALLY LOST.

	Guns.		Guns.
1 Ship of ..	74	3 Ships of ..	24
1 " ..	70	1 " ..	20
3 " ..	64		
1 " ..	56		786
2 " ..	50	Destroyed ..	1730
1 " ..	44	Taken ..	1706
1 " ..	34		
1 " ..	32	Total ..	4222
2 " ..	28		

ENGLISH SHIPS TAKEN.

	Guns.
1 Ship of ..	60
1 " ..	50
2 " ..	12
1 " ..	10
	144

DITTO DESTROYED.

	Guns.
1 Ship of ..	24
2 " ..	20
1 " ..	8
	72

DITTO CASUALLY LOST.

	Guns.
1 Ship of ..	90
1 " ..	80
2 " ..	74
2 " ..	64
1 " ..	60
1 " ..	50
1 " ..	28
1 " ..	24
1 " ..	20
2 " ..	8
	644
Destroyed ..	72
Taken ..	144
Total ..	860

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